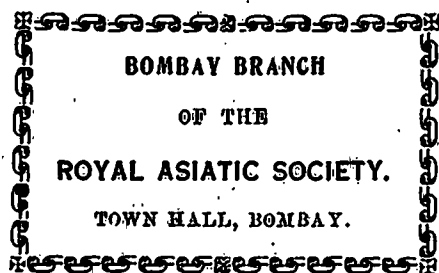


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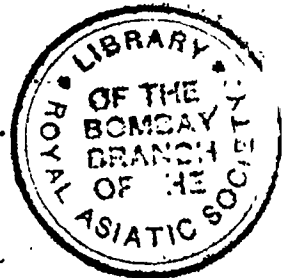
FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453 TO THE
WAR IN THE CRIMEA IN 1857

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BY THOMAS HENRY DYER

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B

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HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

BOOK III.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT IN 1545 TO
THE EDICT OF NANTES AND PEACE OF VERVINS IN 1598.

CHAPTER I.

THE progress of the Reformation had hitherto been peaceful; we now enter upon an epoch when its path was marked with blood—a catastrophe foreseen and dreaded by Luther, but which he was spared from beholding. For a period of near a century, our attention will be chiefly arrested by religious wars, which however, are often combined with a great political movement that had already been initiated,—the struggle for supremacy between France and the House of Austria. Before we enter upon these narratives it may not be amiss to inquire into the causes of Luther's success; and why a reformation which had before been fruitlessly attempted in England, in Bohemia, in Italy, should have succeeded in Germany and Switzerland.

The same political causes which afterwards produced the religious wars of Germany, undoubtedly contributed to establish the Reformation in that country. In the German empire the civil power was twofold—literally an *imperium in imperio*; and thus the German Electors and Princes, being sheltered under a supreme head, were enabled to give reins to the feelings inspired by Papal abuses and extortions, without incurring the responsibility which attached to the Emperor. He, not they, was in immediate connection with Rome; a bond which the natural bigotry both of

Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand was not inclined to sever. Had Charles been as absolute in Germany as in Spain, or as Francis I. was in France, and Henry VIII. in England, the Reformation could not have taken place without his consent; while having been established against his will in the dominions of some of the princes of the empire, he was induced, when political events enabled him to do so, to attempt to crush it by force. It is curious moreover to observe how the infancy of the German Reformation was protected from the power of Charles, not only by the peculiar constitution of the Empire, but also by the very enemies of Germany—the Turks, the French, nay, the Pope himself. Had not the safety of the empire been threatened by Solymán, had not Francis menaced the Emperor's Italian possessions, and Pope Clement VII. manifested a disposition to assist his plans, Lutheranism might probably have been crushed in the bud. In Switzerland; a free and republican constitution contributed still more directly and rapidly to the success of the Reformation. The appeal was made immediately to the people; there was no bigoted or self-interested sovereign to step in between them and Rome.

Another and indispensable element of success was the bold and ardent character both of Luther and Zwingli; a character the more essential in Luther's case, as he had to assert his principles at the risk of his life. This is the great and inestimable merit of Luther, as well as of his immortal contemporary Columbus,—his dauntless courage, his unshaken constancy. Others may have conjectured the sphericity of the earth, and the possibility of sailing round it, but it was reserved for the bold-hearted Italian to venture his life on the practicableness of the theory. So also others have, perhaps, devised more thorough and more consistent plans of reform than Luther, but they either confined them to their studies, or failed in the assertion of them from timidity, like Erasmus and Wiclif. The circumstances in which Zwingli was placed did not call for so great a display of moral courage as was exhibited by Luther; but there can be no doubt that he possessed it, though he had not, like the German reformer, to struggle against the frowns and menaces of a government; and he at last laid down his life in the field for the sake of his principles.

Neither Luther nor Zwingli, however, could have effected anything had they not obtained the adhesion of the people; and their success in this respect was not perhaps so much owing to the better prepared state of the public mind for the reception of their doctrines, as to the gradual nature of their attack upon the Roman Church. They began with *one* abuse, and one which came imme-

diately home to the bosoms of the people,—the doctrine of Indulgences. It mattered little to the great body of the population how much the Archbishops of Mentz or Cologne paid for their palliums, or whether the Emperor or the Pope should present to benefices; but it was of the utmost importance to them to know whether the Pope alone could open the gates of heaven, and whether he was justified in demanding a fee for that purpose. The wedge once introduced, the rent became gradually larger and larger, till all that was unsound in the Church was severed. The German nation had long presented in vain their list of a hundred grievances; Rome was at last opposed and overturned upon a single one. Another element of success was the prudence and moderation with which, however violent and adapted to vulgar ears might be his language, Luther proceeded in carrying out the substantial parts of his enterprise; never were so much energy and so fiery a zeal tempered with so much discretion. As a theoretical reformer he was perhaps even too timid, and can hardly be said to have left the Reformation complete.

The Papal key being broken, it was necessary to provide another method of unlocking the portal of heaven; and this the Reformers found in the doctrine of justification by faith. The theory of indulgences was founded on a treasury of good works, so ample and so efficacious that they could be transferred with infallible effect to every sinner, even the most reckless, who could afford to purchase a share of these merits; and the same principle lay at the root of other superstitions which served to fill the coffers of the Church; such as pilgrimages, the observance of the Jubilee, &c. Luther combated these doctrines in the only way in which they could be combated—by transferring the custody of heaven from the vicar of Christ, who had abused his trust, to Christ himself. “By faith alone shall ye be saved.”

That the doctrine of justification by faith alone was capable of perversion, Luther himself saw and lamented. “This doctrine,” he observes in one of his discourses¹, “should be heard with great joy, and received with heartfelt thankfulness, and we should become all the better, and more pious for it. But alas! this is reversed, and the longer it is heard, the wickeder, the more reckless, and more sinful, doth the world become. Yet it is no fault of the doctrine, but of the hearers.” Perceiving these results, Luther, in his later popular discourses, avoided giving the doctrine too much prominence, though he still reserved it in his armoury,

¹ *Hauspostille*, ap. Menzel, B. i. S. 314.

as an indispensable weapon against Rome.² There are indeed minds so crazy, or so depraved, that they will pervert anything. Many of the coarser multitude put a very gross and material construction on Luther's ideal doctrine, and adopted it, in preference to indulgences, as a salve for conscience, because it was the cheaper of the two!

The establishment of the Lutheran and Zwinglian reformations has been described in the preceding Book. Before the end of that period, a third, and, perhaps in some respects, a greater reformer, had appeared upon the scene. In the autumn of 1539, John Calvin succeeded in finally establishing himself at Geneva, which city he may be said to have ruled with all the authority of a Pope and all the power of a monarch, down to his death in 1564. It belongs not to our subject to enter into any minute discussion of his religious tenets, or to explain in what manner they differed from those of his brother reformers. It is well known that grace and predestination form the foundation of his doctrine, which he carried out more boldly, and perhaps more consistently, than Luther; and that in all respects he made so thorough a clearance of every remnant of Popery, that the Swiss Church has claimed exclusively the name of the *Reformed Church*. Nothing, to some

* As we have often referred the reader to the works of Mr. Hallam for instruction, we feel bound to caution him against the narrow and superficial view of the Reformation taken by that writer (see *Hist. of Literature*, pt. i. ch. iv. § 58 sq., and ch. vi. § 12). Mr. Hallam, who appears to have wished that the Bible should have remained a sealed book, since he finds fault with Luther for translating it, denounces the Reformation as appealing to the ignorant, and because in it "there predominated that revolutionary spirit which loves to witness destruction for its own sake, and that intoxicated self-confidence which renders folly mischievous." Never were such grave charges made with so little foundation. It was the Romish Church that appealed to ignorance; papistry lived and thrived by it alone. That the great leaders of the Reformation loved "destruction for its own sake" is an imputation which Mr. Hallam does not attempt to substantiate. It would be easy to show, on the contrary, that changes equally momentous were never carried out in so gentle a method as by Luther; inasmuch that a distinguished modern historian has not hesitated to characterise him as the

greatest conservative that ever lived. (Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iv. S. 6.) That there was a "revolutionary spirit" in the Reformation cannot be denied, if by revolution be meant a restoration of the purity of faith and worship; but this spirit was at work long before Luther's time, and indeed Mr. Hallam has himself explained that "the Reformation was prepared beforehand," and must have occurred though Luther and Zwingli had "never been born." In that case, however, how can the echoing of the voice of the best and most learned men for so long a period with propriety be styled "an intoxicated self-conceit," or denounced as "folly"? Mr. Hallam has fallen into a common fallacy of arguing from the abuse of a thing against its use, and against the doctrines of Luther because some of his followers mischievously perverted them. He cites the Anabaptists; yet the more dangerous superstitions of that sect were soon exploded. But how narrow and unphilosophical is the view that fixes solely on these local and temporary abuses, and overlooks the great and lasting benefits which the Reformation has conferred upon mankind!

minds, can be more convincing than his logic; nothing, to others, more repulsive than his system; yet all must agree in admiring the language and method in which he unfolds it. It was perhaps in part owing to the vigour and excellence of his literary style, that Calvin's influence as a reformer was much more widely felt than that of Luther or Zwingli. The Lutheran reformation travelled but little out of Germany and the neighbouring Scandinavian kingdoms; while Calvinism obtained a European character, and was adopted in all the countries that sought a reformation *from without*; as France, the Netherlands, Scotland, even England; for the early English Reformation under Edward VI. was Calvinistic, and Calvin was incontestably the father of our Puritans and Dissenters. Thus, under his rule, Geneva may be said to have become the capital of European reform.³ This result, however, was also perhaps partly owing to Calvin's connection with France, both as the place of his birth, and through its near proximity to the scene of his labours; while through France his influence was extended to the closely allied country of Scotland, and to the neighbouring Netherlands.

Although, at the period we are contemplating, the political effects of these reformations, with which alone we are concerned, had not yet developed themselves, yet it may be as well to point out their tendencies. That the movement which released the populations from the religious slavery of Rome was also favourable to civil liberty, can admit of no doubt, and it is almost exclusively among Protestant nations that a free government has been able to maintain itself. In this respect, however, a striking difference is observable between the Swiss and German reformations. The latter, as we have shown, was the reverse of democratic, and the Genevese reformer alone can be connected with the progress of civil freedom in Europe. Yet the cause of this distinction is not very obvious. It cannot well be ascribed to the more democratical constitution of the Genevese Church, or the substitution of presbyterianism for episcopacy; a cause that would hardly operate out of its own bosom; for, with regard to politics, Calvin inculcated as strongly as Luther the duty of unconditional submission to the civil power. He lays down in his *Institutes* that spiritual liberty is not inconsistent with political servitude; while of the three chief forms of government he gives, abstractedly, the preference to monarchy,

³ The superior *catholicity* of Calvinism, if such a term be not too paradoxical, will also appear from the fact, that while that creed has penetrated into Lutheran

countries, it can hardly be said that Lutheranism has made its way where the established religion was Calvinistic.

and in practice prefers an aristocracy, only from the difficulty of always finding a good and virtuous king; whence it appears, that he must have contemplated an absolute monarchy. In another passage, he maintains the divine right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience.⁴ In conformity with these principles, his own government at Geneva was narrowly oligarchical. In short, a priest is still a priest, whether at Rome or at Geneva, and the political principles of whatever church, when allowed an uncontrolled sway, will always be those of absolute submission. The resistance to the civil power among Calvin's disciples did not spring from what he taught, but from that freedom of inquiry and independence of thought which are the very spirit of the Reformation. That this resistance should have manifested itself almost exclusively among the followers of Calvin, and not those of Luther, arose not from any difference in their political principles, but from the accidents to which we have already referred, which rendered the Genevese Reformation more European.⁵

It has been observed that the Reformation was a reaction of the Teutonic mind against the Roman, and it is indeed a remarkable fact, that it has met with but little success except among populations of German origin. With these religion is more an affair of reason, while with the southern, or Romance, nations, it is a matter of feeling and imagination. Hence the latter have ever been more inclined to superstition and idolatry, and to the pomp of the Romish service, which appeals so directly to the senses; while the religion of the northern nations is more subject to degenerate into rationalism. A French historian has remarked that the Jesus of the south is either the infant Jesus in his mother's arms, or Christ on the cross; while the Jesus of the north is Christ-teaching, the Saviour bringing the Word.⁶ The former images are an appeal to our sympathy, the latter to our understanding.

The resistance of Henry VIII., in England, to the Papal power, cannot yet be called a reformation, though it may be questioned whether Henry would have proceeded to such an extremity had he not had the example of Luther's success before his eyes. England,

⁴ See *Institutions*, lib. iv. c. 20, §§ 1 and 8, 25—29, 31.

⁵ With the respective liberality of Luther and Calvin, in matters regarding religious opinion, we are not here concerned; yet it may be stated that the German was far more tolerant, or at all events far less cruelly persecuting, than the Frenchman. Luther always maintained that to burn heretics was a sin against

the Holy Ghost; and so also did Calvin, till, irritated by the opposition of Servetus, he committed him to the flames. An act approved by Melancthon, who has obtained the surname of "the Mild," apparently from the absence of those more robust and manly qualities which characterised Luther.

⁶ Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 190 sq.

however, was ripe for a reformation. The doctrines of Wiclif were far from being extinct in that country. Since the beginning of the century, the records of the bishops' courts abound with prosecutions for heresy. In 1525 we read of an "Association of Christian Brethren" in London, who employed themselves in distributing testaments and tracts.⁷ In 1527 a union of those holding Lutheran doctrines, for Calvin was not yet much known, was formed at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which may be regarded as a seminary of the new opinions.⁸

The movement of reform was not felt exclusively without the pale of the Church: it penetrated into the Church itself. Even in Rome, amid the sceptical Court of Leo X., a reaction took place. In that pontificate was established the Oratory of Divine Love, a sort of spiritual society, which numbered nearly sixty members, several of whom became cardinals, as Contarini, Sadolet, Giberto, Gianpietro Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV., and others. Their tenets, and especially that of justification by faith, bore some resemblance to Protestantism. They held their meetings in the church of S. Silvestro and St^a. Dorotea in the Trastevere, not far from the spot where St. Peter is supposed to have lived. After the sack of Rome by Bourbon's army, many of this society proceeded to Venice, at that time the only city of refuge in Italy for men of compromised opinions; for Florence was a despotism, and Milan the constant theatre of war. Among other refugees, Venice gave shelter to Cardinal Pole, who had quitted England to escape the innovations in religion made by Henry VIII.

Several orders of monks were either founded or reformed. That of the Camaldoli having become much corrupted, a new congregation of the same order, called Monte Corona, from the mountain on which its principal establishment was situated, was founded in 1522 by Paolo Giustiniani. The Franciscans were once more allowed to reform themselves, and produced the *capuccini*, or Capucins (1525), who became celebrated as preachers. Remarkable among the new orders was that of the THEATINES, founded by two members of the Oratory of Divine Love, Caraffa and Gaetano da Thiene, afterwards canonised. The Theatines were priests, not monks, though they took the monastic vows. The order became in time peculiar to the nobility,—a seminary of bishops. The Barnabites, founded by Zaccaria Ferrari and Morigia at Milan, were designed to mitigate the evils of war by works of charity and beneficence.⁹

⁷ Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 26.

⁸ Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 416.

⁹ Ranke, *Popes*, bk. ii. ch. i. (Mrs. Austin's transl.)

But of all these new institutions that of the JESUITS was by far the most remarkable and important.

Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, the youngest son of the noble house of Loyola, born in the castle of that name in Guipuscoa, was destined to the profession of arms, and was bred up at the Court of King Ferdinand, and in the suite of the Duke of Najara. Spanish chivalry had imbibed a strong religious colour from the Moorish wars, and Inigo, or Ignatius, whose temperament naturally inclined him to devotion, had composed in early youth a romance, of which the hero was the first apostle. His wound at Pampluna, and the course of religious reading on which he entered during his convalescence, have been already related.¹⁰ When his strength was recruited he journeyed to Montserrat, where, hanging up his lance and shield before the image of the Virgin, after the fashion of the secular knight-errant, putting off his knightly accoutrements, clothing himself in the coarse raiment of the hermits of those mountains, and taking in his hand the pilgrim's staff, he sank before the image in prayer. He afterwards shut himself up in a Dominican convent at Manresa, where his conduct seemed influenced by the delusions of insanity, being marked as well by an inclination to suicide as by imaginary revelations of the most extraordinary kind. If, however, it was madness, it was not without a method. He was conscious that his zeal would be useless without learning; he felt his deficiency in theological attainments; and at the mature age of thirty-seven he repaired to the University of Paris, the last stronghold of scholasticism, to devote himself to the seven years' course of study necessary to graduate in theology (1528 — 1535). Here he met his first two disciples, Peter Faber, a Savoyard, and Francesco Xavier of Pampluna; and their little society was afterwards joined by three other Spaniards, Salmeron, Lainez, and Bobadilla. In 1537 we find Loyola at Venice, where he attached himself to Caraffa, who had founded there a convent of Theatines. But so mild a superstition did not satisfy Loyola's zeal, who was still influenced by his early military ideas, and pleased himself with the thoughts of making war upon Satan. He and his companions enrolled themselves, like soldiers, in a company, which they called the Company of Jesus; and as obedience is one of the first of military duties, they added that vow to those which they had already taken of poverty and chastity, and bound themselves blindly and unhesitatingly to perform whatever the Pope should command. With these views they proceeded to

¹⁰ See Vol. I. p. 407.

Rome to offer their services to the Pontiff, and in 1540 obtained a limited sanction to their order, which, three years afterwards, was followed by a complete one.

As the monastic dress of the regular orders, and the singularity of their whole existence, which had made so strong an impression in the middle ages, had now lost all their charm and influence, except with the lowest and most ignorant classes, and had become, on the contrary, an object of repulsion and ridicule, the Jesuits resolved to adapt themselves to this new state of feeling, and to spread their influence in the world by becoming its instructors. With this view they rejected all monastic habits, placed themselves under a general elected for life, and devoted themselves to the pulpit, the confessional, and the education of youth. Thus, out of the visionary dreams of Loyola, at length arose an institution of singular practical utility, and which may be said to have been one of the main supports of the Papacy since the Reformation.

In 1542 Loyola assisted Caraffa in establishing the inquisition at Rome, where the ancient Dominican inquisition had long fallen into decay. Rules of remarkable severity were drawn up for the guidance of this tribunal, and the priestly as well as the military principle of unreasoning submission, to which Loyola had subjected himself and his order, was also established in this court. Woe to the wretch who ventured to defend himself! To attempt it was to resist justice; and any person who tried to clear himself, or sought the protection of any prelate or potentate, was only treated with the greater severity. He who confesses indeed is also guilty; but he is contrite, humiliated, obedient, and may therefore be absolved. Thus the main object of the institution was to break down and subdue all resistance, and the inquisition became an instrument, not of justice, but of conquest and domination over the human soul.¹¹

The necessity of some concession to the new ideas had penetrated the mind of the Pope himself. In 1537 Paul III., in anticipation of the assembly of the promised general council, issued a bull for the reformation of the city of Rome and of the Papal Court; a measure opposed by Schomberg, a German, and Cardinal of S. Sisto, on the ground that it would afford a handle to the enemies of the Church, and be quoted by them in justification of reform. It was, however, supported by Caraffa, whose advice at first prevailed. A commission of nine cardinals was appointed, with Contarini at their head; in whose report, of which Luther published a trans-

¹¹ Caracciolo, *MS. Vita di Paolo IV.* ap. Ranke, *Popes*, B. i. S. 212; Michelet, *Riforme*, p. 434.

lation with biting marginal notes, abuses are candidly exposed, and liberal propositions made for their amendment. It is a curious fact that the commission recommended the abolition of the conventual orders; a measure actually adopted by the French National Assembly in 1791. They also proposed some useful measures of reform, as well as some repressive ones; but no practical effect followed from their recommendations.¹²

• Latin Christianity was however effete: care might preserve its remnants, but could never restore its pristine glory. The old political ideas which it had once inspired were dying out, even in countries which still remained Roman Catholic; of the truth of which there cannot be a stronger instance than the alliance of Francis I. with the Turk. The same progress which had destroyed feudalism destroyed also the prestige of Rome. To this general observation, however, Spain affords a remarkable exception. While light was arising in other countries, Spain retrograded in darkness. The scholastic philosophy was first domiciled there, when it was being fast expelled from the rest of Europe. With the view of rendering the high school of Paris not indispensable to Spaniards, Alfonso de Cordova introduced the Nominalist doctrine at Salamanca, and at the same time Francisco de Vittoria the Realist, as something new. The latter found the greater number of disciples, and from his school proceeded the most famous theologians.¹³ Both in Spanish theology and literature, the exclusive doctrines of the Latin Church continued to flourish. Although Erasmus enjoyed the favour of the Court, Diego Lopez Zuniga made it the business of his life to attack the innovations of that author; and in 1527, two Dominicans having formally indicted the writings of Erasmus of heresy before the Spanish inquisition, his *Colloquies*, *Praise of Folly*, and *Paraphrase of the New Testament* were condemned.

As the spiritual authority of the Popes was broken by Luther and the Reformation, so also their temporal power received a great blow under Clement VII. through Bourbon's capture of Rome, and Clement's consequent subjection to the Emperor. After this period, the Popes pretty well abandoned their pretension of deposing monarchs, of the exercise of which but very few instances subsequently occur. The same causes acted on the material pros-

¹² P. Sarpi, *Hist. Conc. Trident.* lib. i. p. 77 (*Opera*, t. i. ed. 1671); the Report of the Commission (*Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia*), in Le Plat, *Monum. Trident.* t. ii. pp. 596—605. Luther's translation is in his *Werke*, B. xvi. S. 2394 ff. The Report was to have been kept secret, but the

Cardinal S. Sisto sent a copy into Germany, it is supposed with the privity of the Pope.

¹³ Nic. Antonii *Biblioth. Hisp.* sub voc. *Franciscus*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iii. S. 112.

perity of Rome. That city had flourished under the profuse and splendid government of Leo X., who, by a liberal commercial policy, the abrogation of monopolies and encouragement of free trade, had made it the resort of Italian merchants; while his generous patronage of art and letters rendered it the capital of the polite and learned of all nations. After the sack of the city and its other calamities in the pontificate of Clement VII., its inhabitants were reduced, when Paulus Jovius wrote, from 85,000 to 32,000.¹⁴ The glory of that brilliant literature and art, which obtained for the pontificate of Leo X. the distinction of an epoch, it lies not within our plan to describe.¹⁵

In resuming the progress of maritime discovery, we may notice that the grand idea of Columbus—a passage to India by a western navigation—was realised in 1520, but by a much more circuitous route than might have been anticipated. In that year Magellan, or Magelhaëns, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, coasted the continent of South America, doubled its southern extremity, and gained the Chinese and Indian seas by traversing that great Pacific Ocean which Balboa had discovered. Magellan was slain at the Philippine Isles, but his companions continued the voyage. At the Moluccas, they fell in with the astonished Portuguese; and returning to Spain by the Cape of Good Hope, they completed the first circumnavigation of the globe.

The papal boundary between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions might now have fallen into jeopardy, had there not been verge enough in the unexplored countries of America to employ all the strength of Spain without quarrelling about the Indies. Grijalva had discovered, in 1518, the existence of a civilised empire in the North American continent, and in the following year Fernando Cortes undertook with a few hundred men the conquest of Mexico. The Mexicans, although much superior in courage as well as civilisation to the tribes of Hayti and Cuba, or even to the ferocious Caribs, yet wanted, like them, the three most terrible and effective appliances of war—iron, gunpowder, and horses. In three years the conquest was completed, and Mexico became New Spain. A few years later one of the companions of Balboa, Francisco Pizarro, together with his brothers, subdued the still richer and more important empire of Peru. The subjugation of Quito, Chili, Terra Firma, and New Granada, followed in quick

¹⁴ Jovii *Vita Leon. X.* lib. iv. p. 95 (ed. 1551).

¹⁵ The English reader will find an account of the state of learning and art in

the age of Leo X. in Roscoe's *Life* of that Pontiff, and in Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*.

succession (1529—1535). The wealth of these countries exceeded the hopes of the most sanguine. Pizarro, who had been a shepherd's boy, and was unable to read, became the governor and almost the sovereign of an immense kingdom; and adventurers, who had carried nothing with them but their swords, suddenly acquired enormous fortunes.¹⁶

Meanwhile, on the eastern side of South America, the Portuguese had founded the empire of Brazil, which had fallen to them by the treaty of Tordesillas, and which was destined one day to rival the possessions of the Spaniards in that continent.¹⁷ The Portuguese also went on extending their conquests and settlements in Asia, the details of which it does not belong to our plan to narrate; and it may therefore suffice to observe that their possessions in that quarter ultimately embraced the Deccan, Cambay, and Guzerat, with many places on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as well as in Bengal, Macassar, and Malacca, and the important islands of Ceylon, the Moluccas and others.¹⁸ They had also a considerable intercourse with China; and in 1517 a Portuguese ambassador went by land from Canton to Peking.

The only attempt at colonisation on the part of any other European power, was that made by the French in the northern parts of America. It was not till 1524 that the French government entertained the idea of aiding private enterprise in the New World. In that year Verazzano, a Florentine, sailed to North America under the auspices of Francis I., and reconnoitred the coast which had previously been discovered by Cabot, from Cape Breton down to Florida. In 1534, Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, ascertained that Newfoundland was an island, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the mouth of the river of that name, which in the following year he ascended, and discovered Canada as far as the site where Quebec subsequently stood. North America now received the name of New France. In 1540, Cartier returned to America, but under the command of a Picard gentleman named Roberval, whom Francis had appointed viceroy of Canada. But though a colony was established at Cape Breton, the severity of the climate, the want of resources, and the neglect of the government caused the enterprise to fail, and it was not renewed till the reign of Henry IV.

¹⁶ Besides Dr. Robertson and the Abbé Raynal, some of whose facts have been overthrown by more recent researches, the reader should consult for the history of Cortes and Pizarro Mr. Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico and Peru*.

¹⁷ The history of Brazil has been written by Southey.

¹⁸ See on this subject Barros, *Decadas de Asia*; Lafitau, *Hist. des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais*; Snafield, *Gesch. des Portugiesischen Colonialwesens in Ost-indien*, Göttingen, 1810.

With regard to the history of Europe, the most important consideration resulting from these discoveries and conquests is their effect upon commerce.

The Portuguese, who came directly into contact with large and populous nations far advanced in civilisation and possessing valuable products and manufactures fitted to become at once the objects of trade, reaped immediate benefit from their enterprises. Hence Portugal became wealthy and prosperous in an incredibly short space of time, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century had reached the greatest height of its prosperity; which it continued to enjoy till the death of its romantic king, Don Sebastian, in 1578, and the subsequent transfer of Portugal to the Spanish crown.

The Spaniards, on the contrary, in their first discoveries found a simple uncivilised race, who, having only the commonest wants of life, so easily satisfied in those climates, could offer little but a few natural products in the way of trade and barter. The value of the West Indies as plantations has principally arisen from the culture of articles introduced by Europeans, and especially the sugar cane brought from the Canaries, or by extending the growth of indigenous products, as tobacco, indigo, cochineal, cotton, ginger, cocoa, pimento, and other articles. The profitable development of such plantations was, however, necessarily a work of time, and in this dearth of the materials of commerce, the attention of the Spanish settlers was naturally directed to procure the precious metals. The avidity of Columbus in this search is the chief blot upon his character; nor was the *auri sacra fames* rendered any better by being covered over with the somewhat threadbare and transparent mantle of religion. His system of *repartimientos*, or assignments of large tracts of land to his followers, and with them the unfortunate natives as slaves, led to the greatest cruelties. The wretched inhabitants were at once baptized and enslaved. The miseries of the Creoles awakened the compassion of a Spanish priest, the humane Bartholomew Las Casas. Unfortunately, however, benevolence was capricious in that age as well as in our own; and as the natives of the Antilles were a feeble race, unable to endure the labours imposed upon them, Las Casas suggested the substitution of the negroes of Africa in their place, and thus introduced the slave trade.

The cruelty of the Spaniards in their search after gold had the most disastrous effects on the population of the New World. The natives of the Antilles soon disappeared altogether. Hayti, which is said to have numbered 100,000 inhabitants, was depopulated in fif-

teen years. Many escaped by suicide from the hands of their savage task-masters. In Mexico and Peru, whole populations were torn from their native valleys to work the mines in cold and sterile mountain-tracts, where they perished by thousands. In these countries, however, the original inhabitants were not entirely exterminated, but formed, in process of time, the basis of the Spanish-American population.

From the contradictory nature of the accounts, it is very difficult to estimate the first effects of the discovery of the West Indies on the prosperity of Spain. Zuniga says¹⁹ that the returns of gold were so large before the close of the fifteenth century as to affect currency and prices. Bernaldez, on the other hand, says, that so little gold had been brought from Hispaniola at the same date as to lead to the belief that there was scarcely any in the island. This statement seems the more probable one. The complaints of meagre returns were general, and some writers say that the expenses of the colonies ate up the profits. A great advance, however, was made after the appointment of Ovando as governor in 1502. Through his vigorous administration the four founderies established in Hispaniola are said to have yielded, in 1506, 450,000 ounces of gold. It should be observed, however, that Herrera²⁰ computes the annual value of the gold brought from Hispaniola about the year 1508, at 460,000 pieces of eight, which would be only a little more than 100,000*l.* sterling.

It is stated that the ordinary revenue of Castile, which in 1474 was only 885,000 reals, had risen in 1504 to upwards of 26,000,000 reals, being an increase of more than thirtyfold.²¹ But this increase must not be entirely ascribed to the discovery of America. In this period the rich kingdom of Granada had been annexed to the Spanish crown; and through the instrumentality of the inquisition much had been extorted from the unfortunate Jews and Moriscos. The home manufactures and productions of Spain had also increased. The first flowing in of the precious metals was of course favourable to industry and served to develop her trade and manufactures. In 1438 a breed of English sheep had been obtained for Castile²²; the Spanish wool soon became famous, and supplied material for the home manufacture of cloth. During the reigns of Charles and his successor, Segovia was celebrated for fine cloth and arms, Granada and Valencia for silks and velvets, Toledo for woollen and silken fabrics, Valladolid for

¹⁹ *Annales de Sevilla*, ap. Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.* vol. ii. p. 463.

²⁰ Ap. Macpherson, *Annals of Com-*

merce, vol. ii. p. 32.

²¹ Prescott, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 460.

²² Macpherson, vol. i. p. 655.

plate, Barcelona for glass and fine cutlery : Spanish ships were to be seen in all the ports of the Mediterranean and the Baltic.²³ It must be remembered too that the revenue of the Spanish crown was not solely derived from taxes, but that it entered into partnership on the most favourable footing with the traders and adventurers to America, besides reserving to itself the exclusive property in all minerals, dyewoods, and precious stones. As Isabella had bequeathed to Ferdinand half the revenues of America, he did all he could to increase them by promoting discovery and colonisation.

The effect of the importation of the precious metals was not much felt in Europe generally till the second half of the sixteenth century, at which time it is thought that the circulating medium had been doubled, and the price of commodities of course rose in proportion. The Spanish government had in vain endeavoured to keep the precious metals at home. Commerce was ill understood in that age. Gold and silver, instead of being regarded as commodities merely of relative value in exchange, were considered as constituting absolute wealth.²⁴ This view was not peculiar to Spain, but was shared by the rest of Europe. It is surprising how long a time mankind take to discover principles which, when once known, seem only the most plain and obvious dictates of common sense; a reflection which naturally suggests how much absurdity must have been vented in the discussion of those incomprehensible questions which engrossed at this time the attention of the religious world. In the first case, however, men only suffered in their comforts or their pockets; in the latter they were frequently burnt alive. Morton, the Chancellor of Henry VII., in addressing the English Parliament in 1487, advised them to provide that all merchandise brought from beyond sea should be exchanged for the commodities of the country, in order that the King's treasure might not be diminished. Thus the sole end of trade was thought to be to export products and manufactures, and to keep all the gold that paid for them in the country.²⁵ Acting on the same principle, Spain, in order to retain her treasure, prohibited foreign commerce, and laid exorbitant duties even on raw materials imported and manufactured articles exported.²⁶

The commerce with India acted as a drain upon the gold and silver imported from the New World, and except for that discovery

²³ Prescott, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 439.

²⁴ Antonio Serra, a Calabrian, who flourished early in the seventeenth century, appears to have been the first writer who entertained any just notions on commercial and monetary questions. Twiss,

View of the Progress of Political Economy in Europe, Lecture i.

²⁵ Craik's *Hist. of British Commerce*, vol. i. p. 200.

²⁶ Twiss, *loc. cit.*

could not have been carried on to any great extent. The Portuguese were obliged to pay for Indian products and manufactures in cash, as there was little demand in Asia for European commodities.

The sudden and accidental increase of wealth, or rather of its conventional signs in Spain, involved individuals as well as the government in the most fatal illusions. The reigns of Charles and his son Philip II. were the era of a baseless and short-lived prosperity, which was displayed in the manner of life of the Spaniards. Sumptuous palaces and superb public buildings arose, with all the accompaniments of fountains, aqueducts, and gardens; the style of architecture was improved, and a school of painting and sculpture founded; even literature participated in the general movement. There were at that period more printing-presses in Spain than are to be found at the present day, while the Universities of Barcelona, Salamanca, and Alcalà swarmed with students. But there was a worm at the root of all this prosperity, and that was the national indolence, which bigotry, monachism, pride, and partly, perhaps, the climate, combined to foster. This idleness, together with wrong principles of trade, ruined the manufactures of Spain, and rendered her dependent for them on other countries. The absence of foreign competition, and the establishment of monopolies, helped to injure commerce. The gold which Spain had purchased with so many crimes passed gradually from her hands, and already before the end of the sixteenth century the process of ruin and depopulation had commenced. Seville and its environs, where the American commerce was concentrated, counted at the beginning of Philip II.'s reign, 16,000 looms of woollen and silk stuffs, which gave employment to 130,000 persons; and before the end of Philip III.'s reign, a period of little more than sixty years, Seville numbered only 400 looms.²⁷

Let us now turn our view to the general commerce of Europe, before the discovery of America, and the passage by the Cape of Good Hope.

The Saracens had very early established a great maritime trade at Barcelona, which they carried on in vessels called *cogs*, which were so large that they had sometimes three decks. The traces of this commerce are still observable in the Catalan dialect, from the many Arab words relating to trade. The Barcelonese are remarkable for the improvements which they introduced into commerce. It was they who first made laws for the regulation of marine

²⁷ Campomanes and Ustariz, ap. Robertson, *Hist. of America*, book viii. note xxiv. :

insurance, and established, in 1401, a bank of exchange and deposit called *Taula de Cambi*, or table of exchange.²⁸ The bank of Venice, to which we shall have occasion to advert further on, had indeed been established before this date, but on quite a different principle. The bank of Genoa, or chamber of St. George, dates from 1407, and was, like that of Venice, originally designed to manage the capital of the public debt, though it afterwards became also a trading company. The bank of Barcelona soon rose to be a great commercial authority, and in 1404 we find it appealed to by the magistrates of Bruges, respecting the usage of bills of exchange.²⁹ But one of the greatest services rendered to the commercial world by Barcelona was its maritime laws, to which we shall have occasion to advert further on.

The principal trading cities of the Mediterranean, besides Barcelona, were Venice and Genoa. After the Florentines had acquired the port of Leghorn in 1425, they also began to compete with the Venetians in the eastern trade carried on through Alexandria, in which the Medici were deeply concerned.³⁰ But of all these cities, Venice, by the extent of its traffic, stood conspicuously at the head.

Previously to the fourteenth century the route for Indian commodities had lain through Bagdad to Antioch and Licia, on the Mediterranean; and according to Marino Sanuto, a noble Venetian, in his work entitled *Libri Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*³¹, addressed to the Pope in 1321, its path, for bulky goods at least, was first diverted in his time to Alexandria, in which it continued down to the latest period. Some idea of the wealth and commerce of the Queen of the Adriatic, in the early part of the fifteenth century, is afforded by a speech of the Doge Tommas Mocenigo, in 1418. He states the estimated value of the exports at ten million ducats, the profits on which were reckoned at four millions. One of the chief articles of Venetian export was the cloth of Florence, which they distributed to the rest of Italy and to the East; while the Florentines took in return the goods imported by the Venetians. The marine of Venice consisted of 3000 small vessels, carrying 17,000 seamen, or on an average something under six each; 300 ships carrying 8000 men, or about 27 each; and 45 galleys of various sizes, formidable vessels, with crews of 11,000 men, or on an average of 244 each. The houses in Venice, were estimated

²⁸ Capmany, *Memorias Historicas de Barcelona*, ap. Macpherson, vol. i. p. 612.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 615.

³⁰ Roscoe, *Lorenzo de Medici*, vol. i,

p. 136.

³¹ Published in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, edited by Bongarsius, tom. ii. Hanov. 1611.

at seven million ducats, and their rents at half a million.³² These particulars show an accuracy of statistical details in the Venetian government, which at that early period might perhaps be sought elsewhere in vain.³³

As the overland transit of Indian commodities not only involved great expense in itself, but was also further burthened by the customs demanded by the sovereigns of Egypt, it is easy to see how great a blow the discovery of the maritime passage must have inflicted on Venetian commerce. It continued, however, to exist, though in a declining state. After the conquest of Egypt by Selim I., in 1517, the Turkish Sultans obtained a direct interest in this trade, which they in fact commanded; and it has been remarked by the Abbé Raynal that, but for the route by the Cape of Good Hope, they would have grown so great by that monopoly as to become altogether irresistible. After Selim's conquest, the Venetians hastened to conclude with him a commercial treaty, the principal object of which was to ruin the Portuguese, by laying heavy duties on their commodities, while the privileges of the Venetians were extended. This method, however, availed but little against the advantages enjoyed by the Portuguese, and the Venetians endeavoured to effect a compromise by offering King Emmanuel of Portugal, in 1521, to buy at a fixed price all the spices over and above what was required for the home consumption of that kingdom: but the Portuguese government was too prudent to sacrifice the advantage which it had acquired. In 1538, Sultan Solymán fitted out a formidable fleet in the Red Sea to drive the Portuguese from their new settlement in India; but the enterprise failed. It appears from the computation of a merchant named Munn³⁴ that the Venetians could not sell goods brought by the overland route at much less than three times their original cost, while the freight by the Cape of Good Hope would not be much more than half their first value: from which it follows that the Portuguese would be able to sell the commodities of India at half the price required by the Venetians; a state of things which was necessarily followed by a decline of the Venetian trade. There were other causes that acted in favour of the Portuguese. The settlements which they founded in India enabled them to command its markets and thus to forestall the Venetians. These settlements, indeed, it took some time to establish; but the Portuguese forts and factories were ultimately dotted along the coasts

³² Sanuto, *Vite de' Duchi*, in Muratori, *Scritt.* t. xxii. p. 959.

³³ The principal work on Venetian commerce is Marini, *Storia civile e politica*

del Commercio de' Veneziani, published in 1789.

³⁴ Apud Robertson, *Hist. Disquisition on Anc. India*, § iv.

from the Cape of Good Hope to the Canton River, and in many of the islands from Madagascar to the Moluccas. Nor must we overlook the severe wound inflicted on Venice by the wars which followed the League of Cambray.

By the commercial revolution produced through these events, the general interests of Europe were undoubtedly promoted; yet the decline of Venice was in some respects to be lamented. At the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, that republic was the centre of liberal ideas, which there found their best home. Yet in spite of this tolerance, the strength of the Venetian government offered a model for the study even of despotic princes; and it was this quality rather than its liberality which procured it the praises of Machiavel and La Boétie.³⁵

The liberality of Venice was also displayed in the encouragement of the press. Printing had not been invented many years when, in 1469, the Venetians invited to their city the printers Wendelin of Spire, John of Cologne, and Nicholas Janson. Twenty years later Aldus Manutius began his labours, who effected a revolution in the book trade by discarding the pedantic folio for the more convenient octavo, of which only few had been printed before, and thus rendering literature more popular. Venetian books soon became an article of trade, but before the end of the fifteenth century, the English printers had begun to compete with them, as appears from the following *colophon* to a Latin translation of the Epistles of Phalaris published at Oxford in 1485:—

Celatos, Veneti, nobis transmittere libros
Cedite; nos aliis vendimus, O Veneti.³⁶

We have already alluded to the bank of Venice. In the twelfth century the republic having contracted a large debt through its wars, the Doge Vitale Michel II. forced a loan from its most opulent citizens, which was funded at four per cent. interest, and a "Chamber of Loans" established. This is the earliest instance of the funding system. The creditors became subsequently incorporated into a company, and by the increase of commerce was gradually developed, about 1171, the Bank of Venice.³⁷

In the 'middle ages there had been a considerable overland traffic between Venice and Germany, yet always subject to many casualties and interruptions. The Scalas often seized the goods which passed through the Veronese, in order that the merchants might be compelled to purchase a free transit for them; and the

³⁵ Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 150.

³⁷ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*,

³⁶ Middleton's *Origin of Printing in England*, p. 11. vol. i. p. 341.

Tyrolese Government had, a regular commissary at Augsburg to collect customs dues, which were also sometimes exacted by the Emperor.

The great rise of prices observed in Germany between the years 1516 and 1522 excited universal discontent. The price of some of the best India spices was quadrupled. Various causes were assigned for this rise; the increased demand for such articles, the Venetian war, which had broken up old connections, the fall in the value of money consequent on the importation of gold and silver from America, and above all the monopolies by which the trade of Germany was conducted. In 1522 the Diet passed a resolution forbidding associations with a larger capital than 50,000 florins, in order that the smaller houses might be able to compete. At the same time a comprehensive plan was formed of an Imperial customs system, by which the frontiers of the empire, in which the Netherlands were included, were to be enclosed in a line of custom houses. Articles of the first necessity, as corn, wine, beer, cattle, &c., were to be left untaxed, and all other exports or imports were to pay an *ad valorem* duty of four per cent. But this grand plan of centralisation by the Imperial council was opposed by the German cities, who sent an embassy to Charles at Valladolid in 1523, and persuaded him to withhold his assent to it.³⁸

The German commercial league of the Hansa continued to exist, though in a declining state, through the whole of the sixteenth century, till it was at last demolished by the Thirty Years' War. In the middle of the sixteenth century it still comprehended between sixty and seventy towns. The Hansa was divided into four districts or regions, at the head of which stood Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic. Lubeck was the head of the league, which in the early part of the century was still vigorous enough to make war on neighbouring states. In 1509 some of its towns engaged in hostilities with John, King of Denmark, captured his fleet at Helsingör, and carried off his bells, which they hung in their chapels. In 1511 the Lubeck fleet returned into harbour with eighteen Dutch ships which they had captured. The Lubeckers also frequently seized many a robber knight in the midst of his court.

The Hansa had factories in foreign countries, of which the principal were London, Bruges, Novgorod in Russia, and Bergen in Norway. After the Thirty Years' War, only Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen again united. Such a league could only be necessary

³⁸ Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 127 f.

in the infancy of commerce to protect it against feudalism; but it had answered a good purpose in its time, and it may be remarked that in Germany, as elsewhere, the Hanse, or commercial towns, and especially Nuremberg, were the great centres of liberal opinions, as well as of literature and art.³⁹

The Austrian possessions in the Netherlands opened an outlet for German maritime trade, carried on by the great commercial houses in Augsburg and Nuremberg, which engaged in the East India, and afterwards in the West India trade. Hence, in part, the rise of Antwerp.⁴⁰ But the Netherlands had owed their first prosperity chiefly to manufactures, drawing the raw materials from other countries,—silk from Italy, wool from England,—and dispersing through Europe their manufactured goods. Bruges, though smaller than Ghent, was more splendid, and the seat of a greater trade. During the middle ages the great manufacturing and trading cities of Flanders were far from being under the absolute control of the Earl, and often acted as independent communities. They sometimes entered into separate treaties for themselves, as for instance Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, with King Edward II. in 1325; and the Earl frequently required them to be parties to treaties which he made with other Sovereigns.⁴¹ Charles V. struck a fatal blow at Ghent when he deprived it of its liberties. After the discovery of the maritime route to India, both that city and Bruges yielded to the rising prosperity of Antwerp, which thrived upon its great trade with Lisbon. The latter metropolis, although the staple for East Indian commodities, neglected to push the advantage which she had thus acquired by becoming the distributor of them through Europe. Other nations were obliged to fetch from Lisbon, in their own vessels, the goods which they needed; a circumstance detrimental to the Portuguese by discouraging their own marine, and awakening the competition of foreigners. In the course of the fifteenth century Amsterdam had also risen to considerable importance, chiefly through the herring fishery; but its great transmarine commerce did not commence till the following century. William Benkels, or Benkelens, of Biervliet, in Flanders, who died about 1447, has enjoyed the reputation of having first cured herrings; and Charles V. and his sister Mary are said to have paid a visit to his tomb, and to have offered up prayers for his soul as a benefactor of his country.

³⁹ The principal work on the Hanseatic League is that of Sartorius, *Urkundliche Geschichte des Ursprunges der Deutschen Hansa*, edited by Lappenberg, Hamburg, 1830.

⁴⁰ Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, B. i. S. 212.

⁴¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, t. iv. pp. 147, 151, 188, &c.

Their devotions might have been dedicated to a less worthy object; yet it is certain that the method of curing herrings was known centuries before the time of Benkelens, though he may perhaps have introduced some improvements into the process.⁴²

The assigning of the Azores by King Alphonso of Portugal to his aunt the Duchess of Burgundy as a dowry must have given an impulse to the navigation of the Low Countries⁴³; and the flag of Duke Philip might be seen in the Levant. But, though industrious and enterprising, the Flemings, as we have before had occasion to remark, were also sensual and luxurious. They delighted in banquets and festivals, and an extreme licentiousness prevailed in their warm baths, or *bagnios*, which were very numerous, and were converted into resorts of seduction and profligacy. All the arts of luxury had risen to a great pitch in Flanders; but at the same time the fine arts were not neglected, and music, architecture, and painting flourished. Thus Flemish life presented a strange contrast of magnificence and grossness, and may be not unaptly compared to the pictures of Rubens beside those of the Italian school, equal in vigour of drawing and colouring, but deficient in grace and form.

France could offer nothing to match the opulence and splendour of Flemish life. Machiavelli has observed the want of money in the former kingdom⁴⁴; and Louis XI., himself the plainest; not to say the shabbiest, of monarchs in his way of life, restrained by sumptuary laws the finery of his subjects. Yet in the first half of the fifteenth century, French commerce had received a wonderful impulse from the genius and energy of Jacques Cœur. The son of a skinner at Bourges, who gave him but little education, Cœur became connected in 1427 with a mint in the south of France, the whole of whose conductors were convicted of issuing a depreciated coinage, but were dismissed on payment of a heavy fine. Cœur now directed his attention to foreign trade. He visited Italy, Greece, Syria, and Egypt, and determined to vie with the Italians in the commerce of the Levant. He established his operations at Montpellier, which city had received from Pope Urban V. permission to trade with the infidels, and whence there was a communication by canal to the port of Lattes.⁴⁵ As Provence was not yet French, Cœur was obliged to revive the marine of Languedoc, but at the

⁴² In 1339 King Edward III. ordered five lasts of red herrings at Yarmouth, which had long been famous for them: Macpherson, vol. i. p. 525. See on this subject Petit, *Chronique de Hollande*, t. i. p. 184. There are accounts of the herring

fishery on the coast of Norway as early as 978: Macpherson, *l. c.*

⁴³ Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Hist. de Flandres*, ap. Martin, t. vii. p. 17.

⁴⁴ *Ritratti di Francia*.

⁴⁵ Since superseded by Cette.

same time he established a subsidiary house at Marseilles, when he obtained the rights of citizenship. His commerce embraced articles of all sorts, as stuffs, spices, metals, and also included banking operations, so that his house rivalled that of the Medici; his business was conducted by 300 factors, and his establishments were planted over the coasts of the Mediterranean, whose trade he disputed with the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the Catalans. No commercial operations have been seen in France on such a scale before or since. But these great monopolies display the infancy of commerce, and in France as in Germany they were complained of by the smaller traders. Cœur was at last ruined by a court intrigue in 1456.

Louis XI. patronised the trading part of the community, and under the paternal government of Louis XII. France also made considerable progress: internal prosperity was accompanied with an increase of foreign commerce. A contemporary author⁴⁶ says that the French merchants then made less difficulty in going to Rome, Naples, or London than formerly to Lyon or Geneva. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Lyon was still the centre of traffic between Italy, France, England, Flanders, and Germany. It first began to be known as a manufacturing town in the fourteenth century, though it had long before been famed for its commerce and for its August fairs. At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, the Florentines had a great share in the trade of Lyon; and even in 1548 it still numbered thirty-seven respectable Florentine houses. Charles V. in his war with Henry II. gave its prosperity a great blow by forbidding his subjects to visit its fair, and at the same time by opening the fair of Augsburg.⁴⁷ The manufacture of silk was introduced at Lyon about 1521, workmen being brought from Milan for the purpose.⁴⁸

The English do not appear to have paid much attention to commerce till towards the close of the fifteenth century. All the great commercial operations seem in early times to have been carried on in that country by foreigners. Thus in 1329 the English customs were farmed by the Bardi of Florence for 20*l.* a day; and London, with regard to foreign trade, was little more than a *dépôt* of the Hansa, and had a Teutonic Guildhall. Even so late as 1518 we find a riot in London on the complaint that all the trade was monopolised by foreigners. Some progress had, however, begun to be made under Richard III., and out of

⁴⁶ Seyssel, ap. Martin, t. vii. p. 379.

⁴⁷ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*,

⁴⁸ Reumont, in Raumer's *Taschenbuch*, vol. ii. p. 59.

1841; S. 482.

fifteen acts passed by the only parliament of that reign (1484) no fewer than seven relate to commerce. In 1485 we find an English consul appointed at Pisa, a fact which betokens some Mediterranean trade. There appears to have been some commerce between England and the Levant as early as 1511, and in 1513 Henry VIII. appointed a consul at Scio.⁴⁹ But, on the whole, England, at the period which we are contemplating, though destined ultimately so far to outstrip the other European nations in a commercial career, seems to have been far behind most of them.

In those early ages, maritime commerce was much infested by pirates; nor was piracy exercised by professional robbers alone. The temptation of opportunity, and the facility of escape in the then comparative solitude of the seas, were inducements to which even the regular trader frequently yielded when he found himself the stronger. The records that can be collected respecting maritime commerce in the middle ages display a succession of piracies and murders committed by the sailors of almost every country. The seamen of different ports often made war upon one another, although the states to which they respectively belonged were at profound peace. In 1309, two judges were appointed to assess the damages committed on one another at sea by the citizens of Bayonne, the subjects of King Edward II., and the Castilians, and to punish the offenders. In 1315, we find the people of Calais committing piracy near Margate. It must be confessed that England, in modern times so distinguished for maintaining the police of the seas, was formerly not among the least offenders in this way. In 1311, the piracies and murders committed by the sailors of Lynn on the coast of Norway provoked retaliations on the part of King Hacon. The Cinque Ports seem to have acted together as an independent maritime confederacy, and were often at war with the Flemings, when England and the Netherlands were at peace. In 1470, some Spanish merchants complained to King Edward IV. of piracies committed by the men of Sandwich, Dartmouth, Southampton, and Fowey. The extent of these disorders is manifest from the frequency of the treaties respecting them. Thus, for instance, we find in 1498 a treaty between Louis XII. and Henry VII., the ratification of a previous one, by which shipowners were to give security in double the value of their ships and cargo that they would not commit piracy; also a stipulation of the same kind in the treaty with Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1500, for the marriage of Prince Arthur and the infanta Catherine; another

⁴⁹ Macpherson, vol. i. pp. 508, 705; vol. ii. pp. 40, 46, 52.

agreement to the like effect between Henry VIII. and Francis I., in 1518⁵⁰; &c. &c.

Barcelona has the credit of having promulgated the first generally received code for the regulation of the seas, the *Consolato del Mare*, supposed to have been published in the latter part of the fourteenth century.⁵¹ According to M. Pardessus, it is not, however, an authoritative code so much as a collection or record declaring the customs of the maritime nations which surrounded the Mediterranean, in the same way as the *Jugemens* or *Rôles d'Oléron* became the rule for the nations situated on the Atlantic. The Mediterranean provinces of France and Spain appear to have possessed codes of maritime jurisprudence before the *Consolato* was published; but being written in Latin, they were for the most part a dead letter to those seafaring and commercial classes for which they were intended. The authors of the *Consolato* were deeply versed in Roman law as well as in the principles of modern jurisprudence, and these being expressed in the *Consolato* in a familiar and practical manner, and in a dialect universally understood in those parts, it soon acquired general adoption. It was long thought to be of Italian origin, but M. Pardessus has shown that it originated in Catalonia, the earliest manuscripts and even editions of it being in the Romance language, spoken in that province in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and which still prevails there. Embracing not only the elements of civil contracts relating to trade and navigation, but also the leading principles of belligerent and neutral rights in time of war, it has formed the basis of French maritime jurisprudence in modern times, and especially of the marine ordinance of Louis XIV. in 1681.

The general code of the usages, or customary laws of Barcelona (*el Código de los usages Barceloneses*), published in the reign of Raymundo Berenguer I., Count of Barcelona, in 1068, and therefore three centuries before the probable date of the *Consolato*, contained, however, some ordinances relating to navigation, and particularly law no. lviii., which assured all vessels arriving on the coast of Catalonia of friendly treatment, and the protection of the prince so long as they remained there. This law was several times confirmed by the kings of Aragon, after the union of Catalonia with that country.⁵²

The maritime laws of Oléron, just alluded to, consist of forty-

⁵⁰ For instances see Rymer, t. iii. pp. 112, 122, 131, &c.; t. xi. p. 671 sq.; t. xii. pp. 690, 741, &c.; t. xiii. p. 649.

⁵¹ Pardessus, *Coll. des Lois maritimes*

antérieures au xviii^e Siècle, ap. Wheaton, *Hist. of the Law of Nations*, Introd. p. 61.

⁵² Capmany, *Memorias Historicas de Barcelona*, ap. Macpherson, vol. i. p. 300.

seven short regulations respecting average, salvage, wreck, &c. By some they have been ascribed to King Richard I. (1197), but there is no authority for this assertion, and they were probably taken from the laws of Barcelona. Cleirac, an advocate of Bordeaux, in his *Us et Coutumes de la Mer*, published in 1621, ascribes them to the year 1266; and to Eleanor, Duchess of Guienne and Queen of England, by whom, however, he must have meant Eleanor of Castile, the wife of Edward I.⁵³

Thus it appears that codes of maritime law intended for general observance were, from the necessity of the case, promulgated centuries before any system of international law to be observed on land had been framed. The need of the latter was not much felt till the modern European system had made considerable progress; and it appears to have had its origin among the Spanish casuists, whose minds were led to inquire into the principles of natural equity by questions arising from the relations of the Spaniards to the conquered natives of the New World.⁵⁴ No tolerably consistent system on this subject was, however, promulgated till the latter half of the sixteenth century, and we shall therefore postpone our consideration of it to a future chapter.

With regard to piracy, codes of law might have been promulgated in vain, in the absence of power to enforce them, and this was derived only from the establishment of regular national navies. Those worthy to be called such were of late growth, except in the Mediterranean. In England, King John appears to have possessed a few galleys, in 1213⁵⁵; and some are again mentioned in the reign of Henry III.⁵⁶ (1242). The first navigation act (5 Richard II. c. 3.) was framed with the view of augmenting the royal navy (1381), and provided that no goods should be shipped outwards or homewards by any subjects of the King, except in English-owned vessels. Six King's ships are mentioned in the war with Scotland, in 1481.⁵⁷ A royal navy, however, can hardly be said to have existed in England before the reign of Henry VIII. In fact, till the use of guns was introduced into naval warfare, there was little difference between a ship of war and a merchantman, except in the Mediterranean, where galleys were employed; and hence, in time of war, it was usual to press merchant vessels into the King's service. On ordinary occasions, the Cinque Ports supplied ships; on extraordinary ones, the maritime towns through-

⁵³ The laws of Oléron have been published in English by Godolphin in the Appendix to his *View of the Admiral Jurisdiction*.

⁵⁴ Wheaton, *Hist. of Law of Nations*, p. 35.

⁵⁵ Matthew Paris, p. 233 sq.

⁵⁶ Rymer, t. i. p. 406.

⁵⁷ Macpherson, vol. i. p. 698.

out the country contributed. Ships began to be reckoned by guns and tonnage jointly, about 1512; and it is now that gunners are first mentioned.⁵⁸ It was at this time that Henry VIII. built at Woolwich the largest ship ever known — the “Regent,” of 1000 tons; and from this date we may properly reckon the commencement in England of a royal navy worthy of the name.

We have already seen, in the course of the narrative, that the French navy was at this time rather superior to the English. The difference, however, was not great. France had, indeed, some galleys in the Mediterranean, but in her ocean ports she could not count more than two or three ships of war of any size. In case of need, recourse was had, as in England, to merchant vessels. Claude de Seissel, Bishop of Marseilles, recommended Francis I. to establish a standing fleet, in imitation of the standing army, a course, however, which that monarch did not adopt.⁵⁹ Yet he paid considerable attention to maritime affairs. He was diligent in fortifying the harbours on the western coast of France, and, in particular, he called into existence the noble Port of Havre de Grace.

We cannot close this chapter without adverting to the decay of Italy, amid the remarkable progress of most of the other countries of Europe. Italy, which from the close of the fifteenth century to the Pontificate of Clement VII. had been the centre of European politics, seemed to have fulfilled her destined course, and after spreading her religion and her civilisation over the rest of Europe, to be about to vanish from her former prominence on the scene. We have beheld both the spiritual and the temporal power of the Popes abridged by the Reformation and by the capture of Rome; Venice sinking at once under the burthen of her wars, and the loss of her trade; Milan become a dependency of the German empire, and Florence submitting irrecoverably to the yoke of the Medici. An acute observer of his own times has attributed the ruin of Italy to the *condottieri*, who, in order to husband their resources, conducted their wars in a manner which extinguished all martial spirit. They discouraged infantry, which formed only a tenth part of their forces; they spared one another's lives, and contented themselves with making prisoners; they avoided nocturnal expeditions and winter campaigns; and hence, when the Spaniards, French, and Swiss appeared in Italy, the troops, which had been accustomed to such child's play, were unable to endure the stern realities of war.⁶⁰ The fall of Italy is, no doubt, partly attributable to this cause; but

⁵⁸ Rymer, t. xiii. p. 327. (Commission to Sir Edward Howard.)

⁵⁹ Martin, t. vii. p. 487.

⁶⁰ Machiavelli, *Principe*, c. xii.

it was chiefly owing to the number of small states into which that peninsula was divided, all filled with hostile rivalries and jealousy of one another, and which could never have withstood the attacks of great and powerful monarchies, such as Spain, France, and the Empire. The same author has, in another passage, pointed out the superiority both in body and mind of the Italians individually, and their weakness collectively.⁶¹

On the other hand, the many small sovereignties in Italy had contributed to foster and spread civilisation. Every capital was adorned with churches and palaces of architectural beauty; every prince had his library, and his little circle of literary men, who lived on his bounty, and too often degraded while they promoted the profession of letters. The same capitals, however, were the scene of every vice and crime that can disgrace humanity — of petty, yet unholy ambition; of domestic treason, poison, and assassination; of revenge the most unrelenting and cruel against external enemies.⁶²

Among the Italian States grew up that subtle and unprincipled policy, the worst legacy which they bequeathed along with their civilisation to the rest of Europe. To this policy the Florentine Machiavelli has given his name, by having reduced it into a system in his book entitled *The Prince*. A needy man of genius, banished from Florence as one of the *Piagnoni*, or followers of the Republican Savonarola, Machiavelli, under the pressure of necessity, ended by dedicating this manual of political slavery to one of that very family of Medici which Savonarola had expelled! The well-known atrocity of its principles has led some to consider it as a disguised satire upon princes; a view which seems to have been first suggested by Gentili, in his treatise *De Legationibus*, but in which there is little probability. The hero of *The Prince* — the pattern of a perfect sovereign — is no other than Cæsar Borgia, one of the greatest monsters of crime who ever disgraced the human form.⁶³ The fundamental idea of the book is, that all crimes are justifiable in a ruler, in order to obtain, what should be his sole object, a strong government. It proceeds on the assumption that all men are bad, and consequently inculcates the necessity of meeting them with their own weapons. It has been remarked, however, that Machiavelli has given a different character of his hero in his *Legations* from that which we find in *The Prince*.

⁶¹ Machiavelli, *Principe*, c. xxvi.

⁶² For instances see Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* ch. 100.

⁶³ "Io non saprei quali precetti mi dare

migliori ad un principe nuovo che l'esempio delle azioni sue" (*i.e.* di Borgia). — *Principe*, cap. 7.

Borgia admitted Machiavelli, whom the Florentines had put about his person at the time of his conquests, with a monthly salary of ten crowns, in order to watch his actions, only partially into his confidence, and that writer was consequently obliged to complete his portrait from imagination. In the *Legations*, Machiavelli paints Borgia as brilliant and ingenious during his prosperity, but losing his self-possession in reverses, and venting his despair in vain complaints of destiny.⁶⁴ His description of his hero's end, already related⁶⁵, unconsciously conveys the most bitter satire on the vanity of all human counsels.

Some of the actions of Ferdinand, Francis, and other rulers, recorded in the preceding pages, show that the spirit of Machiavellian policy had passed the Alps.⁶⁶ Nothing can equal the duplicity of European statesmanship in the sixteenth century. The example of a more honourable, and at the same time bolder and abler, diplomacy was first given by the English statesmen of the reign of Elizabeth.

⁶⁴ Michelet, *Renaissance*.

⁶⁵ See Vol. I. p. 241.

⁶⁶ Charles V. was an assiduous reader

of Machiavelli. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. ii. S. 96.

CHAPTER II.

IN the year 1546, the religious differences, which had so long agitated Germany, seemed to be drawing to a crisis. Not, indeed, that the council then sitting at Trent, although both parties had, in the early days of the Reformation, referred the points in dispute to such an assembly, could be expected to settle them. The Protestants had long outgrown the notion of submitting to a tribunal whose verdict was sure to be adverse; and in a meeting at Frankfurt they had agreed formally to reject its jurisdiction, and to publish their reasons for taking such a course.¹ Even the Catholics themselves displayed no great zeal for the council; and all parties seemed to be aware that the questions between them must at no distant period be left to the arbitrament of the sword. The conference held at Ratisbon towards the end of January, in pursuance of a decree of the Diet of Worms, had only further tended to demonstrate the hopelessness of expecting any settlement from discussion. The Emperor, whose object it seemed to be to break with the Protestants, instead of appointing men of conciliating temper, like Contarini, had named some fierce bigots to manage the conference on the Popish side, and especially the Spaniard, Malvenda, a subtle scholastic disputant.

The Protestants were as violent on their side. A book of Luther's, which had been written the year before, entitled "*Against the Popedom of Rome, founded by the Devil*," in which he outdid himself in scurrility, was published on the occasion; while in a cut the Pope was represented with ass's ears, riding on a sow attended by devils.² To the reflecting and unprejudiced student of history and mankind, it will be more instructive to relate a horrible crime which sprang from these discussions, than to detail the arguments, however subtle and ingenious, that were urged by either side.³

¹ This was done in two treatises, or pamphlets, published in Feb. and March 1546. One of these, drawn up by Melancthon, took the religious view of the question, while the other was grounded on historical and political considerations. Both are published in Luther's *Werke*,

B. xvii. S. 1112 ff.

² *Ibid.* S. 1278 ff.; cf. Sleidan, lib. xvi. For the Catholic view see Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 160 sqq.

³ A sketch of the proceedings will be found in Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, B. i. S. 419 ff.

Among the disputants, who took part against Malvenda at Ratisbon, was John Diaz, a countryman of his own, who had become a convert to the new doctrines whilst a student at Paris, and had accompanied Bucer to the conference. Nothing had vexed Malvenda more than to see a native of orthodox Spain in the ranks of the heretics; and after some vain attempts to bring Diaz back to the true faith, he notified John's heresy to his brother Alphonso, who filled a high position in the Roman Rota. Alphonso hastened to Ratisbon, and finding that his brother was about to proceed to Neuburg on the Danube, in order to superintend the printing of a book of Bucer's, forced upon him the gift of a couple of crowns to help him on the way. But this present was only a snare. Alphonso was a man of that fanatical stamp, then not uncommon in Spain. He beheld in his brother's heresy a scandal both to his family and country; and resolved to take his life rather than leave him among the German heretics. One morning, while John Diaz was dressing himself, Alphonso's servant tapped at his chamber door with a letter, and while John was bending over the sheet to decipher the well-known hand in the early morning twilight, the man laid him dead on the floor with a blow dealt from behind with a hatchet. Alphonso himself was watching the door, and when the deed of blood was done, he and his servant hastened down to their horses and fled. They were apprehended at Innsbrück; but the Pope rescued them from the secular arm, on the ground that they were clerks; and many years afterwards Alphonso Diaz related his brother's murder to the historian Sepulveda with a feeling of entire satisfaction. Such is the power of bigotry and fanaticism to stifle the holiest instincts of human nature!⁴

The Diet held at Ratisbon a few months later brought matters to a crisis. Charles appeared in that city early in April, but the proceedings were not opened till June 5th. The assembly was thinly attended, as most of the Protestant princes kept away; and it was not till after a second pressing summons from the Emperor that there appeared Duke Maurice of Saxony, Duke Eric of Brunswick, the Margraves John of Cüstrin, brother of Joachim II. of Brandenburg, and Albert of Culmbach. None of these princes, however, except the first, was of much political importance. The presence of Maurice did

⁴ The true history is related by Sepulveda (*Opera*, t. ii. p. 127 sqq. ed. Madrid, 1780), and by Senarelé, a young Savoyard, who was with Diaz the day before his murder (*Hist. vera de Morte sancti Viri Johannis Diazii, Hispani, &c.*, per Claudium Senarclæum, 8vo, 1546). The narratives of Melancthon and Lange, which

seem to have been followed by Seckendorf, lib. iii. sect. 37, *init.* are not quite so correct. Alphonso, however, does not appear to have escaped all remorse, if the account of John Manlius in his *Commentaries* (ap. Menzel, B. i. S. 423) be true, that he hanged himself at Trent, in 1557.

not cause much anxiety to the Elector of Saxony, who thought that his cousin only wanted to wrest from him the monastery of Dobrilugk. Business was opened with the customary forms; nay, the Emperor even asked, as usual, the advice of the States on the affairs of religion, though it could hardly be a secret that he was making the most vigorous preparations for war. Recruits were raising among the German lansquenets, and places were assigned for their mustering; all Italy, from Naples to the Tyrol, rang with the note of war; while Count Buren was assembling a third army in the Netherlands. Yet the Protestants fell into the trap. On June 13th they made their answer to the Emperor, with the same ingenuous confidence as in former times. They rejected the Council of Trent, and renewed the proposition for a national council; meanwhile, they observed, it was only necessary to maintain the resolutions of 1544, and allow them the enjoyment of peace. The simplicity of this proposal overcame Charles's customary gravity, and he was observed to smile. It was, indeed, somewhat ridiculous in the Protestants to suppose that they should now obtain the same terms as when the Empire was in the greatest danger; they seemed to have forgotten that the Emperor, by his peace with France and the Turks, as well as by the divisions of the Protestants among themselves, was no longer subject to those embarrassments which had formerly proved of so much service to their cause. At length they bethought themselves of asking against whom these warlike preparations were directed? Charles answered that it was his intention to reconcile the States of the Empire; that they who assisted him should experience his gracious favour; but that they who refused to obey should feel all the weight of his authority. And when the Palatine Frederick asked who then were the disobedient princes? Charles answered, it was those who practised against him under pretence of religion; who rejected the jurisdiction of the Imperial tribunal; secularised the property of the Church, and abused it according to their pleasure. The mask had now fallen. Nothing was left to the Protestant princes but to arm in turn.

Protestantism had recently gained some accessions in Germany. The Archbishop of Cologne, whose diocese had been one of the strongholds of Popery, had gone over; for which he was excommunicated by the Pope, and deprived of his ecclesiastical dignity (April 16th 1546). Early in January, Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who had long been inclined to the reformed doctrines, seeing that they had been embraced by the greater part of his subjects, also openly proclaimed his adhesion to the Reformation, though he declined to join the League of Smalcald.

Charles, on his side, had been some time endeavouring to strengthen himself by alliances, and he now succeeded in bringing several to a conclusion. He entered into a treaty with William, by the death of his brother sole reigning Duke of Bavaria (June 2nd 1546). At the accession of Frederick to the Palatinate, the house of Bavaria had renewed its pretensions to that electorate, and the Emperor now promised, though loth to proceed against a relative, that if Frederick did not renounce his Protestant principles, and submit himself to the council, he would at once transfer the electoral dignity to Bavaria. The alliance was confirmed by a marriage between Albert, the Bavarian heir-apparent, and the Emperor's niece, the eldest daughter of King Ferdinand; with the express condition, that, on failure of Ferdinand's male heirs, the house of Bavaria should succeed to the Bohemian throne. Thus Charles postponed even his own line in favour of this alliance. Yet the Bavarian Duke did not promise much. He engaged to provide a small sum of money, together with some artillery, ammunition, and provisions, but on condition of being compensated at the peace; and he insisted on the treaty being kept secret, that he might not be exposed to the revenge of the Protestant princes, with whom he was now in amicable relations, in case they should prove victorious. The Emperor was by no means averse to this stipulation, as a concealed enemy would be only the more dangerous to the allies of Smalcald. Charles further secured the Duke of Clèves by betrothing to him King Ferdinand's second daughter. He also attempted to form alliances with some of the Protestant princes. With the Landgrave of Hesse he was not successful. Under the protection of a safe-conduct, Philip had an interview with the Emperor at Spire, while the latter was on his way to Ratisbon; but though he wheedled the Landgrave into a belief of his pacific intentions, he failed in procuring him as an ally. Philip was simple enough to think, till his eyes were opened by the proceedings at Ratisbon, that the Emperor's warlike preparations were only again intended against Algiers, or perhaps against Piedmont. Charles succeeded, however, in gaining over the Protestant princes, whom we have already mentioned as attending the Diet. The Margrave John of Cüstrin formally renounced the League of Smalcald, of which he was a member; while Albert of Brandenburg Baireuth had profited so little by his evangelical education as openly to declare that "he would take service under the devil himself, provided he obtained good pay."⁵ Eric of Brunswick

⁵ Seckendorf, p. 662 (ed. 1694).

also joined the Imperial party; while Charles could reckon at least on the neutrality of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Palatine, who were by no means inclined to become martyrs in the Protestant cause.

But of all the evangelical princes whose friendship he succeeded in securing, Duke Maurice of Saxony was by far the most important, not only from his power, but more particularly, in a war with the Smalcaldic League, from the situation of his dominions. The conduct of the Elector John Frederick towards his cousin had been impolitic; they had long been involved in trifling disputes, and the ambition of both was at present directed towards the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Bishopric of Halberstadt, vacant since the death of the Archbishop of Mentz. By a secret treaty concluded June 19th, the Emperor conferred upon Maurice the protectorate, or conservatorship, of those dioceses; stipulating, however, that they should remain in the old religion, and that nobody disapproved of by the Emperor or King Ferdinand should be elected to them. Maurice, on his side, engaged not only to be a true and faithful subject of the Emperor, but also a devoted friend and adherent of the house of Austria; to subject himself, so far as other German princes, to the Council of Trent, and before its decrees were published to adopt in his dominions no further religious innovations. Duke Maurice quitted Ratisbon immediately this treaty was concluded, by which the Emperor had at least secured his neutrality.⁶

Besides these alliances with German princes, the Emperor also concluded in June a treaty, long previously arranged, with the Pope, by which the latter engaged to furnish both men and money to reduce the refractory states, and bring them back to the bosom of the Church; while Charles was allowed to raise money by the sale of conventual estates in Spain, and by taxing the Spanish clergy.⁷

In the Papal Bull, the object of these preparations was openly avowed to be the extirpation of the new heresies, and indulgences were granted after the ancient fashion to those who took part in this new crusade; a proceeding which not only excited the indignation of the Germans, but was also very distasteful to the Emperor himself, who was yet neither completely prepared for a war, nor

⁶ The treaty is in Pontus Heuterus, *Rerum Austriac.* lib. xii. c. vi. p. 290. Robertson erroneously says (*Charles V.* bk. viii. vol. iii. p. 353) that Charles engaged by it to bestow the dignities and territories of the Elector of Saxony on

Maurice in return for his assistance. This engagement was the subject of a subsequent treaty with King Ferdinand; but it might now have been talked over.

⁷ Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 308.

wished to see it placed in the light of a religious one.⁸ Charles endeavoured to give the whole matter a political aspect. On the 16th of June, he issued circular letters to the imperial cities of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ulm, as well as to Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, and Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, in which, keeping the religious question in the background, he complained of the practices against him, of the insults offered to the Imperial authority, and the expressed determination of taking up the sword against him: things which he was resolved no longer to endure, but to reduce to obedience the disturbers of the public peace; and he strictly forbade the parties addressed to afford any assistance to his adversaries.

The League of Smalcald seemed at this time to be on the point of dissolution: its term was expired, and no agreement had been come to among the parties to it respecting its renewal. But the hour of danger served to reanimate its more ardent members, who with uplifted hands promised one another to venture purse and person in the cause of religion and freedom. The two principal leaders, the Elector John Frederick and the Landgrave Philip, met at Ichttershausen, in the territory of Gotha, where they resolved to march against the Emperor at whatever point he should make his attack, without any thought as to the security of their own dominions; and they agreed to refer any difference of opinion that might arise between them to a council of war. Their intention was to unite their forces, on the 20th of July, near Meiningen or Fulda, on the further side of the Thuringian forest. Meanwhile, in Upper Germany, the states of Würtemberg, Augsburg, Constance, and Ulm, had assembled in the last-named city, to make preparations for the now inevitable contest. They despatched envoys to Venice with the request that the republic would not permit any troops to pass through its territories to the assistance of the Emperor; and they likewise sent agents into Switzerland with the same prayer, as well as to raise troops for the service of the League. The recruiting went on with such alacrity that in the course of a week the cities had 12,000 men in the field, under the command of Sebastian Schertlin of Burtenbach, a veteran captain who had served under the Emperor Maximilian, and had been present at the sack of Rome.⁹ The Duke of Würtemberg had also raised a considerable force, which he placed under the command of Hans

⁸ The Bull was published with a preface by Nicholas Amsdorf. See Lätther's *Werke*, B. xvii. S. 1827.

⁹ By this capture, Schertlin, though then only a captain, acquired a large

fortune. Seeckendorf, the historian, who was a descendant of Schertlin's, has given some account of him. *Comment. de Lutheranism*, lib. ii. p. 69.

von Heideck. The Protestants had thus the advantage of being first in the field. They could, however, with the exception of the Swiss recruits, hope for no assistance from without; while, on looking around to their natural allies, how many had either deserted the League, or refused to join it! No help could be expected from the Palatinate or Brandenburg, from the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Dukes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, the Protestant Dukes of Brunswick, the Princes of Anhalt, nor the wealthy burgesses of Nuremberg.

The SMALCALDIC WAR was opened by Schertlin.¹⁰ At daybreak on the 9th of July, that commander, with the troops of Ulm and Augsburg, appeared before Füssen on the Lech, in the hope of surprising and dispersing some troops which the Marquis of Marignano was there collecting for the Imperial service; but on Schertlin's appearance they crossed the river and escaped. The town, however, fell into his hands, and he now formed the scheme of surprising the Emperor at Ratisbon, where, in the midst of a fermenting Protestant population, Charles had with him only about 400 men. But now appeared the advantage of his secret treaty with the Duke of Bavaria. That prince, whom the Protestants had hitherto reckoned upon as their good neighbour and friend, sent a message to Schertlin, that he would declare against them if he ventured to enter the Bavarian territory. Thus foiled, Schertlin formed the plan of penetrating into the Tyrol, driving the assembled fathers from Trent, and, by occupying the roads, preventing the Emperor's Italian auxiliaries from marching into Germany; and with this view he surprised and seized the castle of Ehrenberg, which commanded the pass leading to Innsbruck. But this plan was defeated by the council of war at Ulm, who, from an absurd doubt as to which side King Ferdinand would espouse, forbade Schertlin to offend that sovereign by invading the Tyrol. Schertlin therefore returned to Augsburg, and having joined the Würtembergers under Heideck, took the town of Donauwerth, where he awaited the arrival of John Frederick and Philip.

These events afforded the Emperor leisure to pursue his preparations unmolested. In the midst of the festivities for the marriage of his two nieces with the heir of Bavaria and the Duke of Clèves, Charles published at Ratisbon, July 20th, the ban of the empire against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, with-

¹⁰ Authorities for this war, besides the usual historians of the period, are Schertlin's *Leben und Thaten*; the *Historia Belli Smalcaldici*, in Menckenius *Script.*

Rer. Germanic. tom. iii., which has also been attributed to the same author; Camerarius, *Smalcaldici Belli Origo*, &c. in Freher, *Germanic. Rer. Script.* t. iii.

out any previous process or judgment. This step, which was taken in consequence of certain manifestoes published by those princes, was contrary to the capitulation agreed to by Charles at the time of his election, as well as to the constitution of the empire, by which no prince could be put under the Impèrial ban without the sanction and authority of a Diet; nor could the Emperor assign any valid grounds for his act, as he was unwilling to appeal to those which concerned religion. Meanwhile he pressed on his warlike preparations, in which he was assisted by the neighbourhood of the Austrian States. Artillery, ammunition, and provisions were forwarded up the Danube from Vienna, and at the beginning of August he felt himself strong enough to leave Ratisbon, in order to form a junction with the troops that were arriving from Italy. Thus the ancient order of things seemed to be reversed, and the Italians, who had so often suffered from the incursions of the northern nations, were in turn crossing the Alps to make conquests in Germany. The allied forces met at Landshut, August 12th, when Alexander Farnese, in all the pride and pomp of gonfalonier of the Church, presented himself before the Emperor, his father-in-law, who, with his own hand, placed round Alexander's neck the Order of the Golden Fleece. Charles's forces now amounted to about 34,000 foot and 5000 horse; and though by his capitulation he had agreed to introduce no foreign troops into Germany, nearly half his army was composed of them; namely, 10,000 Italians, mostly from the Papal States, and 8000 Spaniards, part of which last had been withdrawn from service in Hungary. With this force he returned to Ratisbon, now threatened by the Protestant allies, where he had left his artillery.

The Elector and Landgrave had met at Meiningen, whence they proceeded to Donauwerth, and joined the forces of Upper Germany, when the united army amounted to some 50,000 picked troops. But it was soon apparent that there were too many leaders. Plans were formed, discussed, abandoned, and the time that should have been appropriated to action was frittered away in fruitless consultations. It was necessary to secure the towns on the line of the Danube, and the Protestants had made themselves masters of Neuburg and Rain. The most important of them was the Bavarian town of Ingolstadt, which had been strongly fortified a few years before; but the fear of disturbing the neutrality of Duke William, again led the Elector and Landgrave to reject Schertlin's proposal to assault that place; and leaving it untouched, they proceeded down the left bank of the Danube towards Ratisbon.

The Emperor's operations, conducted under himself by the

Duke of Alva, were more decisive. He did not wait to be attacked, but leaving Ratisbon on the approach of the allies, he marched up the Danube on the opposite bank, and crossing it (August 24th), took up nearly the same position near Ingolstadt which the Protestants had quitted. As the communications of the latter with Suabia were thus threatened, they were obliged to hasten back; and they fortified themselves in an entrenched camp near the castle of Nassenfels, over against that of the Emperor. Here Charles was exposed two days to a cannonade from the Landgrave Philip, said to have been one of the most dreadful since the invention of artillery; but though it occasioned considerable damage, and though a ball fell in Charles's tent while he was employed in consulting the astronomer, Peter Apian, on the course of the planets¹¹, yet, as no assault was ventured, he did not think fit to change his position. The Protestant leaders here sent to him an insulting paper, in which they addressed him as "Charles, calling himself the fifth Roman Emperor;" and they dared him to come out and carry his ban into execution.

Meanwhile, Count Buren had crossed the Rhine without opposition, and was hastening to the Emperor's assistance with 10,000 foot and 7000 horse. The Protestants marched out to intercept him; but the Count, having intelligence of their movements, avoided them by taking a circuitous route towards Würzburg, and without encountering any material obstruction, he succeeded in forming a junction with the Emperor, September 17th. Thus reinforced, Charles felt himself strong enough to be in turn the assailant; and, after taking Neuburg, which commanded the Danube, he prepared to carry the war into Suabia. With this view, after much marching and countermarching, he proceeded towards Nördlingen; the Landgrave following in the same direction in order to support the town; when, a fog suddenly clearing away, the two armies unexpectedly found themselves in presence. Fortunately for the Protestants, they were on the higher ground; and they took up so strong a position, that the Imperialists hesitated to attack them, although it was St. Francis's Day, on which, it had been prophesied, the Emperor should become master of Germany.

As the allies refused to quit their position, although Donauwörth and other places in the neighbourhood had been taken, the Emperor marched towards Ulm. The Elector, however, had anticipated him, and, by throwing in some troops, prevented the capture of that important place. November had now come, yet

¹¹ Not, however, out of any astrological superstition, from which Charles was free.

He was fond of studying astronomy. See Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 107.

little had been done ; and the effects of the climate and bad weather began to make great havoc among the Italians in the Imperial army, and still more so among the Spaniards. The Protestants observing the Emperor's somewhat distressed condition, made proposals for peace ; but Charles answered that he would hold no communication with them till they submitted unconditionally to his grace and mercy. His firmness sprang from a policy of which the Protestants were unaware, and which was now beginning to develope its effects.

For some time after his departure from Ratisbon, Duke Maurice had retained the mask of neutrality ; and he appeared at first to listen to the applications of his cousin's family for assistance against King Ferdinand, who was assembling troops on the Bohemian frontier with the view of invading Saxony. Had Maurice made an attack upon Bohemia, there can be no doubt that he might have decided the war in favour of his brother Protestants, and he might, perhaps, also, seeing the great numbers of the Bohemian Utraquists, have procured for himself the crown of that country. We have seen, however, that his views had taken another direction. Charles had sent him instructions to carry the ban against the Elector into execution, and even warned him that his neglecting to do so would make him an accessory to the crimes of his kinsman ; a proceeding intended, doubtless, only to give an excuse and colour to Maurice's contemplated usurpation. He did not, however, venture to take any open step, till he had secured the consent of his clergy and States. At a Diet held in October at Freiberg, at that time the residence of the Dukes of Saxony, he produced an engagement from the Emperor, that the Saxons should not be molested in their religion, which appeased all scruples on that head. Still great reluctance was manifested to attack the dominions of a neighbouring and friendly prince ; the Diet was a stormy one, yet Maurice at length succeeded in his purpose, by representing how dangerous it would prove, if the execution of the ban against the Elector should be intrusted to any other prince, and especially to King Ferdinand. Maurice, having thus secured the consent of the Diet, immediately hastened to Prague, where he concluded with Ferdinand, October 14th, a treaty, which settled the conditions on which they should jointly occupy the territories of the Elector.

Thus, while John Frederick was employed in defending Suabia and Würtemberg against the advancing Emperor, his own dominions were about to be seized by that very relative on whom he had counted for their defence. Charles signed an instrument, October 27th, deposing the Elector, and transferring his dignity

and dominions to Maurice. Ferdinand's army entered Saxony, October 30th; his hussars, trained to war in many a bloody skirmish with the Turks, easily overthrew, on the heights of Adorf, the hastily-collected peasantry of the Voightland and Thuringia; and Maurice, who had joined the Bohemian and Hungarian troops, received, in rapid succession, by promising to protect their religion, the submission of several towns of the Electorate; as Zwickau, Bornä, Altenburg, and Torgau.

The news of these events reached the Imperial camp at Gien-ging, November 6th, and was received with salvos of artillery. Charles's whole policy now stood revealed, and Duke Maurice had signified, in a letter to John Frederick, his intention of taking possession of the Saxon Electorate. The cause of the Protestants seemed nearly hopeless. The same evils which had afflicted the Imperial army, had not been without effect on that of the allies; in addition to which their money was exhausted, and the lansquenets, who had received no pay for two or three months, were deserting in numbers. The Protestants were now forced to resolve on a separation, though they had long foreseen that such a step would prove fatal, and on the 23rd November they were in full retreat. Thus the Imperialists suddenly found themselves raised from the depths of despair, to the exultation of victory; a consequence which must be chiefly attributed to the firmness and fortitude displayed by Charles in the course of this short campaign.

Being thus master of Upper Germany, the Emperor proceeded to reduce and punish the refractory cities and states. In December the citizens of Ulm, who propitiated Charles by addressing him in Spanish, made their submission. They were amerced in a fine of 100,000 florins, part of which was paid in artillery and ammunition, and compelled to abandon the League; but were secured in the exercise of their religion. Proportionate fines were imposed on other towns, as Heilbronn, Esslingen, &c. At the first-named place Charles dictated terms to the Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, who had fled to Hohentwiel, and for whom the Elector Palatine acted as mediator. The Duke was sentenced humbly to entreat the Emperor's mercy; to pay a fine of 300,000 florins, half within a fortnight, the remainder in twenty-five days; to surrender to the Imperial troops for an indefinite term his castles of Hohenasperg, Schorndorf, and Kirchheim, and to answer any claims which might be made upon him by King Ferdinand. The Emperor subsequently received the personal submission of Ulrich at Ulm (March 4th 1547). Augsburg was also obliged to submit. Although Schertlin engaged to defend it for a year, the Fuggers and other merchants

deprecated resistance; and the city was sentenced to pay 150,000 florins, to deliver twelve pieces of artillery, and to receive an Imperial garrison. Frankfort, trembling for the safety of its fairs, had disgracefully surrendered to the troops of Count Buren (December 29th), who had appeared before it while on their way back to the Netherlands, although they were in miserable plight, and unprovided with siege artillery; and on January 21st 1547, the citizens took a fresh oath of allegiance to the Emperor. . At the same time the affair of Cologne was brought to a conclusion. The Archbishop, Hermann von Wied, had been in communication with the Protestants during the campaign, nor had the Emperor, till assured of success, attempted to enforce the Papal sentence against him. In June 1547, the States of the Archbishopric were assembled in the cathedral of Cologne; Hermann was solemnly deposed, and the coadjutor, Adolph von Schaumburg, installed in his place. The Popish worship was now restored, but not without some violence. The rest of the cities of Upper Germany, with the exception of Constance, were also reconciled with the Emperor. Strasburg had to pay 300,000 florins, but its religious privileges were respected.

Meanwhile, the two chief captains of the League, on the breaking up of their camp, had departed for their respective homes, unpursued by the Imperial forces; the Landgrave by the nearest way, while the Elector took a circuitous road by Heilbronn, Mentz, Aschaffenburg, and Fulda; on which places, and their prelates, he levied heavy contributions. About the middle of December, he arrived in his province of Thuringia with 20,000 men, and not only dispersed without much difficulty the small bodies of troops which Duke Maurice had stationed there, but also took a number of small towns and fortresses on the frontiers of Maurice's own dominions. At the beginning of the new year (1547), John Frederick arrived at Halle, which he entered in great state, surrounded by his nobility. The antique statue of Roland was placed out before the Red Tower, and the Elector rode round it, according to an ancient custom betokening the authority of the Burg-grave. At Halle he received homage from the feudatories under the sees of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, and sanctioned the introduction of the Protestant worship into the cathedral of the former place. He then directed his arms against the dominions of Maurice, the greater part of which he speedily overran; being assisted in this enterprise by the favour borne to him by the inhabitants, which was so marked that Maurice durst not levy any troops among them, lest they should turn his enemies. The

Elector, however, received a check at Leipsic. He could not reduce that place, though he lay before it three weeks, and though most of the towns in North Germany declared in his favour. Bohemia was the scene of a movement still more marked and threatening, occasioned by King Ferdinand's attempt to convert that country into an hereditary monarchy, in open contempt of the formal acknowledgment he had given of the right of the States to elect their king. The citizens of Prague refused to serve against the Elector; at Leitmeritz, where Ferdinand had ordered his vassals to muster for the invasion of Saxony, he was joined only by the Roman Catholic nobles; while, on the other hand, the Utraquists assembled in great numbers at Prague; patriotic and religious songs and hymns were sung; a Diet was formed, and an army raised to prevent the invasion of the "foreign and unchristian Spaniards." Instead of entering Saxony, Ferdinand found that he had scarcely more troops than were necessary for his own defence, and he could despatch only a few to Maurice, who had taken up a strong position at Chemnitz.

The success of the latter's ally, Margrave Albert of Culmbach, at Rochlitz, led them to form the plan of uniting their forces and marching against the Elector, who had pitched his camp near Altenburg. But John Frederick, who had obtained intelligence of this scheme, surprised Albert in Rochlitz (March 2nd), captured him, and compelled his men to take an oath not to bear arms for six months. Maurice was now obliged to shut himself up in Königsberg, and the Elector, master of the whole district of the Elbe, opened communications with the Bohemian States. The conjuncture called for decisive and vigorous action. John Frederick must now be all or nothing—an emperor of the Protestant states and cities, perhaps also king of Bohemia,—or lose his own dominions. The state of his foreign relations was favourable. The peace concluded in the previous year between France and England had enabled those countries to devote more attention to the affairs of Germany; Francis had engaged to pay the Elector monthly a considerable sum, and the council which had assumed the administration in England after the death of Henry VIII., had done the like. But John Frederick lacked the ability, rather than the ambition, required by the occasion. His military talent was small; and the Bohemian alliance proved the *ignis fatuus* which lured him to his destruction. Abandoning his first and safer plan of defending Wittenberg and Gotha, and retiring himself to Magdeburg, he took up a position near Meissen, where the Bohemians might the more readily join him; and in the full confidence of

their assistance, he even weakened his army by despatching to them some of his troops over the mountains of the frontier.

Meanwhile Charles, alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs in Bohemia, had resolved, in spite of ill health and the remonstrances of his physicians, to take the field in person. On the 24th of March 1547 he arrived at Nuremberg, round which town his army had assembled; a few days after, he was joined at Eger by his brother Ferdinand and Duke Maurice, whence, directing his march upon Meissen by Plauen, Altenburg, and Kolditz, he not only came directly upon the Elector, but also cut him off from his Thuringian province. John Frederick was thus caught in a very unfavourable position. He was at a considerable distance from his fortified towns; by supplying garrisons and sending out detachments his army had been reduced to about 6000 men; while the Bohemians had abandoned the idea of lending him any assistance. On the approach of the Emperor with a fine army of 17,000 foot and 10,000 horse, no alternative was left but to retreat. John Frederick accordingly crossed the Elbe at Meissen, and, breaking the bridge after him, began to descend the right bank of that river towards Wittenberg. At Mühlberg he took up a strong position, in full confidence that the Emperor would also cross the river at Meissen.

It was Sunday, April 24th, and the Elector, imagining that Charles was far in his rear, was led by his devotional feelings, as well as by his natural phlegm, to attend the morning service and hear the sermon; after which he leisurely resumed his march towards Wittenberg. This act of piety cost him his electorate. Charles resolved to cross the Elbe in his face. Early in the morning Maurice and the Duke of Alva had discovered a miller, who pointed out to them, nearly opposite to Mühlberg, a ford, which, with a little swimming, was practicable for cavalry. Over this passed 4000 hussars and light horse, carrying with them on their cruppers 500 arquebusiers. At the same time some Spaniards swam across and seized, with small resistance, a bridge of boats which the electoral forces were conveying down the stream with them. The bridge was soon put into order for the passage of the infantry and heavy cavalry; meanwhile Maurice and Alva pushed on with their hussars after the retreating enemy, with whom they soon came up. The Elector, who imagined that only the troops of his cousin Maurice were upon him, twice turned and repulsed them; but at length found it necessary to halt near Cossdorf. With his cavalry and light artillery he might easily have escaped, and would have arrived that evening at Wittenberg; but he could

not endure the thought of abandoning his faithful infantry, and he therefore drew up his men on the verge of a forest, the infantry and some field-pieces in the middle, with some cavalry on both wings. Charles, who in the field seemed to have regained all his strength and vigour, immediately ordered an attack, and hastened forward with his chosen troops to be present at it himself. About four in the afternoon the engagement was begun by a charge of more than 2000 of the Imperial cavalry, with cries of "Spain!" and "the Empire!" uttered in various tongues. At the same time the whole army of Charles appeared in the distance, and it was now but too plain with whom the Elector had to deal. His cavalry broke and fled; that of the Imperialists got possession of the wood; and the Elector's infantry, seeing themselves enveloped on all sides, threw down their arms and sought safety in flight. Such was the battle, or rather the rout, of Mühlberg, for all was over in a few minutes. John Frederick, after receiving some wounds while bravely defending himself, at length surrendered to Thilo von Trotha, a nobleman of Maurice's court, to whom he gave his ring. Bleeding, tired, and dejected, he was led towards the Emperor, mounted on that very Friesland stallion which he had ridden at Spires in 1544, and which, associated as it was with so many disagreeable reminiscences, Charles immediately recognised. "Mighty and gracious Emperor!" exclaimed the Elector, as he sought to kiss Charles's hand. "Oh!" interrupted the latter, "so you now recognise me for a Roman emperor?" "To-day," rejoined John Frederick, "I am nothing but a poor prisoner, yet your Imperial Majesty will treat me, I trust, as a born prince." "I shall behave to you," answered Charles, "as you have done to me." "You are a nice gentleman," interrupted Ferdinand, "to seek to drive me and my children out of our possessions." After this not very encouraging reception, the Elector, together with Duke Ernest of Brunswick and some other nobles who had been captured, was handed over to the Duke of Alva to be conveyed to the Imperial camp.

The Elector was now led with the Imperial forces before his own capital of Wittenberg. It was earnestly debated whether he should not be put to death for his double crime of rebellion and heresy; the Emperor's confessor warmly pressed for his execution as a heretic, and sentence of death was actually recorded against him. During this trying period John Frederick evinced the most imperturbable fortitude. His death-warrant, it is said, was delivered to him whilst he was playing at chess with Duke Ernest; when, reproving the latter for his emotion, he insisted on finishing

the game. Wittenberg, however, was found to be strongly fortified and abundantly victualled; and the advice of the Duke of Alva and the Bishop of Arras, a son of Granvella's; ultimately prevailed, that the Elector's life should be spared on condition of his surrendering Wittenberg and his other fortresses.¹²

The Bishop of Arras, who was appointed to treat with the Elector, found him absolutely intractable in all matters of conscience; he would neither acknowledge the authority of the Council of Trent, nor submit to the Emperor's ordinances respecting religion. In worldly matters he was more pliable, and agreed to subscribe to whatever might be arranged between the Emperor, his brother, and Duke Maurice. On May 19th was signed the Capitulation of Wittenberg, by which John Frederick the Elder of Saxony, as he was styled in it, gave up all his princely rights to the Emperor, surrendered Wittenberg and Gotha, relinquished his pretensions to Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Halle, and promised obedience to the Imperial tribunal. His possessions were to be divided between King Ferdinand and Duke Maurice, the latter undertaking to pay an annual pension of 50,000 florins, valued at twenty-one groschen each, to the Elector's children; who were also to retain several towns, the chief of which were Eisenach, Weimar, and Jena; also Gotha, after the fortifications should have been rased, and the district of Saalfeld. There was no article about religion. John Frederick was to remain at the court of the Emperor, or of his son the Prince of Spain.¹³

The day after this capitulation was executed, John Frederick directed Wittenberg to surrender, an order which was obeyed with great reluctance by the commandant; and the town was immediately occupied by a garrison of German Imperialists. On the following day, Sibylla, John Frederick's consort, visited the Imperial camp, to implore Charles's mercy towards her husband, and to beg that he might be permitted to live with her in Saxony; but though the Emperor treated her with great respect and kindness, this request was refused. Next day Charles, surrounded by his guards, entered Wittenberg to return Sibylla's visit. That town contains little to arrest the attention, except the memorials of

¹² The story of Charles having frightened the Elector's wife, Sibylla, into a surrender of the city, by threatening to cut off her husband's head if she refused it, which is related by Robertson (*Charles V.* bk. ix.) and made the subject of a heavy charge against the Emperor's character, is totally devoid of foundation. Bugen-

hagen, a Lutheran priest, who was in Wittenberg during the time of its investment by the Imperialists, and who has left a minute account of what happened, does not mention any such message from the Emperor (Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. c. 73).

¹³ Hortleder, *l. c.* 582 ff.

Luther ; yet Charles could not have passed its gates without emotion, when he reflected that he was now in the very citadel of Protestantism, whence the arch-reformer had shaken the Roman throne to its foundations, and for so many years rendered his own uneasy. After visiting the castle, Charles entered the castle church, and remained some time in earnest contemplation before the grave of Luther. How many events had been crowded into that quarter of a century since its now silent occupant had stood before him at Worms ! When at last it seemed in his power to enforce the Edict then promulgated, the object of it had escaped from all earthly tribunals and put in an appeal to the Almighty. Such reflections cannot but chasten and improve the heart. When Alva and the Bishop of Arras suggested that the bones of the arch-heretic should be dug up and cast into the flames, "No," said Charles, "let him lie, he has his judge:" and he silenced their further importunities by observing, "I war with the living, not with the dead."

In Lower Saxony the Emperor was not so fortunate. An Imperial army of 29,000 men, under Christopher of Wrisberg and Duke Eric of Brunswick Calenberg, laid siege to Bremen. But that place, agreeably to the anticipations of John Frederick, made a vigorous defence; and in the beginning of April the towns of Magdeburg, Brunswick, Hamburg, and Bremen, having entered into a new alliance, Christopher of Oldenburg and Albert of Mansfeld at the head of the army of the League, which had also been joined by the troops detached into Bohemia by John Frederick, marched to Bremen, compelled Duke Eric to raise the siege, and on the 23rd of May completely defeated him near Drackenburg. Next day, however, Wrisberg captured the military chest of the allies; and the news of John Frederick's capitulation arriving soon after, the troops of the Lower Saxon League dispersed themselves, and the leaders submitted one after another to the Emperor. The council and guilds of Magdeburg, where the Protestant worship had been recently introduced, alone resolved to stand on their defence. They had refused to obey a summons, sent them by Duke Maurice, April 29th 1547, with the news of the Elector's capture, as well as another from the Emperor himself from his camp before Wittenberg. Charles, however, finding that most of Lower Saxony had submitted, thought it not prudent to waste his time at Magdeburg, but rather to proceed to Upper Germany, whither he was called by more important events, and especially by his relations with the Pope. But Magdeburg remained a thorn in his side.

There was one affair, however, which he could not overlook,

completed during his march southwards. On the 10th of June he entered Halle in great state, which town had submitted to Duke Maurice immediately after the battle of Mühlberg. In Charles's train was the captive Elector, who only a few months before had himself entered Halle with almost Imperial pomp by the opposite gate. The citizens did not forget him in his adversity; but together with the presents which they made to the Emperor and his nobles, sent him three and a half casks of Rhenish wine and a barrel of Torgau beer.

At Halle the Emperor declared null and void the transfer of the dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt to Saxony, and bestowed the coadjutorship of both on Frederick, second son of the Elector of Brandenburg, in reward for the latter's faithful services. Since this time these bishoprics have remained almost uninterruptedly under princes of the House of Brandenburg, and have become at last part of their possessions.

It was here on the 19th of June that the Emperor received the submission of the Landgrave Philip. The manner in which it was brought about is not altogether plain, and has been the subject of some mistakes. Philip seems to have been the victim of the blundering but well intended mediation of the Elector of Brandenburg, and of his own son-in-law Maurice. Their proposals to the Emperor show plainly that the two Electors were at first contented with a stipulation that the Landgrave should suffer neither corporal punishment nor perpetual imprisonment.¹⁴ This, however, they appear to have overlooked or forgotten, and in their subsequent communications with the Landgrave, they assured him that he might come and go unmolested, and sent him the draft of a capitulation analogous to that granted to the Duke of Würtemberg. Philip was to submit himself unconditionally to the Emperor; to beg pardon on his knees, and promise future obedience; to pay a fine of 150,000 florins; to demolish all his fortresses, except either Ziegenhain or Cassel; to deliver up his artillery, and to dismiss Duke Henry of Brunswick and his son, as well as the other prisoners whom he had taken. The Landgrave's children, nobles, and subjects were to ratify these articles, which were guaranteed by his two sons-in-law, Maurice and the Count Palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, and by the Elector of Brandenburg.¹⁵

¹⁴ "Il se rendra aussi à S. M. en *genade et ongenade*, sans aucune condition; toutefois led. Marquis et duc Maurice adjurent à celsuy article, qu'il leur est nécessaire d'avoir intelligence avec S. M. que

telle condition ne tournera à peine corporelle ou perpetuel emprisonnement dud. Landgrave."—Bucholtz, *Ferd. I.* Th. ix. S. 423.

¹⁵ Hortleder, Th. ii. S. 579 ff.

Assuming that the Landgrave was to enjoy his freedom, the articles seemed moderate enough, especially as the integrity of his dominions was assured to him. In some further correspondence, Philip expressed his belief that he should not be detained more than five or six days at Halle, on which the Bishop of Arras made no remark. Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg seem, however, to have had some misgivings. On setting out for Naumburg to meet the Landgrave, and escort him to Halle, they inquired of the Emperor whether he has resolved not to molest Philip beyond the terms agreed upon? To which Charles answered that it was not his custom to depart from his word. It is evident, however, that he was aware of the unaccountable mistake into which the negociators had fallen; for in a letter to his brother, on the 15th of June, he expressed his determination to hold the Landgrave prisoner; and as he adds, that the Electors Joachim and Maurice could not take it ill, since it broke no assurance which he had given to them, it is plain that he knew they did not expect such a proceeding.¹⁶

Philip, as we have said, appeared before the Emperor on the 19th of June, at the palace at Halle. Charles was seated on a splendid throne, covered with cloth of gold, and placed under a canopy; before it a large carpet was spread. About four o'clock in the afternoon, Philip and the two Electors dismounted in the courtyard, and were immediately introduced into the Imperial presence. The Landgrave wore a doublet of black satin crossed with a red sash, the Austrian colours. He conversed cheerfully with his conductors, and as he knelt down on the floor before the carpet, he was observed to smile; on which Charles is said to have exclaimed, "Good, I'll teach you to laugh" (*Wel, ik zal u leeren lachen*).¹⁷ The Landgrave's chancellor, Günterrode, who knelt by his side, then read his master's petition. It was answered by the Imperial chancellor, whose words expressly intimated that the Landgrave should not be subjected to *perpetual imprisonment*; yet amid the noise which prevailed in the apartment, the expression appears to have passed unnoticed.¹⁸ After Günterrode had returned thanks, the Landgrave, thinking that the matter was concluded, rose from his knees, although the Emperor had

¹⁶ "Me délibérant de quand il se viendra rendre, le faire retenir prisonnier: dont les dits Electeurs ne se pourront res sentir, puis que je ne contreviendray à l'assurance que j'ai donné, parlant de prison avec l'addition de perpétuelle."—Bucholtz, Th. ix. S. 427.

¹⁷ Castrow, *Lebensbeschreibung*, Th. ii.

Buch i. c. 8.

¹⁸ "Desgleichen auch dass S. F. G. weder mit ewigem Gefängniss, noch mit Confiscation oder Entsetzung derselben Güter mehreres oder weiteres, dann die Artikel der Abrede inne halten möchte beschwert werden."—Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. K. 76.

delayed to give the signal, and stretched out his hand to Charles, which the latter refused to take. This circumstance, however, seems to have excited no suspicion; and Philip and the two Electors accepted Alva's invitation to sup with him in the castle. When the party was about to separate for the night, Alva, to the dismay and astonishment of the Landgrave and the Electors, intimated that the former must remain in the castle. Remonstrance was in vain; it was too late to appeal to the Emperor, who had retired to rest; and all that the disconsolate Maurice could obtain by his intreaties, was permission to remain with his father-in-law. Next day a stormy explanation ensued between the Electors and the Imperial councillors; the latter produced the articles by which they justified the step taken by the Emperor; the Electors were unable to dispute the authenticity of the document; and Philip, like John Frederick, was compelled to follow the Imperial Court, a prisoner under Spanish guard. It was not calculated to console him that, to his question how long his imprisonment, since it was not to be perpetual, might be expected to last? Alva replied; "If the Emperor should detain you fourteen or fifteen years, he would not act contrary either to his conscience or his word."

In estimating the Emperor's conduct on this occasion, it does not appear that he can be charged with any breach of literal honesty.¹⁹ In a declaration which the Electors made at a Diet held at Augsburg a few months later, they attributed the matter to a misunderstanding in the negotiations with the Emperor's councillors, arising from insufficient acquaintance with the language in which they were conducted²⁰; nor did Maurice

¹⁹ The story of *einig* in the original draft of the treaty having been converted into *ewig* by a forgery, so that it read "nicht mit ewigem Gefängniß" not with perpetual imprisonment) instead of "nicht mit einigem Gefängniß" (not with any imprisonment), on the truth of which Robertson avowed himself incompetent to pronounce (*Charles V.* bk. ix. vol. iii. p. 423 note), is now pretty universally rejected. The story seems to have owed its currency principally to the French historian, Thuanus, who charges the Bishop of Arras with the forgery ("Quod improbitati Atrebatensis præcipue tributum est, hominis callidi, qui literulæ unius inversa forma intercessores ipsumque adeo Hesium deceptit."—*Lib. iii.*). It is also countenanced by a letter of William

Prince of Orange, in 1574 (*Archives et Correspondance de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, t. v. p. 63, 1^{re} sér.), who, however, was not over-particular about the charges which he made; and is adopted by the learned editor of that work, Groen van Prinsterer, as well as by Mr. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. i. pp. 120 and 437. But in fact the words *ewiges Gefängniß* do not occur either in the draft of the capitulation submitted to the Landgrave or in the document itself. In Hortleder, Th. ii. Buch iii. S. 579. See Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. ii. S. 94: Von Raumer, *Gesch. Eur.* B. i. S. 548.

²⁰ Declaration in Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. K. 84, S. 923 ff.

impute deception to Charles in the manifesto which he published at the time of his subsequent revolt, although he adduced the treatment of the Landgrave as one of his motives. Yet it cannot be doubted that the Emperor acted against what he knew to be the real meaning and intention of the two Electors. Versed in all the subtleties of Spanish and Italian politics, he and his ministers were more than a match for the blunter honesty of the North German Princes. The impartial voice of history, however, will decide that his conduct towards Philip was as ungenerous, and still more unjust, than that which he had observed towards the captive Francis; and we may add that it was equally impolitic. He might have imagined, indeed, that the captivity of two princes of the Empire would serve to overawe Germany, and display his power to the rest of his subjects; but it certainly rendered him unpopular among the Germans, who beheld in his conduct a violation of their constitutional rights. The two prisoners bore their misfortunes very differently. John Frederick never lost his equanimity for a moment, whilst the Landgrave could neither check nor conceal the indignant feelings excited in him by the Emperor's tyranny. It should be remarked, however, that the former was treated by the Emperor with much more kindness and respect than he displayed towards the Landgrave; and while John Frederick was allowed a good deal of liberty, Philip, who was left behind at Donauwerth during Charles's march southwards, was treated rigorously as a prisoner. Nor, in reflecting on their behaviour, should the circumstance attending their captures be omitted from our consideration. John Frederick was a lawful prisoner of war, and had even been condemned to death, while Philip had been seized through an artifice, if not by an absolute fraud.

While these things were going on, Ferdinand also succeeded in restoring order in Bohemia. The defeat of John Frederick at Mühlberg broke the spirits of the Utraquists, and the army under Caspar von Pflug for the most part dispersed itself after the capitulation of Wittenberg. Ferdinand marched into Bohemia with his cavalry, and a considerable train of field artillery; while Maurice's brother, Duke Augustus of Saxony, brought him 1000 horse, and twenty companies of foot, and all the neighbouring princes proffered their assistance. On the promise of pardon, more than 200 nobles who had sided with the States, as well as the deputies of some towns, repaired to Ferdinand's standard at Leitmeritz. Prague itself, after an abortive attempt at resistance, surrendered on the 7th of June; and on the following day Ferdinand held his

Court in the grand saloon of the Hradschin, before which were summoned the primates, burgomasters, and councillors of the three towns²¹, along with 240 of the principal citizens. A paper in the Bohemian tongue, arraigning their treasonable practices, having been read to them, they fell on their knees, declaring that they did not come to justify themselves, but to crave the King's mercy. The conditions imposed were rigorous enough. Prague was not only compelled to renounce all its alliances, and deliver up its artillery, but also to give up its municipal privileges, its estates and tolls, and submit unconditionally to the direction of Ferdinand; who expressly added that he should punish capitally all who had taken any part in the insurrection. The other towns were subjected to a like sentence. At a Diet held in the following August, which was opened by some executions and corporal punishments, the States confirmed the proceedings of the King; and thus through this rebellion the House of Austria only obtained a firmer hold of power in Bohemia.

Meanwhile the Emperor had broken up from Halle and marched southwards (June 22nd). At Naumburg, where he held a review, a ridiculous anecdote is related of his parsimony. The morning proving rainy, Charles took off his splendid cloak, turned it inside out, clapped under it his satin cap, and sent into the town for his felt hat and cloak, while the pelting shower descended on his bare head!²² If this piece of economy was intended as a bait for popularity, it was marred by the spectacle of the two captive princes, as well as by the sight of the Spanish troops, who had committed on their march the most detestable excesses. Proceeding through Bamberg and Nuremberg, Charles arrived on the 23rd of July at Augsburg, where he had appointed a Diet to assemble on the 1st of September; but before relating the proceedings of that assembly, we must revert awhile to the general affairs of Europe, and especially to the state of the Emperor's relations with the Pope.

We have already adverted to the peace concluded between Francis I. and Henry VIII. The war around Boulogne had gone on during the winter of 1545-46, but without any memorable result; and both monarchs were desirous of peace. Francis, disappointed through the death of the Duke of Orleans, of the hopes which he had conceived from the treaty of Crespy, was willing to renew hostilities with the Emperor, when relieved from the war

²¹ Prague consists of an assemblage of three towns called Altstadt, Neustadt, and Kleinseite.

²² Sastrow, *Lebensbeschr.* Th. ii. K. 9.

with England; while Henry VIII., who felt his health declining, and whose exchequer was drained without any corresponding advantage, was unwilling to bequeath to his successor a war at once with Scotland and France. A treaty was concluded June 7th 1546, by which Henry engaged to restore Boulogne before Michaelmas 1554, on receiving two million gold crowns for arrears of old debts, and as indemnity for fortifications constructed, as well as the annual pension of 100,000 crowns, payable under the treaty of Moore.²³ Scotland was comprised in this pacification.

Henry VIII. did not long survive this treaty. Oppressed by unwieldy corpulence, and tormented by an ulcer in the leg, the irritability of his latter days was vented in burning those who would not comply with his own peculiar form of religious faith, and in the legal persecution of his other subjects, and especially of his nobility. The Earl of Surrey had already lost his head on the scaffold, January 19th 1547, and the execution of his father, the Duke of Norfolk, was to follow on the 29th, when it was fortunately prevented by the death of the tyrant himself on the previous night. Henry was succeeded by Edward VI., his son by Jane Seymour; but as that Prince was only in his tenth year, Henry had by his will appointed sixteen executors to carry on the government with the assistance of a council of twelve. One of the first acts of the executors and councillors was to appoint the Earl of Hertford, the King's maternal uncle, protector; and he was soon after created Duke of Somerset.

The life of Francis I., alternately the rival and the ally of Henry, was also drawing to a close. The latter days of the French monarch were not only embittered, like those of Henry, by bad health, the result of his profligate life, but also by the ill success which had attended all his enterprises, and by the factions with which his court was rent. A terrible result of these factions was the murder, for such it must be called, of Francis's favourite, the Duke d'Enghien, in the preceding February. At the chateau of La Roche-Guyon, where the King was then staying, a mock battle with snow-balls had been got up by the young men of the court, during which a box full of linen was thrown from a window on the head of the unfortunate d'Enghien, who died in a few days of the injuries which he received. There is but too much reason to believe that the act was committed by the Count d'Aumale, afterwards the great Duke of Guise, by order of the Dauphin himself:

²³ Rymer, t. xv. p. 93.

but all inquiry into the matter was carefully hushed up.²⁴ Already had arisen that rivalry between the Guises and the Bourbons, which was for so long a time to distract France.

The closing period of the reign of Francis, was, like that of Henry VIII., marked by religious persecutions, conducted under the advice of Cardinal Tournon, who then possessed his confidence. Meaux, where, twenty years before, the principles of the Reformation had been introduced by the amiable and enlightened Bishop Briçonnet, and where a small congregation of Protestants continued to exist, was the chief scene of these persecutions. Their meetings were observed and denounced. The house of a citizen named Mangin was surprised by the police, September 8th 1546, and a congregation of sixty persons apprehended, fourteen of whom were sentenced to the flames in the following month. These executions were the signal for a renewed persecution throughout France, and several persons were burnt at Paris, Sens and Issouire.²⁵

The death of the English King inflicted a severe blow upon Francis, who had contemplated the promotion of his political views through a firm alliance with that sovereign. The decease of a prince of nearly his own age and complexion seemed, moreover, to presage the fate that would shortly overtake himself. Yet in the midst of this dejection, Francis displayed some symptoms of his former vigour and activity. In the beginning of 1547, he was, as we have seen, supporting the Protestant princes of Germany against the Emperor. With a like view he was negotiating in Italy and Denmark, as well as endeavouring to persuade Solymán to break his truce with the House of Austria and invade Naples or Hungary.²⁶ In February, however, he was seized with a slow fever, which, though it did not at first prevent him from travelling about, or even enjoying the pleasures of the chase, yet went on increasing till it terminated his life. He died at Rambouillet, March 31st 1547, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Francis I., like Henry IV. and Louis XIV., is one of the sovereigns to whom the French look back with pride, and he must be allowed to present no unfavourable specimen of the national character. His manners were agreeable, his conversation often brilliant; he had a good memory, and could tell the chief characteristics of every country in Europe, its resources, products, roads, navigable rivers, &c.²⁷; if not an able general, he was at least a

²⁴ Thuanus, lib. ii. (t. i. p. 73, ed. Gen. 1620.)

²⁵ Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* t. i. p. 32 sqq.; Sleidan, lib. xviii. p. 513 (ed. 1610).

²⁶ Ribier, t. i. p. 595 sqq.

²⁷ P. Jovius, ap. Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 400.

gallant soldier, and his address was frank and open, whatever may be thought of some parts of his conduct. He must also be allowed the praise of having been a patron of literature; a merit accorded to him even by Protestant writers.²⁸ The terrible calamities which desolated France for half a century after his death were, doubtless, favourable to his memory, and caused men to look back to his reign with a feeling of regret. Yet on the whole he can hardly be considered equal to the stirring times in which he lived, and the great part that he was called upon to fill. His handing over the reins of power to his mother, during the earlier part of his reign, should perhaps rather be imputed to idleness and luxury, than, with Gaillard, to filial piety²⁹; and his neglect of the most important affairs, in his later years, can certainly be attributed only to his profligacy and dissipation. His gallantry towards women might not injure his reputation with his countrymen; yet, carried as it was to a profligate excess, it became not only a moral crime, but also a public misfortune.³⁰ His political conduct exhibits such a tissue of contradictory motives and double-dealing, as displays an entire absence of principle; and we need scarcely here recall to the reader's recollection his burning of the Protestants at home, while he was supporting them abroad; his alliance with the Turks against the Christians; his perfidy with regard to the treaty of Madrid, and other circumstances of the same description. Notwithstanding his magnificence, his dissipation, and his wars, Francis, however, left 400,000 crowns in his coffers.

Henry II., who now ascended the throne of France, had just completed his twenty-eighth year. In person he was tall, robust, and somewhat corpulent; his complexion was dark, his hair and beard were black. He was a good horseman, and fond of all bodily exercises, in which he excelled; his manners were graceful and affable³¹; but he was wholly incapable of mental application; and it was evident that the reins of government would be abandoned

²⁸ Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* t. i. p. 42; Sleidan, lib. xix. p. 520 sq. Sleidan, however, who was secretary of the League of Smalcald, received from Francis a pension of 100 crowns. See *Letter of Cardinal du Bellay in Ribier*, t. ii. p. 60.

²⁹ *Hist. de François I.* t. viii. p. 113.

³⁰ The profligacy of the French court in the reign of Francis was frightful. "François I. ayant séjourné peu de temps avec sa cour dans la ville de Nantes, le fléau (la vérole) y fut si intense qu'il fallut sur le champ y fonder un grand hôpital."—Michelet, *Renaissance*, notes, p. 320. Thomas Hubert, who was am-

bassador from the Elector Palatine to Francis, in 1535, said that he had then lost his palate, and articulated with difficulty. *Id. Réforme*, p. 401. See also Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 478 sq.

³¹ The English ambassadors despatched to Rome, in 1554, to take the oath of obedience to the Pope, and who were graciously received by Henry II. on their way, thus describe his person. "The King is a goodly tall gentleman, well made in all the parts of his body; a very grim countenance, yet very gentle, meek, and well beloved of all his subjects."—Lord Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 68.

to favourites and mistresses. Foreseeing this, Francis on his death-bed had cautioned his son against Montmorenci, the Guises, and St. André, and had recommended as his ministers the Admiral Annebaut and the Cardinal Tournon. The advice was thrown away. On the very day that his father expired, Henry hastened to St. Germain-en-Laye to meet the Constable Montmorenci, whom he immediately placed at the head of affairs. By the Constable's advice the council of Francis was dismissed, and a new one appointed, consisting of the following members:—Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre; Anthony of Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, first prince of the blood; the Cardinal John of Lorraine, and two of his nephews, viz. Francis, Count of Aumale, and Charles of Guise, Archbishop of Rheims; Montmorenci himself; St. André, the King's favourite; and his father, the Chancellor Olivier; Robert de la Marck, Lord of Sedan, son of Fleuranges, and son-in-law of Diana, with a few others. Of all these, besides Montmorenci, none had been in the service of Francis, except Olivier; for whom a love of literature and the friendship of the Chancellor l'Hôpital had procured a reputation for talent and integrity which seems to have been hardly deserved.

In the interior of the palace a greater influence ruled, that of Diana of Poitiers, created in the following year Duchess of Valentinois, but now called "la Grande Sénéchale," being the widow of Louis de Brézé, Grand Seneschal of Normandy, who had died in 1531. At the age of forty-eight, Diana had preserved her charms in so remarkable a manner as to be attributed by the vulgar to philtres and incantations. The ancient mistress of Francis pretended that her friendship for his son was merely Platonic, though it can hardly be doubted that she had had a daughter by Henry as early as 1537; and she still supplanted the youthful queen, Catherine de' Medici, in his affections, who meekly followed the triumphant chariot of her rival. Eleanor, the queen-dowager and sister of the Emperor, feeling herself a stranger at court, withdrew to Brussels, to her sister the Queen of Hungary, although she had a dowry assigned to her in Touraine and Poitou. The Duchess d'Etampes, the former mistress of Francis, also made her escape, but not before Henry had had the meanness to seize the diamonds presented to her by his father, which he gave to Diana.

Among the ministers of Henry, the Constable, the Guises, and the St. André were predominant; the King of Navarre and the Duke of Vendôme were habitually absent in their provinces. With Montmorenci we are already acquainted. It was sad that the destinies of France should be intrusted to such a man: greedy

of money and authority; without elevation of mind or even integrity of character; destitute of talent, yet so proud and so jealous of his opinion, that he piqued himself on never adopting that of others. The Guises monopolised all the ability of the new administration; and as this remarkable family will play a prominent part in the scenes that are to follow, it will here be proper to give some account of it.

The Guises sprung from Claude first Duke of Guise, younger son of Rainer or René II., Duke of Lorraine, who with his brother, Cardinal John, was at the head of the house at the accession of Henry II. Properly, therefore, the family was a Lorraine one, a province at that time belonging to the empire. Claude's elder brother Anthony had succeeded to the dukedom of Lorraine on the death of their father; but being thus suspended as it were between the empire and France, Anthony and his descendants fell into peaceful obscurity, whilst the younger branch obtained dignities and power in the latter country. Claude, who had married Antoinette, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme, a princess of the House of Bourbon, had five sons, who, like himself, played an important part in France. 1. Francis, Count of Aumale, surnamed *le Balafré*, from a dreadful wound in the face received from an English lance in the wars of Boulogne, who became Duke of Guise, on the death of his father in 1550; 2. Charles, Archbishop of Rheims, afterwards Cardinal of Lorraine; 3. Claude, who became Duke of Aumale; 4. Louis, also a Cardinal; and 5. René, Marquis of Elbœuf.

Duke Claude was the founder of the family greatness; first by marrying his daughter, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, to James V. of Scotland, through whose daughter, Mary Stuart, the Guises may be said to have subsequently reigned in Scotland; and secondly, by obtaining the favour of Montmorenci and Diana of Poitiers, at the accession of Henry II. Francis Count d'Aumale was the private friend of that monarch; while Claude, the third son, married Louise de Brézé, a daughter of Diana's. The Guises pretended to represent the branch of Anjou, from which they were descended by Jolande, daughter of René d'Anjou. They claimed all the rights of that house in Provence, the Sicilies, and other places; and Francis in his marriage contract³² boldly styled himself François d'Anjou. With different qualities, all the Guises were clever, brilliant, ambitious. Of elegant and commanding manners, they could accommodate themselves to all classes and conditions of per-

³² He married, in Oct. 1548, Anne d'Este, daughter of Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, and of Renée de France.

sons: could be supple and caressing with Diana; familiar with St. André; affectionate, with dignity, towards the rude and overbearing Montmorenci; affable to their inferiors, popular with the multitude. Francis, who at the time of Henry's accession, was twenty-eight years of age, possessed some great qualities; he was a good captain, magnanimous in success, but terrible and implacable in reverses. His next brother, Charles, partook more of the character of the Romish churchman: he was learned, subtle, witty, eloquent, but hypocritical; insolent in good fortune, abject and cowardly in adversity. One of the secrets of the family success was, that they all pulled together. Without possessions in France, their aim was to combine the prerogatives of French princes with the independence of foreigners, and above all to supplant the princes of the blood.

The mediocrity of the Bourbons promised to render the latter object no difficult task. This house was now divided into two branches, those of Vendôme and Montpensier. Anthony Duke of Vendôme, the head of the former, who was at this time twenty-eight years of age, possessed, indeed, personal courage; but his character was feeble and undecided, nor had he a clear conception of his own interests. In October 1548, he married Jeanne d'Albret, the heiress of Navarre, by whom he became the father of Henry IV. Anthony had three brothers; the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Count of Soissons, and Louis Prince of Condé; the last, the only one of the family who possessed any ability, was now only seventeen years of age. The younger branch of the Bourbons, consisting of the Duke de Montpensier and his brother, the Prince de la Roche sur Yon, were altogether without credit or importance.

There were thus four distinct parties let loose to prey upon the vitals of the kingdom: Diana with her daughters and sons-in-law; Montmorenci and his five sons; the family of the Guises, and the two St. Andrés. One of the first acts of the King was to abandon to his mistress the fines due at the beginning of a new reign from corporations and the holders of purchased offices for a renewal of their privileges. Diana also seized the dispensation of ecclesiastical benefices, and by causing one of her confidants to be appointed treasurer of the *Epargne*, or public money, she seized, as it were, the very keys of the national coffers. The Count d'Aumale was made a duke and peer in spite of the remonstrances of the Parliament of Paris; and both he, and St. André, who was made grand chamberlain and a marshal, received large gifts from the Royal domains. To the third Guise, at the instance of his mother-in-law Diana, Henry abandoned all the vacant lands of the kingdom, authorizing him to reclaim them from all occupants who could not

produce their title; a step which necessarily excited great and widespread discontent. For the Archbishop of Rheims, the King procured from the Pope a cardinal's hat. In like manner Montmorenci obtained many posts of honour and emolument for his family. In short, the weak Henry suffered his kingdom to become the prey of his rapacious courtiers; and when the holders of rich benefices, abbeys, or other offices, did not die fast enough, it is even said that their physicians were frequently bribed to despatch them with poison.³³

On the 23rd of May the body of Francis, as well as those of his two sons, the first dauphin, and the Duke of Orleans, were deposited with great pomp in the Cathedral of St. Denys. Henry occupied a window in the Rue St. Jacques to see the procession pass from Nôtre Dame on the previous day. As the funeral train approached, overcome for an instant, by an emotion of natural tenderness, and unable to restrain his tears, he would have moved away; but M. de Vieilleville consoled him, by pointing out what he called the goodness of Providence towards him in removing so many obstacles to his greatness; and he especially dwelt on the enmity borne to him by the Duke of Orleans, who, had he lived, would have been his most formidable enemy. Reassured by these remarks, Henry, as the bier of the Duke approached, who, as being the youngest, was carried first in the procession, is said to have exclaimed, "Here then comes the wretch who leads the van of my prosperity."³⁴

Henry II. was crowned at Rheims, July 27th 1547. He had summoned Charles V. to appear and do homage as Count of Flanders; an impotent explosion of envy and hatred, to which Charles replied, that if he came, it would be at the head of 50,000 men. Pope Paul III. entered into a close alliance with Henry, and brought about a marriage between his grandson Horatio and a natural daughter of the King's. There was now much talk of a league between France, Venice, and the Pope against the Emperor; but Henry was too much occupied with the pleasures of his court, and the intrigues of his courtiers, to devote much attention to the affairs of Germany, even if he had been in a situation to interfere with effect. Thus the death of Francis had occurred at a fortunate moment for Charles, as it allowed him to prosecute, without molestation, the policy which he had adopted in the German empire.

Such was the state of England and France. With the Pope, the relations of the Emperor had been for some time on an unsatisfactory, or rather a hostile, footing. The main subject of their

³³ *Mém. de Vieilleville*, liv. ii. c. 10.

l'avant-garde de ma félicité. — *Ibid.* c.

³⁴ "Voilà donc le bélétre qui mène

11.

discord was the COUNCIL OF TRENT, to the meeting of which, in December 1545, we have already adverted.³⁵ The assembly was small, consisting of only twenty-five prelates, four generals of orders, and a few of the lower clergy, for the most part either Spaniards or Italians, with a large proportion of monks, especially Dominicans, and a few Jesuits. Not a single Protestant appeared, and even among the Roman Catholics, the Council excited but little interest. The form of it, however, was legitimate and unexceptionable; and the Protestants, by absenting themselves, incurred the reproach of renouncing the important right of assisting in the adjustment of the doctrines and constitution of the Church.

It is plain that, with the exception, perhaps, of the extreme section of the monkish, and especially the Dominican theologians, the Council represented nothing but the temporary union of the Pope and Emperor for their political purposes. But the views of the Pope and the Emperor were not in accordance. We have seen that at the outbreak of the Smalcaldic war, the Emperor wished to represent it as undertaken merely for objects of state, while the Pope endeavoured to place it in the light of a religious crusade. The same respective views had prevailed throughout. The Emperor was anxious not to exasperate the Protestants, by the help, or through the neutrality, of a portion of whom he hoped to subdue the rest; and with this view he had endeavoured to impress on the Pope the necessity that the Council should first reform the abuses in the Church and in the Court of Rome, before it proceeded to settle points of doctrine. The Council, however, over which presided a papal legate, and in which, as it voted *per capita*, and not by nations, the Pope's party, through the preponderant number of Italian prelates, formed the majority, adopted the opposite course, and some of its first decisions, in April 1546, were in condemnation of the tenets of Luther. It declared that the authority of tradition was equal to that of Scripture; that the Latin Vulgate must remain the rule of faith, otherwise, mere grammarians might set themselves up as the teachers of bishops and theologians; that all the books of Scripture were equally genuine; of which, to avoid mistakes, a list was made out, including the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. It forbade any one

³⁵ The principal works on the Council of Trent are, Fra Paolo Sarpi, *Storia del Concilio Tridentino* (translated into French by Courayer); Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*. These two writers are diametrically opposed to each other. Fra Paolo was the leader of the

Catholic opposition to the Pope. He never owned his book, which was first published in England by Dominic of Spalatro. The object of Pallavicino, a Jesuit, was to confute Sarpi. His work appeared in 1656.

to twist Scripture to his own meaning, reserving the right of interpretation to the Church alone; and made other decrees of a like nature.

In their subsequent sittings in July, the Council proceeded to consider the doctrines of original sin and justification; and in order to exhibit some deference to the wishes of the Emperor, they discussed the question respecting the residence of bishops in their dioceses. This led to an inquiry whether such residence depended on Scripture or on the canon law, and ultimately to a still more difficult one, namely, whether bishops derived their office immediately from Christ, or whether they received it from the Pope. The Spanish prelates, by defending the former opinion, awakened the jealousy and suspicion of the legates, the Cardinals del Monte and Corvino; who, on pretence of the danger to which Trent was exposed in the war then breaking out, besought the Pope to transfer the Council to some other place. This, however, Paul demurred to do without the consent of the Emperor, whom he was fearful of offending; and as Charles gave the project a most decided refusal, the sittings were continued at Trent. The breach, however, between him and the Pope went on increasing. The Papal nuncio was not consulted in the capitulations granted by Charles to the towns of Upper Germany, in which concessions were granted with respect to religion which could not but be displeasing to the Papal Court; and his ambassadors often threatened that when he had settled the affairs of Germany, he would come to Trent to conduct the proceedings in person, and to carry out the resolutions respecting the reform of the Roman Curia. The Pope, to avoid such a consummation, hastened on the publication of the dogmatic Decree, respecting the doctrine of justification, which separated the two churches for ever (January 13th 1547); and at the same time, as the six months of service agreed upon in the treaty with the Emperor were expired, he recalled his troops from the Imperial camp.³⁶

Having thus decided on his policy, the Pope threw himself into the arms of France, and endeavoured to do Charles all the injury in his power. Paul's son, Peter Louis Farnese, who was also exasperated by the Emperor's refusal to invest him with Parma and Piacenza, took the same course; and the conspiracy which broke out at Genoa in January 1547 must be attributed to the machinations of the house of Farnese as well as of the French Court.

Andrew Doria, the head of the Genoese republic, now in his

³⁶ Ribier, t. i. p. 602.

eightieth year, was regarded by many citizens as the mere lieutenant of the Emperor, whom they considered as the real tyrant of the state. Among those who entertained such opinions was John Louis Fiesco Count of Lavagna, both by his birth and his possessions one of the principal nobles of Genoa. Fiesco was devoured with a secret jealousy of Doria's greatness, and he readily listened to the instigations of Farnese, and of the agents of France, to which party his house had always belonged, to organise a conspiracy against the admiral, in which personal hatred and ambition might be disguised under the veil of patriotism. Fiesco's position at Genoa, his handsome figure, his reputation for valour and generosity, and his affected zeal for the popular cause, all fitted him for an undertaking of this desperate nature; whilst on the other hand Doria, fast sinking into the decrepitude of age, had destined for his successor his great-nephew Giannettino Doria, whose haughty and overbearing temper had rendered him to the last degree unpopular. Fiesco closely concealed his hatred and his designs till his plot was ripe for execution, and continued till the last moment on terms of politeness and even apparent friendship with the Dorias.

A plot for the assassination of the admiral and his grand-nephew having failed, Fiesco, under pretext of fitting out a privateer against the Turks, the real secret of his intentions being intrusted to a few only of his most intimate confidants, introduced the boldest of his vassals into the city; and on the night of the 2nd of January, 1547 he gave a grand entertainment, to which were invited all those who from their youth and courage, as well as from their political sentiments, were likely to second his design with ardour. The guests were astonished to find the precincts and chambers of Fiesco's palace filled with men armed to the teeth; but when he revealed to them his plot, and informed them at the same time that all was ready for its execution, the whole assembly came at once into his views. Bands were immediately formed, headed by Fiesco's brothers and confidants; the harbour and the gates of the town were seized; Giannettino Doria was slain as he was hastening to appease the tumult; and the aged admiral himself was obliged to mount a horse and seek safety in flight. But now, when the conspiracy had succeeded, the conspirators looked round in vain for their leader. During the tumult a revolt had broken out among the slaves in the capitan galley; Fiesco was in the act of boarding the vessel to restore order when the plank on which he trod, suddenly giving way, he was precipitated into the water, and being encumbered with a cuirass, he sank to rise no

more. Discouragement and alarm seized his adherents. Instead of vigorously pursuing their designs to a successful termination, they began to parley with the government, and an amnesty being granted to them, they retired from the city. But the capitulation was not respected: some of the leaders were besieged in Montoglio, captured and executed, while others succeeded in escaping into France.³⁷

The troubles which broke out at Naples in the following May, though occasioned by an attempt of the viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, to introduce the Spanish inquisition into that kingdom, were also fomented by the house of Farnese and by the French. The Neapolitans, inspired by a natural horror of such a tribunal, rose in arms; and though in no country in Europe was the separation between the nobility and the people so marked, or the mutual hatred greater, yet on this occasion all ranks united to repel the dreaded institution. At the sound of the alarm-bell they all assembled; each noble gave his hand to a burgess, and in this fashion, and with shouts of "Union!" walked in procession to the church. The French engaged to assist them with a fleet commanded by one of the Fieschis, the Genoese refugees; but this promise was not fulfilled; and as the Spanish troops were marching upon Naples, the malcontents found themselves compelled to submit. Don Pedro de Toledo, in order to keep alive the animosity between the two classes, would treat only with the burgesses, to whom he gave a written promise that the inquisition should never more be heard of, and that all processes should be stopped. Some of the leaders of the revolt were executed; others, it is said, were taken off by poison; and the city was condemned to pay a heavy fine.³⁸

Meanwhile, in spite of the Emperor's remonstrances, the Council had been transferred from Trent to Bologna. In the next sittings was to have been discussed the doctrine of the Eucharist; but before the subject came on, most of the prelates, to whom the climate of Trent, and the mode of living in a not very agreeable town had long been irksome, left that city (March 12th), and either dispersed themselves or repaired to Bologna. The motive for this step was assigned to the breaking out of a pestilential disorder, which however does not appear to have been severe enough to justify it; and a small minority, consisting of eighteen prelates of the Imperial party, remained behind. Charles heard of this event at Nördlingen, while on his march into Saxony; and he imme-

³⁷ Thuanus, lib. iii. *init.*; Muratori, *Ann. d'Ital.* t. xiv. p. 352 sq.; De Retz, *La Conjuration du Comte de Fiesque*.

³⁸ Ribier, *Lettres de Guillard* t. ii. p. 20, 28; Muratori, *Ann.* t. xiv. p. 357; Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 270.

diately despatched to Rome the messenger who brought the news, with the strictest commands to his ambassador there to effect the speedy return of the Council to Trent, and to prevent by all means the holding of it at Bologna. Paul in his answer pretended that he had no power to compel the prelates to return to Trent; but he ordered those who had assembled at Bologna, and who held a sitting there on the 21st of April, to adjourn till September 6th. The Emperor, however, was persuaded that the Pope meant to deceive him; and this persuasion had considerable influence in inducing him to grant more favourable terms to the conquered Protestants.

Such was the state of Charles's foreign relations at the time of the Diet of Augsburg, to which we must now revert.

CHAPTER III.

As the Emperor approached Augsburg, the magistrates came a mile or two out of the town to meet him, and received him on their knees. He entered the city at the head of his Spanish and Italian troops, and took up his residence at the house of the Fuggers in the Wine Market. One of his first steps was to cause the cathedral, and another of the principal churches, to be purified from the defilement they had suffered by the exercise of the Protestant worship; after which, the Popish service was re-established in them with extraordinary pomp.

Had Charles been so inclined, he might now, perhaps, have rendered his authority despotic in Germany; yet he showed a wish to respect the constitution of the Empire; and all his views seemed directed to the appeasing of the religious dissensions. A marked change was observed in his appearance and conduct. During the late campaign he seemed to have become all at once an old man. His hair had grown completely gray; his countenance was pallid, his voice weak, and all his limbs affected with a lameness. The constitutional melancholy which he inherited from his mother, appeared to have much increased. Already, in the year 1542, he had expressed to the Duke of Borgia, afterwards General of the Jesuits, his intention of abandoning the court and the world so soon as his son should be capable of assuming the reins of government.¹ It was remarked, at Augsburg, that he mingled not in the festivities and amusements in which his brother Ferdinand and the other assembled princes indulged. He took his meals in solitude and silence; and it was seldom that the court jesters, who at that period entertained the leisure of the great, could extract from him the faintest smile.² It was to such a man, now for the first time truly lord of Germany, that princes and nobles, and the deputies of many great and wealthy cities, came to do homage on bended knees and with downcast eyes.

The Diet was very fully attended. All the seven Electors were there, as well as a large assembly of prelates, princes, and bur-

¹ Schmidt, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. i. S. 277.

² Sastrow, *Lebensb.* B. ii. S. 84.

gesses; for the members entitled to be present feared that they should be called to a severe account if they absented themselves. After some trouble, especially with the deputies of cities, the Emperor brought the three colleges to a unanimous decision on the subject of the Council—or rather he surprised their consent by assuming it,—so that he could tell the Pope that the Electors, the spiritual and temporal princes, and the cities, had submitted themselves to the synod “at Trent.” In this resolution the stress laid upon the designation of the place contained, in fact, a protest against the removal of the Council. There still remained, however, the more difficult task of persuading the Pope to restore the Council to that city; and the difficulty was increased by an occurrence which tended still further to widen the breach between the Emperor and the Pope.

Paul's son, Peter Louis Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, was a tyrant of the old Italian stamp; in lust and cruelty a Cæsar Borgia in miniature. The hatred of his subjects produced a not unusual catastrophe: Farnese was assassinated by a band of conspirators, at the head of whom was Count Agostino Landi. Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of Milan, appears to have been acquainted with the plot; nay, there are even strong suspicions that it had received the sanction of the Emperor himself.³ However this may be, Gonzaga occupied Piacenza with his troops, and Charles continued to hold possession of it, on the ground that he had never granted investiture to the murdered duke. The rage of the Pope at the death of his son and the seizure of his domains knew no bounds. He was ready to call the Turks, nay, hell itself, to his assistance. Among other things he contemplated a league with France, with the view of making the Duke of Guise King of Naples. On the 20th of September he addressed an angry epistle to the Emperor, demanding that the assassin should be punished, and that the town should be restored to Ottavio Farnese, the son of the murdered duke, and son-in-law of the Emperor.⁴ To which demand the Emperor returned an evasive answer.

These events rendered the breach as to the Council irreparable. The Pope could not, indeed, out of respect to public opinion, flatly refuse the proposals respecting the return of the Council, founded on the resolution of the Diet, which were laid before him in November by Madrucci, Cardinal of Trent; but he contrived that his

³ Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 11. In another passage Ranke observes: “Es wird schwerlich an Tag kommen, ob er zu der Ermordung Pier Luigis seine Einstimmung gegeben hat oder nicht.”—*Ibid.*

p. 109. Sismondi does not hesitate to describe the murder as “publiquement autorisé par le premier monarque de la Chrétienté.”—*Hist. des Français*, t. xii. p. 139.

⁴ Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 270.

answer should be equivalent to a refusal. He replied that he must consult the prelates assembled at Bologna, the very persons against whom the Emperor protested. These declared that the first step must be the reunion with themselves of the prelates who had remained behind at Trent. They then wished to know whether the German nation would recognise and observe the decrees already made at Trent; whether the Emperor did not mean to alter the form hitherto observed; and whether a majority of the Council might not definitively decide respecting either its removal or its termination. The Imperial plenipotentiary perceived from this answer that all hope of an accommodation was at an end, and immediately left Rome. Charles despatched two Spaniards, the licentiate Vargas and Doctor Velasco, to Bologna, who on the 16th January 1548, made a solemn protest against the translation of the Council, and all that it had subsequently done, as null and void; at the same time declaring that the Emperor must now assume the care of the Church, which had been deserted by the Pope. The Legate del Monte replied, that he should answer only to God for what he had done, and could not suffer the temporal power to arrogate the direction of a council. In short, it was a declaration of spiritual war.

It being now evident that no arrangement could be effected with the Pope, the Emperor determined upon a scheme for the settlement by his own authority of the religious differences which agitated Germany. With this view he commissioned three divines, Michael Helding, Suffragan Bishop of Mentz, Julius Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg, and John Agricola, court preacher of Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, to draw up some articles which were to be observed till the questions in dispute should be settled by a properly constituted and generally acknowledged council. The first of these divines represented the old Catholic party; the second its more liberal, or Erasmian section; while Agricola, though he had sat at Luther's table, was the exponent of the peculiar notions of his sovereign. From their labour was expected a code that should satisfy all parties; but, as commonly happens in such compromises, they succeeded in pleasing none. They drew up a formula consisting of twenty-six Articles, which, as it was intended only to serve a temporary purpose, obtained the name of the INTERIM. Most of the articles were in favour of the Roman Catholics, the only concessions of any importance to the Protestant views being the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and permission for the married clergy to retain their wives.

The College of Princes adopted the opinion of the spiritual

Electors: that church property should be restored; that a dispensation should be necessary for the marriage of priests and for receiving the cup in the Lord's Supper; above all, that the formula should not affect those who had remained in the old religion, but be applicable solely to the Protestants. The Emperor found himself obliged to accept this last condition. On the afternoon of the 15th of May 1548, the Colleges of the States were summoned to the Imperial apartments, where the Emperor and King Ferdinand sat enthroned. Although many wished that the subject should be fully discussed, the Archbishop of Mentz stood up after the reading of the Interim, and without any authority from his brother Electors, or from the assembly, thanked the Emperor for his unwearied endeavours to restore peace to the Church; and in the name of the Diet signified their approbation of the system proposed. Although the assembly was struck with astonishment at the impudence and presumption of the orator, yet nobody had the courage to contradict him; and the Emperor accepted the declaration of the archbishop as a full and constitutional ratification of the instrument: copies of which were now first distributed to the States, so that there was no opportunity for discussion.

One of the first to oppose the Interim was the new Elector Maurice, whom Charles had solemnly invested with the Saxon electorate on the 24th of February, his birthday. The investiture was conducted with all the ancient ceremonies: a stage, with a throne for the Emperor, was erected in the Wine Market; the other six Electors in their robes of state assisted at the solemnity; while John Frederick, the ex-Elector, looked on from the window of his lodgings with an undisturbed and even cheerful countenance. On the day after the publication of the Interim, Maurice handed to the Emperor a written protest against it. He remarked at the same time that he had been hindered from expressing his opinion; complained of the hasty and untimely speech of the Elector of Mentz; reminded Charles of the promises made to himself at Ratisbon; and expressed his dissatisfaction that the Protestants alone were to be subjected to the new formula. Charles affected surprise at the Elector's separating himself from the other states; but he promised to consider his protest, and two days after Maurice quitted Augsburg. The Elector Palatine and Joachim of Brandenburg accepted the Interim; Ulrich of Würtemberg also caused it to be published, and enjoined his subjects to obey it. There were, however, other malcontents besides Maurice. The Margrave John of Cüstrin remonstrated against it; and the deputies of several of the imperial cities alleged that they must await the instructions of

their constituents. With the cities, however, Charles adopted a more peremptory tone; treating with each separately, and beginning with Augsburg, the municipal councils of which were brought by the threats of Granvella to accept the Interim. The preachers were compelled to put on the vestments appointed in that formula; and it was ordered that a mass should be read every Sunday in the evangelical churches. Granvella proceeded in like manner with the deputies of the other cities, and he even went so far as to threaten some of the more obstinate with the flames.⁵

With the steadfast John Frederick the Imperial minister found more difficulty. Charles was desirous of obtaining the adherence of the deposed Elector, both for the sake of his influential example and on account of what possessions still remained in his family; and with this view Granvella, with his son the Bishop of Arras, and the Chancellor Seld were deputed to him. John Frederick kept the ambassadors to dinner; after which he caused his chancellor Minckwitz to read to them a strong protest against the Interim, and concluded by desiring them to hand it to the Emperor. For this act of honest contumacy a paltry vengeance was taken. The ex-Elector's servants were disarmed; his steward and cook were directed not to prepare any meat dinners on fast days; and what annoyed him more than all this, he was deprived of his court-preacher and of his books; among which were a splendidly illuminated Bible, and the works of Luther, in whose writings he found his chief solace, and which as he expressed himself, "went through his bones and marrow." He consoled himself, however, with the reflection that they could not be torn from his memory and heart. The Landgrave Philip, whose conduct forms a strong contrast to that of John Frederick, experienced even worse treatment. He wrote a very submissive letter to the Emperor from Donauwerth, June 23rd, in which, although he expressed his opinion that all the contents of the Interim could not be established from Scripture, he promised obedience and implored the Emperor's mercy. But he was only treated with still greater harshness and contempt.

As the Emperor had been obliged to exempt the Roman Catholics from the operation of the Interim, he carried out the wishes he had long entertained for the amendment of the Church by a separate edict of reformation, which was read June 14th, and published after the close of the Diet. It contained many excellent rules respecting the election of the clergy, their preaching, their administration of the sacraments and ceremonies, their discipline

⁵ Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. ii. S. 136.

and morals. Pluralities were abolished, visitations appointed, the German hierarchy reconstituted, episcopacy restored in Meissen and Thuringia, together with many other regulations of the like description. Never was an ordinance of such a nature drawn up with more wisdom and moderation. Even the advocate of the Roman Curia allows that it contained much that was good and approved of at Rome; but asserts that it was necessarily still-born, because a temporal prince had presumed to interfere in spiritual affairs.⁶

Charles also displayed his authority in this Diet by re-establishing the Imperial Chamber, by renewing and amending the *Land-friede*, or Public Peace, by sumptuary laws and new ordinances of police, and especially by incorporating the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands with the German Empire under the name of the Circle of Burgundy. The States were not consulted respecting this arrangement, with which they ventured not to find fault, although it was regarded with great dislike and suspicion. It was plain, indeed, that the whole gain of the measure would belong to the House of Austria, and that the Empire would be called upon to defend the Low Countries against the enemies of that house.⁷ Charles proceeded still more arbitrarily with several of the imperial cities, by depriving them of their municipal privileges and remodelling their government according to his will.

It was hardly to be expected that the Protestants, who had just thrown off the trammels of the Pope, should quietly submit to the dictation of a temporal prince in matters of conscience. Wherever, indeed, the authority of the Emperor prevailed, he compelled at least an external observance of the Interim, but the discontent was deep and universal. At Nuremberg, the only priest who said mass was obliged to go to church attended by a guard.⁸ More than 400 pastors are said to have been expelled from Suabia and the Rhenish provinces for rejecting the Interim⁹; and although it was forbidden to write against it, under pain of death, no fewer than thirty-seven attacks upon it appeared, including one by Calvin; whose situation, however, did not expose him to much risk of incurring the penalty.¹⁰ The towns of Lower Saxony entered into a league to resist the Interim; but it was Magdeburg and Constance that chiefly distinguished themselves by their opposition. The former, as we have seen, lay already under the ban of the Empire;

⁶ Pallavicini, lib. xi. c. ii. s. 1. The imperial *Formula Reformationis* is published in Goldasti, *Constit. Imperial*, t. ii. p. 325 sqq.

⁷ Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 166.

⁸ Calvini, *Epist.* No. 84.

⁹ Adamus, *Vita Melanch.* p. 344.

¹⁰ Dyer's *Life of Calvin*, p. 232 sqq.

on the 6th of August, Constance, although it had done no more than other towns, was subjected to the same penalty; but it had always been obnoxious to the House of Austria. A body of Spaniards attempted to surprise the city on the very day of the publication of the ban; the enterprise was frustrated by an act that may be paralleled with that of Horatius Cocles. Two Spaniards were hastening over the bridge that spans the Rhine to seize the open and unguarded gate; a citizen engaged them both, and finding himself likely to be overpowered, grappled with them, and dragged them after him into the stream. At length Constance was obliged to surrender to the forces of King Ferdinand, October 14th; and though an imperial city, it was seized by that prince for the House of Austria. After its capture the exercise of the Protestant worship was forbidden on pain of death. To the reduction of Magdeburg, a longer and more difficult enterprise, there will be occasion to revert. That city was now become the stronghold of Protestantism; and it was chiefly here that were published the numerous pamphlets, songs, caricatures, &c., in which the Interim was abused and ridiculed.

Maurice was very ill received on his return to his dominions. The States assembled at Meissen refused to accept the Interim, and seemed to be already turning towards Maurice's brother Augustus. All eyes were directed towards the Elector and his theologians, the successors and representatives of Luther, and especially towards Melancthon, whom Maurice had recalled to Wittenberg: for the university there had been dissipated by the war. Melancthon had published a pamphlet about the Interim, which had excited the minds of the Saxons against it; and the Elector's embarrassment was increased by a rescript from the Emperor requiring obedience, and calling upon him to banish Melancthon. That reformer, however, was not made of the same stern, unyielding stuff as Luther; and in this conjuncture it was perhaps fortunate that he was not so. Allowance must be made for the difficult position in which he was placed. He had to choose between the restoration of some unessential ceremonies, and the appearance of an Imperial army in Saxony, which, as it had done in Suabia, might carry matters to a still greater extremity.¹¹ Under these circumstances, he, and a few other divines who acted with him, consented to the resumption of certain usages and ceremonies, which they called *adiaphora*, or things indifferent, as not involving any points essential to salvation: such as the use

¹¹ See his letter to Joachim Moller, apud Matthes, *Leben Melancthons*, p. 308, in which he explains his motives.

of the surplice, lights, bells, unction, fast days and festivals, and the like; while they retained all the doctrines which they considered of vital importance. That this was a retrograde step cannot be denied: but the question was, whether they should make these concessions for the sake of conciliation, or run the risk of being still more harshly treated. From these considerations, a formula was drawn up in December 1548, which obtained the name of the LEIPSIK INTERIM, and was published in the following July. The concessions it contained drew down upon Melanchthon a storm of obloquy from those more violent and bigoted reformers whose situation exempted them from feeling the motives which actuated him; and particularly from Matthias Flaccius, a young divine, who had some motives of personal enmity against Melanchthon, as well as from Calvin himself, in their safe retreats in Magdeburg and Geneva.¹²

The Interim caused as much displeasure at Rome as among the reformers, and was anathematised at once by Geneva and the Jesuits. Violent treatises were published, both in Italy and France, as well against the concessions made to the Lutherans as against the sacrilegious intervention of the temporal power in the affairs of religion. The Roman ecclesiastics compared the Emperor's conduct with that of Henry VIII., to which, indeed, it bore considerable resemblance; and they denounced his deed as equally guilty with that of Uzzah, who had touched with unhallowed hand the Ark of God. Paul himself, with more sagacity, perceived the weakness of the foundation on which the Emperor had built. By joining either of the parties, Charles might have crushed the other; by attempting to steer between them, he lost the control of both.

Meanwhile the French party was active in Italy. In his foreign policy, Henry II. was directed by the Guises rather than by Montmorenci; both these parties in the cabinet were strongly anti-Protestant, but the Guises were also anti-Imperial. While persecuting the reformed religion with the most implacable virulence at home, Henry, like his father, would willingly have assisted the German Lutherans against the Emperor. That party, however, was too much humbled to attempt anything decisive; and the French

¹² Ranke, who condemns the conduct of Melanchthon on this occasion (*Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 86 f.), says that the letter which Calvin addressed to him (*Epist.* No. 117) must have rent his heart. It appears, however, to have excited a feeling of indignation rather than sorrow, for Melanchthon tore it up in the presence of some third parties. (See *Calvini Epist.*

No. 141.) Calvin himself afterwards repented of his letter, as appears from his *Life*, written by his disciple and successor Beza. ("Philippo etiam officii admonito, quem nonnulli ut in eo molliorem accusabant; immerito id quidem, ut accuratius postea Calvinus cognovit."—*Vit. Calv.* ann. 1549.)

King was fain to content himself with insidious attacks upon the power of the Emperor. In the summer of 1548, Henry, surrounded by a brilliant court, paid a visit to Turin; where, by assembling the garrisons distributed through Piedmont, he might, in a few days, have converted his escort into an army. His object was to support various conspiracies against the Emperor in Italy, which had been chiefly hatched by the Cardinal du Bellay, the French ambassador at Rome.¹³ Of these conspiracies, no fewer than three were directed against Genoa, and involved the assassination of Andrew Doria. The first, in which the brothers of Fiesco were concerned, with Giulio Cibò, Marquis of Massa Carrara, failed through Cibò's being denounced by his own mother. When arrested, letters were found upon him from the Cardinal of Guise, which showed that the latter was privy to the plot, and had communicated it to Henry II.¹⁴ The two other conspiracies, at the head of which were Paul Spinola, and a monk named Barnabas Adorno, also failed. At Parma, two plots for the assassination of Gonzaga, the Governor of the Milanese, were likewise discovered and frustrated, and the authors of them executed. In their examination, these men declared that they had been employed by the sons of Peter Louis Farnese, the murdered duke; that the French King was aware of their designs, and had come into Italy for the purpose of taking advantage of the disturbances which might follow on their accomplishment. From a letter of Cardinal Du Bellay, it appears that there was a further plot for massacring the governor and Spanish garrison at Naples, and seizing that city.¹⁵ These enterprises had not been supported with the expected vigour by Paul III. After the first transports of rage had subsided, fear had taken their place in the bosom of the sly and subtle, and now aged, Pontiff, who began to renew his negotiations with the Emperor: and after a short stay at Turin, Henry was recalled to France, by an insurrection of the peasantry of Guienne, on the subject of the *gabelle*, or salt-tax, and the extortions and oppressions of the revenue officers. The insurgents acted with great barbarity; but though their forces are said at one period to have numbered 50,000 men, they had no competent chief to direct them, and could not venture to oppose the royal troops, under the Constable Montmorenci and the Duke of Aumale. At their approach, the citizens of Bordeaux, who had taken part in the insurrection, so far from attempting to resist, despatched a magnificent

¹³ Letter of Du Bellay, Rome, Feb. 18th 1548, in Ribier, t. ii. p. 110.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* and p. 114; Adriani, *Istoria*

de' suoi tempi, lib. vi. p. 243 ed. 1583; Thuanus, lib. iii. (t. i. p. 80).

¹⁵ Ribier, t. ii. p. 130.

barge for the conveyance of Montmorenci within their walls; but the rugged Constable declared that he meant to enter in another fashion, and battered down a breach with his artillery. He treated the citizens with the greatest harshness and cruelty. During more than a month, the executions succeeded one another with frightful rapidity, though without any formal trial. More than 140 persons were put to death, some with the most dreadful tortures, as by fire, the wheel, or dismemberment by four horses. Two of the ringleaders were crowned with red-hot crowns, in mockery of their sovereignty, and then broken on the wheel. Such were the barbarities still allowed to those who had the power and the heart to execute them. The citizens were compelled to disinter with their nails the body of Tristan de Moneins, Lieutenant of the King of Navarre, and a relation of the Constable's, who had been brutally murdered at the commencement of the revolt. Bordeaux was condemned to lose all its privileges and liberties; the jurats were compelled to burn its charters with their own hands; the townhall was ordered to be demolished, and a fine of 20,000 livres was exacted. The impolicy of these penalties, however, in case of a war with England, caused them soon afterwards to be remitted. The more prudent d'Aumale acquired a popular reputation by tranquillising Saintonge and the Angoumois without enforcing any punishment.

But the brutality of Montmorenci had done its work. His crimes, though now of little import, and almost forgotten, raised an indignant voice, whose echoes may still be heard. That very year, in sight of the scaffolds erected by the Constable, Etienne de la Boétie, of Sarlat, in Périgord, a young man of eighteen, the friend of Montaigne, wrote his *Contr'un*, or *Discours de la Servitude volontaire*, one of the most burning and brilliant declamations ever launched against tyranny. The doctrines there laid down regarding the true principles of civil liberty, and the right of popular resistance, are remarkable for the period, and show as great an advance in politics as the Reformation did in religion. But they were destined to be stifled during two centuries and a half of tyranny, and to accumulate, by repression, that fearful venom which burst forth at the French Revolution.¹⁶

After the conclusion of the Diet, Charles left Augsburg for the Netherlands (August 13th 1548), dragging with him in his train the two captive princes. The Landgrave he sent to Oudenarde, while he carried John Frederick with him to Brussels.

¹⁶ La Boétie, who became a counsellor of the Parliament of Bordeaux, died in 1565, in the arms of his friend Montaigne,

at the early age of thirty-five. His treatise is published at the end of Montaigne's Works.

One of Charles's objects in proceeding to the Netherlands, where he remained till the spring of 1550, was to cause his son Philip, now in his twenty-first year, to be recognized by his future subjects in those provinces, as well as to complete his education by initiating him under the paternal eye, in all the arts of government. The Emperor had also a design, which we shall have to explain further on, of procuring, after the death of his brother Ferdinand, the Imperial crown for Philip; and with this view, the latter, in order that he might become acquainted with the Germans, was directed to take the road through Germany on his way into the Netherlands. Charles having secured the obedience of most part of the former country, and feeling his own health declining, was anxiously considering how he might best perpetuate the greatness of the House of Austria. He and his brother now held between them Spain, the Netherlands, Naples, Milan, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Empire; but the lapse of a generation or two would sever the intimate connection between these possessions, unless care were taken to prevent such a result.

The absence of Philip was very unpopular in Spain. The national spirit, however, had been considerably broken during the reign of Charles; and though some discontent was manifested by the Cortes, the opposition was neither well conducted nor persevering. America afforded a vent for the more ardent spirits; and the Duke of Alva, in assembling the Cortes, excluded the prelates and nobles, and summoned only the deputies of towns. It was also some satisfaction to the Spaniards, that during the absence of the infant Philip, the government was intrusted to the Archduke Maximilian, the Emperor's nephew, whom he had recently married to his daughter Mary.

Charles directed his son, before leaving Spain, to remodel his court after the Burgundian fashion, which was much more splendid and ceremonious than that of Castile. The young prince embarking at Barcelona, proceeded to Genoa, and thence to Milan, where he spent some time in a round of festivities. The whole journey from that place to Flanders, through the Tyrol, and by Munich and Heidelberg to Brussels, was performed on horseback. At Trent, Philip was met by the Elector Maurice, who accompanied him some way on his journey. The young prince took evident pains to render himself popular with the Germans; but to conciliate affection lay not in his nature. His cold, haughty, and repulsive manners disgusted them as well as the Flemings.¹⁷

¹⁷ There are some curious particulars of Philip's haughty behaviour at Trent in Sastrow's *Lebensbeschreibung*, Buch xi. Kap. i. When the Cardinal of Trent re-

The Emperor, in order to find employment for the French arms, and prevent them from being directed against himself, would willingly have embroiled France and England in a war; and during the revolt of Guienne, he endeavoured to persuade the Protector Somerset to revive the pretensions of England to that province.¹⁸ But although the policy of France, directed by the Guises, was well calculated to provoke hostility, yet the factions with which England was then distracted, as well as the dangerous intrigues of his own family, made Somerset desirous of peace.

To foment hostilities between England and Scotland was the natural policy of the Guises, as well from considerations of religion as from the far more powerful motive of family interest. After the accession of Edward VI. the reformed religion had been established in England; and the views of Somerset, a zealous Protestant, were directed to extend the reformation to Scotland, where there was already a considerable Protestant party, and by a marriage between Edward VI. and Mary, the young Queen of Scots, to effect a union of the two crowns. This, however, would have been fatal to the ambition of the Guises, who were desirous of forming a marriage between their young niece and the Dauphin Francis, son of Henry II. And as a union between England and Scotland would have deprived France of a means she had often employed to harass and weaken the former country through the latter, they did not find much difficulty in persuading the French King to refuse the ratification of a treaty concluded at London, March 11th 1547, respecting Boulogne, and for regulating the affairs of Scotland.¹⁹ The Scotch Parliament and the Regent Arran had also declined to ratify the previous treaty between Henry VIII. and Francis I., in which Scotland had been included. Party differences in that country were hot and rancorous. The adherents of the reformed religion were for the English marriage and alliance, while the Roman Catholics found their rallying point in France. The latter party had been led by the savage and bigoted Cardinal Beaton, detested by the Protestants for his cruelty, and even by the Roman Catholic nobles for his overbearing arrogance, which at length caused his destruction. A private affront to Norman Lesly, son of the Earl of Rothes, led that young

minded him of the difference between the electoral princes of Germany and the Spanish grandees, and pointed to his father's behaviour towards the former as an example, Philip replied, that there was also a great difference between him and his father, the latter being only the son

of a king, while he was the son of an emperor! "Die *lineamenta facidi*," observes Sastrow, "zeigten wohl an dass nicht sonderliche Scharfsinnigkeit vorhanden."

¹⁸ Thuanus, liv. v. (t. i. p. 164).

¹⁹ Rymer, t. xv. pp. 135, 139, 149.

nobleman to effect his assassination in the castle of Saint Andrews, a little before the conclusion of the treaty just alluded to. Mary of Guise the Queen-mother, now the head of the Catholic party, in vain attempted to secure the conspirators, who, though only 150 in number, succeeded in holding the castle of Saint Andrews against her forces; upon which, she applied to her brothers for assistance, and with the aid of twenty-one French galleys and some troops, Saint Andrews was forced to capitulate, July 3rd 1547. Meanwhile the Protector Somerset, advancing with an army of 18,000 men, inflicted a terrible defeat on the Regent Arran, who had much superior forces, at the battle of Pinkey, September 10th 1547. Somerset was prevented from pursuing his victory by domestic disturbances in England, which compelled his return; but this defeat diminished the consideration of the Regent Arran, and increased the influence of the Queen-mother. She saw no safety except in a French alliance, and through the influence of her brothers she succeeded in arranging a marriage between her daughter Mary and the Dauphin Francis. The prospect of securing the crown of Scotland in his family induced Henry II., although at peace with England, to send some troops to the assistance of the Scotch. Mary, the young Queen of Scots, was carried into France for her education till the time should arrive for the consummation of the marriage; and 6000 French troops which had been landed in Scotland assisted in repulsing the attacks of the English. The latter having rejected a summons to desist from these hostilities, France in 1549 declared open war. A French fleet, under the command of Leo Strozzi, a Florentine refugee, issuing from Havre de Grâce, defeated the English fleet near Guernsey. Towards the end of August, Henry II. in person approached Boulogne with an army and captured some of the neighbouring forts; but the siege of Boulogne itself was deferred till the following year. The French arms were assisted by the distracted state of England. The Earl of Warwick and his party, who had succeeded to the power of Somerset, though they had condemned the Protector for desiring a peace with France, found themselves compelled to adopt that measure; and a treaty was signed, March 24th 1550, by which Boulogne was surrendered to the French for 400,000 crowns, instead of the 2,000,000 stipulated by the treaty of 1546.²⁰ It was indeed too expensive to be kept.

During this period the religious persecutions in France were continued with the utmost severity. The policy of the Guises,

²⁰ Rymer, t. xv. p. 211; King Edward VI.'s *Journal* (Mar. 24th 1549).

and the despotism which with the Constable was an instinct, united in favour of persecution; and Diana, who had been personally affronted by an enthusiastic reformer, inclined the same way. The splendid fêtes given in Paris at the coronation of Henry's queen, Catherine de' Medici, in June 1549, were concluded by an *auto-da-fé*, in which four wretches convicted of Lutheranism were burnt at a slow fire. The hunting down of heretics was profitable to the French courtiers. They were put on the same footing as usurers, and it was not unusual for a favourite to obtain a royal *brevet* granting him the estates of such persons, throughout an entire province.²¹ The Protestants lost at this time one of their best friends and protectors, Margaret, Queen of Navarre, who died at Bigorre, December 21st 1549. Her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, though evangelically inclined, was yet too young to afford them much assistance.

Pope Paul III., who had attained the great age of eighty-two, expired a little before (November 10th). He may be said to have fallen a victim to his ambition, the ruling passion of so many Popes. During the latter months of his life he had attempted to mollify the Emperor by concessions; he had first suspended, and then dissolved, the Council of Bologna (September 1549), but had obtained nothing by this conduct. Fearing that Parma would fall like Piacenza²², into the hands of the Emperor, he had brought that duchy into direct dependance on the Holy See, offering his grandson, Ottavio Farnese, the Duchy of Castro, in exchange for it. But to this arrangement Ottavio would not accede, and with his brothers actually entered into a league with Ferdinand Gonzaga, their father's murderer, for the purpose of recovering Parma. This news threw the aged Pope into so violent a fit of rage, that he fell senseless on the floor; and though he survived three weeks, it can hardly be doubted that the agitation of his spirits contributed to hasten his end. He had occupied the chair of St. Peter fifteen years, and was esteemed for his talent and sagacity.

The conclave which assembled for the election of Paul's successor, agitated by the intrigues of France, the Imperial party and the Farnese family, lasted three months. The new Pope was at length chosen by a sort of accident, or caprice. Five or six car-

²¹ Vieilleville, liv. iii. c. 19.

²² The Pope had in the summer demanded back Piacenza from the Emperor, and on Charles's refusal, the Nuncio, with a rhetoric amounting to blasphemy, cited the Pope, the Emperor, and Granvella to appear within six months before the

throne of God, where he also wished to be himself; that, as he could not find justice on earth, he might obtain a hearing before the great Judge. *Letter of Marillac*, June 20th 1549, in Ribier, t. ii. p. 217.

dinals were standing round the altar of the chapel, discussing the difficulties of the election, when Cardinal del Monte suddenly exclaimed, "Choose me, and you shall be my companions and favourites."²³ His election was effected, and Del Monte, who had been chamberlain to Julius II., assumed the title of Julius III. The Roman prelates of that day were not in general remarkable for morality, but of all the Sacred College, Del Monte, a profligate and a cynic, was, perhaps, the most unfit for the office to which he had been called. One of his first acts was to make the keeper of his ape a cardinal; a young man whose relations to his patron cannot be named. Some cardinals asking Julius what great merits he had found in this person to justify such an elevation? he retorted with an audacious modesty, "And pray what qualities did you observe in me deserving of the tiara?"

Del Monte, who as President of the Council of Trent, had taken the lead in transferring that assembly to Bologna, was naturally obnoxious to the Emperor; yet, as Julius III., he preferred the Imperial alliance to that of France; and one of his earliest measures was to conciliate Charles by authorizing the re-opening of the Council at Trent. The Emperor had summoned a Diet to meet at Augsburg on the 25th of June 1550, and in May he left Brussels to repair thither with his son Philip. He was now much more embittered against the Protestants than he had appeared to be during the Smalcaldic war; or rather, perhaps he thought it no longer necessary to retain the mask. The German reformers might infer from his proceedings in the Netherlands what they had to expect in the event of his obtaining absolute power. Before leaving that country he established there the Spanish Inquisition; and he published at Brussels a most cruel and tyrannical edict against the Protestants (April 29th). To buy, sell, or possess, any Protestant books, to hold any secret meetings for discussing the Scriptures, to speak against the worship of the Virgin and saints, was prohibited on pain of death, and confiscation of property. As it was suspected that the enthusiasm of women might cause them to despise death by decapitation, the penalty prescribed for the male sex, it was ordained that females guilty of these offences should be buried alive, or, in case of pertinacity, burnt at a slow fire. The power of the inquisitors was augmented, and informers were encouraged in their hateful office, by receiving a part of the property of the victims.²⁴ Under this horrible decree, a mother who had not denounced her son for reading the Bible, was buried alive at Mons.

²³ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 276.

²⁴ Edict in Sleidan, lib. xxii. *sub init.*

The Diet of Augsburg was opened July 26th. There was a very full attendance of prelates, but of temporal princes, only Duke Albert of Bavaria, and Henry the younger, of Brunswick, were present in person; the rest sent representatives. The town was so filled with Spanish soldiers that the assembly obtained the name of "the Armed Diet." Charles was able to announce in his speech the consent of the Pope to the re-opening of the Council at Trent. That Council, however, would be useless unless the Protestants could be brought to submit to its decrees; and to enforce this submission was one of the Emperor's objects in summoning the Diet. He regarded most of the princes and states of Germany as being now either subdued, or attached to his policy from inclination; and in the latter class he ranked the Elector Maurice, who had always shown himself subservient to his views. But Maurice had now attained the object of his wishes, and with the duplicity and ambition natural to him, he was disposed to take a very different view of matters, than when he needed the Emperor's assistance to despoil his kinsman. He was sagacious enough to perceive that it was Charles's object to establish in Germany an absolute and hereditary tyranny, as he had done in his paternal dominions; in which case the Elector's own power and authority would dwindle to a mere name, and perhaps be entirely extinguished. He saw that Protestantism was the chief safeguard for the political privileges of the German princes; he had reason to suspect that the Emperor would not tolerate that faith any longer than he was compelled; in his heart, too, Maurice preferred the Protestant faith to the Roman Catholic. Moreover, he was not without cause for personal enmity against the Emperor. He felt that he had been deceived by Charles respecting the treatment of his father-in-law, the Landgrave of Hesse; and his pride at all events, if not his affection for his relative, had been wounded by the neglect with which all his entreaties and remonstrances on that subject had been received. To be the head, moreover, of the Protestant party was a more glorious part than to be the mere lieutenant of the Emperor; and the reproaches of his brethren in religion, if they did not afflict his conscience, mortified at least his self-esteem. But he had a very difficult game to play. He was aware that he had become an object of suspicion to the Protestants, without whose assistance he could not hope to stand against the Emperor; while, on the other hand, any steps he might take to gain their support would be sure to awaken the suspicion and anger of Charles. Maurice met these difficulties with that uncommon mixture of boldness and duplicity which marked his character: he

determined to side with the Protestants, on the subject of the Council, and with the Emperor, on that of the Interim. The Saxon ambassador at the Diet was instructed to protest that his master would never submit to the Council, except on condition that the decrees already made at Trent should be reconsidered; that the Protestant divines should be allowed a deliberative voice; and that the Pope should renounce all idea of presiding over and conducting its proceedings. Even this conduct, however, did not arouse the suspicion of Charles, who fancied that the Elector, in thus acting, merely wanted to preserve his credit with his party. When, therefore, the States, at the instance of the Emperor, made provision for the war against Magdeburg, and further recommended that Maurice should conduct it, Charles readily assented. He had neither health, money, nor leisure, to begin another German war himself: and he even considered it a high stroke of policy to engage the Protestant princes in the reduction of a city regarded as the stronghold of their faith. The rigid divines of Magdeburg, however, looked upon Maurice as an apostate from their creed, and overwhelmed him with calumnies. Accompanied by Lazarus Schwendi, as Imperial commissary, he appeared before that town with his troops in November 1550, and we shall revert a little further on to his proceedings.

During the sitting of this Diet Charles endeavoured to carry out the project, to which we have already alluded, that Ferdinand should procure the succession of the infant Philip to the Imperial crown, after his own decease, to the prejudice of his son Maximilian; although the latter, when Philip should have attained the Imperial crown, was to be made King of the Romans, and the empire was thus, eventually, to remain in Ferdinand's line.²⁵ To discuss this important project, Queen Mary proceeded from Brussels to Augsburg, and Ferdinand recalled his son Maximilian from Spain. Ferdinand had at first given a flat refusal; but at length, after long and secret negotiations, a contract was made between Ferdinand and Philip, March 9th 1551, by which the former engaged, when he should become Emperor, to procure the election of Philip as King of the Romans.²⁶ The other part of the plan, that Philip, when Emperor, should do the like by Maximilian, was secured only

²⁵ It was never contemplated that Ferdinand himself should waive his claim to the empire, as asserted by Robertson and other historians. The plan was the postponement of Ferdinand's son Maximilian in favour of Charles's son Philip.

(See Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 122. Cf. Menzel, B. ii. S. 177.)

²⁶ *Acte d' Accord*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 125. It is not certain that this treaty was ever ratified, and it was never carried out; but it serves to show the intention.

by Philip's promise, as it was thought that the Electors would not entertain a scheme founded on so remote a contingency.

The recess of the Diet of Augsburg was published February 14th 1551. The States had been brought to recognise the Council, though in very general terms, and to remit to the Emperor's discretion the question concerning the restitution of ecclesiastical property. Whilst this assembly was sitting, Charles lost the ablest of his ministers, Nicholas Perrenot de Granvella, his chancellor, who died at Augsburg August 28th 1550. Charles bestowed the chancellorship on Granvella's son, Antony, Bishop of Arras, who possessed all the diplomatic ability of his father, and subsequently became a cardinal.

Meanwhile the clouds of war between France and the Emperor were silently gathering. Besides political reasons, the French King was instigated by personal enmity against Charles. Though of weak judgment and easily governed, Henry II. was constant in his affections and implacable in his resentments, and he had never forgiven Charles the sufferings inflicted on him during his captivity in Spain. For some time he had been preparing for a war. In June 1549, the ancient league of France with the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland had been renewed, in which also two of the Protestant ones, Bâle and Schaffhausen, were included. An intimate alliance was contracted with England at the time of the peace already mentioned. Henry sent to Edward VI. the collar of his order of Saint Andrew, and negotiations were entered into for a marriage between Edward and the French King's daughter Elizabeth, then only five years old; which was eventually concluded by a treaty signed at Angers in July 1551. The peace was proclaimed in England May 28th 1550. Apprehension of the Emperor's plans was a motive with the English Court to keep on friendly terms with France. Credible information was received that Charles designed to carry off his relative, the Princess Mary, to Antwerp, and to endeavour to place her on the English throne by means of a domestic conspiracy assisted by an Imperial army: and the coast of Essex was strictly watched in order to prevent her escape.²⁷

The views of France were also extended towards Italy. Although the Emperor was master of the Milanese and dominant in Genoa, the possession of the duchy of Parma was still necessary to him in order effectually to exclude the French from central and southern Italy. Pope Julius III. had, on his accession, confirmed Ottavio

²⁷ Edward VI.'s *Journal* (13th July, 1550).

Farnese, the son of Peter Louis, in the possession of Parma, to be held as a fief of the Church. Charles, who still retained Piacenza, offered the republic of Sienna in exchange for Parma, and even engaged to hold the latter under the Pope, as suzerain, and to pay an annual quit-rent. Julius was naturally averse to accept so powerful a vassal; but after hesitating some time between the menaces of the Emperor and those of the French King, he at length submitted to the former. Ottavio upon this threw himself on the protection of France, and Henry II., by a treaty signed in May 1551, engaged to assist him with troops and money. At this news the Pope, who was now completely governed by Charles, declared Ottavio a rebel, and despatched an army against him; while the Emperor sequestered the dowry of his own natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, the consort of Ottavio; and towards the middle of June directed Gonzaga, the governor of the Milanese, to attack Parma. Two small armies of Italians in the pay of France succeeded, however, for some time in defending that city; till Henry II., weary of being merely the auxiliary of the Duke of Parma, ordered Marshal Brissac, the governor of Piedmont, to attack the Imperial possessions, though without any previous declaration of war. On the night of September 3rd, the troops of Brissac, surprised and captured the towns of S. Damiano and Chieri, but an attempt on Chierasco failed. At the same time a fleet of forty galleys under the Baron de la Garde, issuing from the ports of Provence, captured some Spanish merchant vessels, and in concert with another squadron under Leo Strozzi, prevented Andrew Doria from issuing out from Genoa. The approach of winter, however, put a stop to these operations.

Another means of assailing the Emperor was to revive against him the hostility of the Turks. Notwithstanding Francis I.'s experience of Turkish friendship at Nicé and at Toulon, it remained a fixed idea in France that the power of Charles must be checked through that of the Sultan; and hostilities between the former and the celebrated pirate-captain, Torgbud or Draghut, a genuine successor of Chaireddin, afforded a pretence for inciting Solymán to take up arms.

For some years Draghut had been the terror of the Mediterranean. His squadron, which sometimes numbered forty swift-sailing vessels, appeared at the most unexpected points, captured richly-laden merchantmen, plundered the coasts, and bore off all the inhabitants that could be seized into slavery. An anxious look-out was kept from cliff and castle for his dreaded sails, the approach of which was signalled by columns of smoke. At length, partly by

fraud and partly by force, Draghut succeeded in seizing the town of Afrikia, or Mehdia, near Tunis, where the Moors and Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal had established a sort of republic. This proceeding excited the anger of Charles, who with the aid of some Papal and Florentine galleys, and of the Knights of St. John settled at Tripoli, wrested Afrikia from the hands of Draghut. D'Aramont, the French ambassador at Constantinople, took advantage of this incident, which he represented as a breach of the truce existing between the House of Austria and the Porte, to incite the Sultan to action; and early in 1551, Solyman despatched a fleet into the Mediterranean with the design of recovering Afrikia. The plan failed; but after a fruitless attempt upon Malta, the Turks succeeded in taking Tripoli, which was but poorly defended by the knights (August 14th.) At this time D'Aramont, who had been to France for instructions, was at Malta on his way back to Constantinople, whither he proceeded in the Turkish fleet, a circumstance not calculated to refute the reports then prevalent of the participation of France in these affairs.

Besides all these hostile intrigues and demonstrations, Henry II. also opposed the Emperor in his favourite project of the Council. After obtaining an assurance from Henry that the French prelates should repair to Trent to counterbalance the influence of the Imperialists²⁸, Julius III. had published a Bull for the reassembling of the Council at that place on May 1st 1551; which was, however, on account of the small number of prelates then present, adjourned to September 1st. At this second session appeared on the part of the French King, Jacques Amyot, the celebrated translator of Plutarch, to protest against the legality of the Council. This step was followed up by several other acts of hostility against the Pope. The French prelates were forbidden to appear at Trent; the remitting of money to Rome, or any place subject to the Roman See, was prohibited; and to obviate any censures which the Pope might fulminate against him, Henry II. instructed his Keeper of the Seals to enter an appeal to a future Council. He also persuaded the Swiss Cantons to refuse to recognise the Council of Trent.

Charles on the other hand was straining every nerve to maintain the Council and to make its authority respected. He persuaded the three ecclesiastical Electors to proceed to Trent, and compelled several of the German prelates to appear there, either in person or by proxy. He also exhorted the Protestant princes to send their divines thither to explain and defend their tenets; though at the same

²⁸ Sarpi, lib. iii. p. 286 (*Op. t. i.* ed. Helmstat, 1761).

time he was acting as if the Council had already given a decree against them; and the places of the expelled Protestant clergy in Suabia were supplied with their most bitter and bigoted adversaries, nominated by the sole authority of the Emperor. After these acts of tyranny Charles set out for Innsbruck, in order that he might be at hand to superintend the proceedings of the Council, as well as for the sake of easy access in case his affairs should call him either into Germany or Italy.

But the French King, not content with the hostile measures already related, had also entered into correspondence with the Emperor's domestic enemies, the German Protestants, and particularly the Elector Maurice. We have already mentioned that Maurice had been intrusted by the Emperor with the siege of Magdeburg, and that he had invested that city in November 1550: yet he had sent an agent to the French King, as early as the preceding July, with assurances of extreme friendship²⁹; and the allied Protestant princes had engaged that, on the next vacancy of the Imperial Crown, they would elect either Henry himself, or some Prince that might be agreeable to him. We shall not detail the history of the long siege of Magdeburg, which Maurice purposely conducted with little vigour. Suffice it to say, that on the 3rd of November 1551 he granted the citizens a capitulation, which, though it involved the surrender of the town, was, in fact, a peace on favourable conditions. Nominally, indeed, they were to submit to the pleasure of the Emperor, and were to pay a fine of 50,000 florins; but they were assured that their liberties and privileges, both civil and religious, should be respected. Maurice entered the town, November 7th, and preserved the same moderation which he had displayed during the siege; yet he managed the whole affair with so much address, that Charles suspected no fraud or collusion, nor hesitated to ratify the terms of the capitulation.

Only a month before, however, Maurice had already concluded a formal treaty with France. Henry had sent Jean de Fresse, Bishop of Bayonne, into Saxony; who, as the result of some secret negotiations at the Castle of Lohe, conducted partly by Maurice in person and partly by Von Heydeck as his representative, signed a treaty (October 5th), of which the following are the principal articles: that Maurice should be the commander-in-chief of the German confederates; that he and his associates should furnish 7000 horse and foot in proportion, and attack the Emperor wherever he might be; that the King of France should provide

²⁹ Raumer's *Briefe aus Paris*, Th. i. S. 23.

240,000 crowns for the pay of the army during the first three months, and afterwards 60,000 crowns a month, and make the first payment at Basle on February 25th; that he should seize the towns of Cambrai, Toul, Metz and Verdun, and hold them as Vicar of the Empire; and that at the next vacancy, either he himself or some prince whom he approved of, should be elected to the Imperial Crown. The motives assigned for concluding the treaty, were to liberate the Landgrave of Hesse from his five years' captivity, as well as to free Germany from a "bestial, insupportable, and perpetual servitude," and restore its ancient liberties and constitution.³⁰ John Frederick was also to be liberated, but on condition that before he was reinstated in the dominions still left to him, he should bind himself towards Maurice by such pledges "as the common good demands"—that is, of course, that he should not require back the Electorate. A treaty of great historical importance, especially as regards the claims of France to the towns of Metz, Toul, Verdun and Cambrai. The parties to it, besides the Elector Maurice, were George Frederick Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach, John Albert Duke of Mecklenburg, William of Hesse, son of the Landgrave Philip, and the King of Denmark.

Although the King of France was already engaged in hostilities with the Emperor in Italy, the idea of attacking him on the side of Germany caused Henry to pause long before he ratified the treaty. Maurice secretly despatched into France, under an assumed name, his friend and ally the Margrave Albert to persuade Henry to consent. The French King sent for Schertlin, the former commander of the Suabian troops, who had lately entered his service; and for nearly two months consultations were nightly held at the courts of Paris, Orleans and Blois. When the German negotiators were conducted through the rooms, the Margrave followed Schertlin as his attendant, under the name of Captain Paul of Biberach. At length on the 15th of January 1552, Henry signed and swore to the treaty at the Castle of Chambord near Blois, and sealed it with a sapphire, which the Suabian Knights heard with astonishment was 1000 years old.³¹

In December Maurice had made another attempt to procure the liberation of the Landgrave, by sending to Charles at Innsbruck a solemn embassy, whose demand to that effect was supported not only by the King of Denmark and many princes of the empire, but also by the Emperor's own brother, King Ferdinand. Charles

³⁰ Dumont, iv. pt. iii. p. 31.

³¹ Schertlin's *Leben und Thaten*, p. 82 (ed. Münster, 1858). Schertlin dates the

treaty on 2nd Feb.; but the 15th Jan. is the true date.

returned an evasive answer, as indeed Maurice had hoped and expected; whose sole intention in sending the embassy was to place the Emperor's unfeeling conduct in a hateful point of view, and to obtain a plausible pretext for the blow he was about to strike. Charles on his side did not believe that Maurice was in earnest. He had seen some years before at Augsburg how little the young Elector really cared about the liberation of his father-in-law, and he and his ministers, from Maurice's dissolute life; had contracted for him a sort of contempt. Charles imagined that he only made the application in order to please the Landgrave's family, and all Maurice's conduct was calculated to lull the Emperor into a false security. He had directed Melanchthon and other divines to proceed to Trent, with a Confession of Faith to be laid before the Council there assembled; and he carried his dissimulation so far as to order a house to be prepared for himself at Augsburg.³² Nay, he actually began his journey towards that place, attended by a minister whom Granvella had bribed to be a spy upon his actions; but after travelling a few stages he pretended to be taken ill, and sending forward the minister with the intelligence that he should arrive in a few days, he mounted his horse as soon as the spy had departed and hastened back to join his army in Thuringia.³³

Before he actually declared war against the Emperor, Maurice made a last appeal to him for the liberation of the Landgrave, March 27th 1552; and this time his request was accompanied with complaints respecting the proceedings of the Council of Trent, which he denounced as an unfair and prejudiced tribunal, wholly influenced by the Pope. The intention of the allies to procure the Landgrave's release had already been declared to the Saxon States assembled at Torgau and to those of Hesse at Cassel. Early in March the Hessian troops, under the Landgrave's son William, assembled at Kirchhain, and after an abortive attempt to surprise Frankfort, took the high road to Fulda. Maurice meanwhile was leading his men, who had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Muhlhausen, through the Thuringian forest into Franconia, while the Margrave Albert was advancing with a third body. All these three armies, uniting at Rothenburg on the Tauber, took the road to Augsburg.

As soon as he had openly taken up arms, Maurice published a manifesto in which he declared his objects to be the security of the Protestant religion, the preservation of the laws and constitution of the empire, and the liberation of the Landgrave of Hesse.

³² Arnoldi, *Vita Mauricii*, ap. Mencken.
t. ii. p. 1229

³³ Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 25 (ed. 1735).

This manifesto was artfully contrived to secure as many adherents as possible, Catholic as well as Protestant, the former as well as the latter being interested for the liberties of the empire. A more violent manifesto was published by Albert, and a third by the King of France. On the last, in which Henry declared himself "Protector of the liberties of Germany and of its captive princes," he had caused to be engraved a cap of liberty between two daggers: little dreaming that such an emblem would one day portend the fall of the ancient monarchy of France.

Maurice entered Augsburg without a blow, the Imperial garrison retiring on his approach. The Emperor and his Spanish troops had left a hateful memory in that city. On their quitting it the previous year, a handbill had been posted up to the effect that the King of the Romans requested that the tears shed on the departure of his Imperial Majesty, his son, and the Spaniards should be carefully collected; his Majesty having need of them for medicine, would pay for them dearly with Indian gold.³⁴ Maurice reinstated the magistrates whom Charles had deposed, and restored the churches to the Protestant ministers, as he had done in the other towns through which he had passed.

The Emperor, who was still at Innsbruck, was overwhelmed with surprise and alarm at the breaking out of this formidable conspiracy. The false security in which he had been wrapped seems almost unaccountable. The treaty between the German Protestants and the King of France was known at the smallest courts; yet it made no impression on Charles, who remarked that one ought not to be disturbed at every rumour. So far from making any provision against such an attack, he had dismissed part of his troops, and despatched others into Hungary and to the war in the duchy of Parma. His treasury was exhausted, the troops about him hardly sufficed for a body-guard. In this forlorn condition Charles earnestly inquired of his brother what assistance he could expect at his hands in the common danger? Ferdinand answered, what was in fact the case, that he had need of all his resources against the Osmanlis in Hungary. The Emperor was equally unsuccessful in his application to the Augsburg bankers, who refused him all advances even on the most advantageous conditions. Alarmed and agitated by uncertain counsels, Charles, who imagined a universal conspiracy against him, was utterly at a loss what step to take next. His first idea was to seek a refuge with his brother, who, however, dissuaded him from that purpose. He then thought

³⁴ Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 199.

of flying into Italy; but the war in that quarter had not proved favourable to his arms, and it might be dangerous with his small escort to venture on the Italian roads. At last he resolved to make for the Upper Rhine and the Netherlands. At midnight on the 6th of April, he left Innsbruck very secretly, attended only by his two chamberlains, Andelot and Rosenberg, and three servants. On the following day at noon they reached Nassereith, near the pass of Ehrenberg; for which they set off after a short rest, hoping to find it open and so to take the high road to Ulm. On the way, however, they learnt that they would be running into Maurice's hands, who was to occupy Füssen that very day, and they were therefore compelled to return to Innsbruck.³⁵

It was fortunate, under these circumstances, that Ferdinand had remained on a good footing with Maurice. Those two princes met by appointment at Linz (April 18th), where it was arranged that another meeting should take place at Passau on the 26th of the ensuing May, when a truce was to commence and continue till the 10th of June, to afford an opportunity for negotiating a peace. Charles not much relying on the truce had contrived to scrape together some money in the course of April, and began to arm. Troops were mustering for his service at Frankfort, at Ulm, and especially at Reutte, the frontier town of the Tyrol, where they had taken possession of the pass of Ehrenberg. The allies were well enough acquainted with the Emperor's character to know that if he again found himself at the head of an army they should look in vain for any concessions, and Maurice determined to strike a decisive blow. Orders were given to advance; the Imperial camp at Reutte was attacked and dispersed (May 18th); on the following day the pass and castle of Ehrenberg were stormed and taken without much resistance, when nine companies of Imperialists surrendered. The allied princes now determined, as they said, "to seek the fox in his hole" and march to Innsbruck. But at this critical moment Maurice was detained by a dangerous mutiny of some of his troops who claimed the usual gratuity for storming the castle; and as he had not the means of satisfying their demand, it was some time before he could appease their clamours by promising them compensation at Innsbruck. This delay of a few hours secured the safety of the Emperor. On the afternoon of the 19th May Charles summoned John Frederick into the garden of the castle, and told him that he was free, intimating however that he must follow the court a little longer. At nine in the evening, Charles,

³⁵ Charles's *Letter* to his sister, May 30th 1552, in Bucholtz, B. ix. S. 544.

who was still suffering from the gout, ascended a litter that had been prepared for him, and commenced his flight by torch-light, accompanied only by his court and a few attendants, many of whom were obliged to travel on foot, and a small body of Spanish soldiers: The night was cold and wet, the mountains still covered with snow; yet the little band pushed on, breaking down the bridges behind them, and after traversing almost impassable mountain-roads, arrived at length at Villach in Carinthia.

When Maurice entered Innsbruck May 23rd, he found the fox gone. The Emperor's effects and those of his courtiers, which had been left behind in the hurry, were abandoned to the soldiers; but all that belonged to the King of the Romans was rescued from the general plunder. The lansquenets strutted in Spanish dresses, and called one another "Don." On the other side of the Alps, the Council of Trent had fled as precipitately as the Emperor. Already, at the first news of the rising in Germany, the Pope had decreed, with secret satisfaction, a suspension of the Council, and this resolution had been adopted by a majority (April 28th), although some of the stauncher adherents of the Emperor remained till the news arrived of the taking of the pass. Great was then the confusion. All believed that the Protestants would march upon Trent; and not only the prelates but the inhabitants also, took to flight in all directions. The legate Crescenzo, though dangerously ill, also fled, and died on arriving at Verona.³⁶ The prorogation of the Council, which had been for a term of two years, was afterwards extended to ten, and it did not reassemble till 1562.

Meanwhile Henry II., taking advantage of this diversion, and in conformity with his treaty with the German princes, had ordered a considerable army to assemble at Chalons-sur-Marne. In a *lit de justice*, held in the Parliament of Paris, February 12th 1552, he appointed his Queen, Catherine de' Medici, Regent of the kingdom during his absence; but to guide and control her actions, he associated with her Bertrandi, the Keeper of the Seals, and the Admiral Annebaut: a surveillance of which Catherine loudly complained. Before he set out on this expedition, Henry caused a number of heretics to be burnt at Agen, Troyes, Lyon, Nimes, Paris, and other places; he had also established a severe censorship of the press, and a strict supervision of all books imported, especially from Geneva³⁷; and having thus done all in his power to suppress Protestantism in his own dominions, he set out to assist the Protestants of Germany. The French army, under the command of the Constable Montmo-

³⁶ Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 475 sqq.

³⁷ Beza, liv. ii. p. 64; Edict, June 27th 1551, in Isambert, xiii. 189 sqq.

ronci, being reinforced by some German mercenaries, crossed the Meuse, and summoned Toul, which surrendered without a blow. The French next appeared before Metz. This Imperial city was a sort of republic, enjoying peculiar privileges; among which was exemption from receiving troops within its walls, whether Imperial or others. The magistrates offered the army provisions, as well as to admit the King and princes, but not the troops. The bishop, however, the Cardinal de Lenoncour, a Frenchman, persuaded the principal inhabitants to allow the Constable to enter with a guard of about 600 men, which Montmorenci clandestinely increased to the number of 1500 picked troops; and when the citizens attempted too late to close their gates, they were pushed aside, and the whole army entered. The ancient capital of Austrasia thus fell, by a fraud, under the dominion of France, and Henry made his solemn entry into it, April 18th.

After these successes, the French marched towards the Vosges mountains and Alsace, leaving Verdun to be occupied on their return. They passed without much difficulty through Lorraine; but in the German province of Alsace their insolence excited the alarm and hatred of the inhabitants. The consequence was that the country was deserted; they were often obliged to go four or five leagues to obtain forage and provisions, and if they were found in bodies of less than ten men, they were sure to be massacred. Montmorenci, who had a great contempt for the Germans, boasted that he would enter Strasburg and the other towns on the Rhine; "like so much butter;" and he attempted to take Strasburg by the same gross stratagem which had succeeded at Metz. He asked permission for the ambassadors of the Pope, of Venice, Florence, and Ferrara, "just to see the town," but selected 200 of his best soldiers to accompany them as an escort, who were to seize the gates. The Strasburgers, however, were alive to his designs, and received the troop with a salvo of artillery, which killed ten or twelve, and made the rest fly. Henry penetrated as far as Hagenau and Weissenburg, which he entered. But provisions were beginning to fail; he was among a hostile population; and the news that the Queen of Hungary had despatched from the Netherlands a large body of troops under Van Rossem, who had taken Stenai and ravaged all the country between the Meuse and the Aisne, determined him to retreat. On the 13th May, Henry commenced his retrograde march, pretending that he did so only to gratify his allies the Swiss, who had sent to beg that he would spare the towns in alliance with them; after having first, with a ridiculous bravado caused the horses of his army to be watered in the Rhine, as if

he had accomplished some hazardous and distant expedition. The returning army, after again traversing Lorraine and occupying Verdun, crossed the Sarre and invaded Luxemburg. The towns of Rodemach, Yvoi, Domvilliers, Montmédy and others fell into Henry's hands, and were treated with the greatest rigour. The booty, however, was bestowed, not on his army, but on his courtiers and captains, who were execrated at once by the inhabitants and by their own soldiers. Henry concluded the campaign by taking the duchy of Bouillon, which the Emperor had annexed to the bishopric of Liége, but which was now restored to its ancient masters, the house of La Marck: after which he disbanded his army (July 16th).³⁸

It appears to have been in this campaign that the French began to make topographical maps to facilitate the combination of the march of armies and other military operations. Carloix attributes the invention to his master, Vieilleville, but he is not always to be believed on such points. A letter in the *Mémoires* of the Duke of Guise³⁹ attests, that immediately after the occupation of Metz, a topographical map was made of the surrounding country.

The campaign in Piedmont and the Parmesan, though it has been the subject of voluminous memoirs, is hardly worth relating. The most remarkable incident was an attempt by the Marshal de Brissac to surprise the castle of Milan, by means of men who had arrived singly through the Grisons, and had been received in the house of a traitor in Milan; but the enterprise failed through the ladders which had been prepared not proving long enough. The war of Parma and Mirandola was brought to a conclusion. The Pope, alarmed by the prodigious expense as well as by the suspension of the revenues derived from France, the prospect of losing that kingdom altogether, and the menace of Henry II. to assemble a general council, had entered early in the year into negotiations for a peace, which were hastened on by the success of the Elector Maurice and the danger of the Emperor; and a truce of two years

³⁸ Authorities for this period are to be found in the *Memoirs* of contemporary captains. Those of Vieilleville, written by his secretary Vincent Carloix, a base flatterer, whose only aim was to puff off his master, are not very trustworthy; his dates and facts are often wrong, but his piquant and dramatic anecdotes display the manners of the times. François de Rabutin is, and pretends to be, nothing but a soldier; he does not even understand the plans of the campaigns, but his

pictures are graphic. Blaise de Montluc wrote his memoirs in his old age with *naïveté* and originality, but with all the rhodomontade of a Gascon. The Baron du Villars is more of a statesman than the rest, and is interesting by the light which he throws on the factions and weakness of the Court; but he is prejudiced in favour of the marshal, to whom he was attached. Sismondi, *Hist. des Franç.* t. xvii. p. 461, ed. 1833.

³⁹ Apud Martin, t. viii. p. 418.

between the Pope, the Duke of Parma, and Henry II., was signed at Rome, April 29th 1552.⁴⁰

Maurice, who did not think of pursuing his success further than Innsbrück, determined to attend the conference to be held at Passau. The Emperor seemed to have been sufficiently humbled. At a meeting at Heidelberg, of the princes of Upper Germany, it had even been debated whether he should not be deposed; but the victory over him had been achieved through a surprise, and he had still great means at his disposal.

On the appointed day, May 26th, appeared in person at Passau, King Ferdinand and his son Maximilian, the Imperial ambassadors, the Elector Maurice, Albert V. Duke of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the Bishop of Eichstädt; while the remaining Electors, the Dukes of Brunswick, Clèves, Pomerania, and Würtemberg, the Margrave John, and the Bishop of Würzburg, sent representatives. Maurice renewed the demands made in his manifesto, nor were they deemed unreasonable even by King Ferdinand, and by the Catholic princes of the empire, who feared that Charles's plans were directed not only against the Protestant religion but also against their own civil liberties. Maurice had brought with him the Bishop of Bayonne as French ambassador, who offered no opposition to the contemplated peace. Henry II., indeed, whose only object was to create disturbance in Germany, had found another and less costly ally in Albert of Brandenburg, who, refusing to accede to the truce, had detached himself from the army of Maurice, and was ravaging Germany on his own account at the head of 8000 men. The Emperor, however, showed at first no disposition to accede to the proposed terms. He agreed indeed to release the Landgrave, but required security for the consequences of such an act, which it was difficult to provide; and above all he would not yield on the subject of the Council. In this state of things King Ferdinand made a journey to Villach to mollify his brother; while Maurice, resorting to a rougher mode of persuasion, marched to Frankfort with his army, where troops were mustering for the Emperor, and bombarded that city, though without much effect. At length Charles, principally from his brother's representations of the danger impending from the Turkish war, consented to more moderate terms, and Maurice having again returned to the conference, a treaty was signed, August 2nd 1552, which, under the name of the PEACE OF PASSAU, marks an epoch in the history of the Reformation. The chief articles were in

⁴⁰ Ribier, t. ii. p. 360 sqq.; Muratori, *Ann.* t. xiv. p. 385.

substance: That the confederates should dismiss their troops by the 12th of August, or enrol them in Ferdinand's service for the war against the Turks; that the Landgrave of Hesse should be set at liberty on his promising submission for the future; that a Diet should be held within six months for settling the religious disputes, and also for considering the alleged encroachments on the liberties and constitution of the empire; that in the mean time the Protestants should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, engaging in turn to leave the Papists unmolested; that Protestants as well as Catholics should be admitted into the Imperial chamber; that an entire amnesty should be granted for all past transactions; and that Albert of Brandenburg should be admitted into the treaty provided he immediately laid down his arms. The King of France was invited to state his grievances against the Emperor, so that he might be included in the general pacification. And as it was foreseen that the proposed Diet might fail in bringing about the desired settlement, it was agreed in a separate treaty that in that case the peace should remain in full force till a final accommodation should be effected.⁴¹ This latter agreement Charles refused to sign; but it was not anticipated that he would endeavour to disturb it.

Thus was terminated the first religious war in Germany, arising out of the League of Smalcald; by which, whatever we may think of the duplicity of Maurice, he was certainly the means of saving the liberties of the Empire, as well as the Protestant religion, from the assaults of Charles V.

⁴¹ The treaty is in Hortleder, Th. ii. B. v. K. 14.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Turkish war in Hungary, to which we have alluded in the preceding chapter, had been brought on by Ferdinand's own intrigues. It will be recollected that the infant son of Zapolya had been committed to the guardianship of Martinuzzi, or brother George, Bishop of Waradin. Sultan Solýman, however, regarded himself as the protector of the son of his "slave," Zapolya, and had sent him, together with his mother, Isabella, into Transylvania, where Martinuzzi resided with them at Lippa. The hood which brother George continued to wear, though it was long since he had troubled himself about the rules of the cloister, was no check either on his ambition or his military ardour; but was flung aside at the sudden outbreak of war, when his military uniform, his helm, and waving plume, might be seen afar, amid the thickest of the combatants. Martinuzzi was also overbearing and tyrannical. His dictatorial conduct towards Isabella was so unbearable, that she complained of him to the Sultan, who bade him respect the wishes of the Queen. For this affront to his authority Martinuzzi determined on revenge. He entered into negotiations with King Ferdinand, and agreed to throw Transylvania into Ferdinand's hands, who could not forget the treaties by which the dominions of Zapolya were to have reverted to him on the death of that prince. In 1551 a formal treaty was entered into for that purpose; Isabella, in exchange for some domains in Silesia, surrendered the sovereignty of Transylvania to Ferdinand, who received the crown of Hungary, and the homage of the States at Klausenberg; while for this act of treachery, Ferdinand procured for Martinuzzi a cardinal's hat, and bestowed upon him the government of Transylvania. But the anger of Solýman was roused; and although the five years' truce was not yet expired, he ordered Mohammed Sokolly, Beglerbeg of Roumelia, to enter Transylvania with his forces; several towns, including Lippa, fell before the Turkish arms, which however failed in an attempt upon Temesvar. On the other hand, Martinuzzi and Ferdinand's general Castaldo, were active in the field; they recovered Lippa before the close of the campaign, but dissensions soon

broke out between them. Castaldo could not endure the overbearing arrogance of the cardinal; it is surmised also that he had cast a longing eye upon his treasures; however this may be, he accused Martinuzzi to Ferdinand of a treasonable correspondence with the Turks, denounced his restless ambition, and advised his assassination. To this base proposal Ferdinand consented.¹ On the 18th of December, 1551, the castle of Alvinz, where Martinuzzi resided, was surrounded and entered by some Spanish soldiers; the cardinal received his first wound from the hand of Castaldo's secretary, and was soon despatched with more than sixty musket shots. Ferdinand was universally accused of this cold-blooded murder; and two ambassadors sent by Isabella to demand an explanation from him died soon after of some unknown disorder.²

The Turks renewed the campaign in Hungary, early in the spring of 1552, under the conduct of the eunuch Ali, Sandjak of Ofen or Buda, who took Wesprim and several other mountain towns, captured the Austrian general, Erasmus Teufel, and led him back in triumph to Buda. In May, Ali was supported by the vizir Ahmed, with the army of Asia, and the cavalry assembled by the Beglerbeg of Roumelia. Temesvar and the other fortresses of the Banat, were now captured, and the Turkish institutions established there, which subsisted till 1716. In the north, however, the little town of Erlau, resisted three furious assaults of the Turks, and kept them at bay, till Maurice, after the peace of Passau, arrived at Raab, with an army of more than 10,000 men. The rumour of his approach, as well as the lateness of the season, caused the Turks to raise the siege of Erlau, and prevented them from making any further progress; but Maurice could not recover what they had already seized. He had for his colleague, Castaldo, the assassin of Martinuzzi, whose jealous and suspicious temper led him to regard Maurice with the same aversion as he had formerly displayed towards the cardinal: and at the end of the campaign they separated with feelings of the bitterest enmity.

The Emperor meanwhile, issuing from his inglorious retreat at Villach, proceeded into Germany, where a considerable army had

¹ Ferdinand's instructions to Castaldo were: "Si tamen intelligeret rem aliter transigi non posse quam quod aut manum sibi inferri pateretur, aut ipse fratri Georgio tam nefaria molienti manum inferret, tunc potius ipse eum præveniret et tolleretur e medio, quam quod primum istum expectando, ab ipso præveniretur." — Bucholtz, B. ix. S. 600. They are

given somewhat differently by Istuanfi in Katona, t. xxii. p. 88. "Si Castaldus, sublato monacho, res in tranquillo futuras censeret, ageret quod e republica fore videretur."

² For the affair of Martinuzzi see the letters of De Selve, the French ambassador at Venice to Henry II., and Montmorenci in the *Négociations*, &c., t. ii. p. 172 sqq.

been collected for him. At Augsburg he dismissed the ex-Elector John Frederick, on his promise not to enter into any religious league, nor to molest those who adhered to the old faith; and he was likewise required to confirm, and to cause his sons to ratify, the agreement with Maurice respecting the partition of the electorate. He and the Emperor parted not without sorrow, as two adversaries who mutually respected each other. The Landgrave Philip, agreeably to the treaty of Passau, was also restored to his dominions in September. He troubled himself no more with religious questions and foreign alliances; and the chief regret he is said to have expressed was that in his absence the rascally peasants had ruined his hunting-grounds.³

Whatever temptation Charles might have felt to try his fortune once more against the Protestants, he resolved to observe the peace of Passau; and having recruited his forces at Augsburg with several battalions dismissed by the confederate princes, he directed his march towards the French frontier. On the 19th of September he entered Strasburg, whose inhabitants he thanked for their brave and loyal defence. He was now advised by some of his generals to penetrate into the interior of France, and to dictate such another peace as that of Crespy. But Charles's pride was offended by the occupation of Metz by the French, and in spite of the advanced season, he determined to lay siege to that city, on the assurance of Alva that such an undertaking was still practicable. First of all, however, it was necessary to conciliate Albert of Brandenburg, who having refused to recognise the peace of Passau, and having recruited his forces with part of the troops discharged by the allied princes, was carrying on a war of brigandage for his own benefit on pretence of being the ally of the King of France, who had indeed supplied him with money. Albert had extorted large sums, as well as territorial concessions, from the city of Nuremberg, and from the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg; thence he entered the electorate of Mentz, put Worms and Spire under contribution, and advanced upon the Moselle, carrying pillage, devastation and terror in his train. At last he took up a position between Metz and Thionville, and it seemed for some time doubtful to which side he would incline. The French, however, having failed to keep their promises to him, the Bishop of Arras succeeded in gaining him for the Emperor; and Albert falling unexpectedly on a body of troops commanded by the Duke d'Aumale, completely routed them, and carried off the Duke himself among the prisoners. For this service

³ Schmidt, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, Th. vi. B. i. S. 206.

the Emperor granted him a full pardon, and the territories which he had seized during the war.

Metz was invested by the Imperial army, October 19th. The Duke of Guise, who was in the town with several of the French princes and a garrison of 10,000 men, had made the most vigorous preparations for its defence. The beautiful suburbs had been levelled with the ground, and all the inhabitants expelled, with the exception of some priests and about 2000 skilful mechanics. Charles, who had been laid up several weeks with the gout at Landau and Diedenhofen⁴, appeared in the camp November 20th, and took up his quarters in a half-ruined castle in the neighbourhood. The siege was pushed on with vigour: Charles shared all its dangers and hardships, and declared his resolution either to take the place or die before it. But the defence was equally vigorous and skilful; the weather setting in cold and rainy, the Imperial troops, particularly the Spaniards and Italians, perished by hundreds, and early in January 1553 the Emperor was forced to raise the siege without having risked a single assault. Metz now became completely French. At Easter 1553 the Cardinal-bishop appointed a government of his own nomination; Guise suppressed the reformed doctrines, and caused all Lutheran books to be burnt; and thus the city was severed at once from Protestantism and the empire.

The year seemed destined to be an unfortunate one for the Emperor, whose affairs were proceeding as badly in Italy as in Germany and France. Indigence compelled him to cede Piombino

⁴ The Emperor had at this time called on England for assistance in pursuance of a treaty made at Dordrecht ten years before. Aid against France was civilly declined; but Sir Richard Moryson was sent ambassador to Charles with offers from Edward VI. to co-operate with him against the Turk. Moryson found the Emperor at Spire, and has given in his *Despatch* (Oct. 7 1552) some curious particulars of his habits and appearance at this time. "I found the Emperor," says the ambassador, "at a bare table, without a carpet or anything else upon it saving his clock, his brush, his spectacles, and his picktooth. At my coming in he willed me to go almost round the table, that I might stand on his right side. His Majesty received the King's Highness's letters very gently, putting his hand to his bonnet, and uncovering the better part of his head. * * * He was newly rid of his gout and fever, and therefore his nether

lip was in two places broken out, and he forced to keep a green leaf within his mouth at his tongue's end, a remedy, as I took it, against such dryness as in his talk did increase upon him. He hath a face that is as unwont to disclose any hid affection of the heart as any face that ever I met withal in my life; for all those white colours that change have no place in his countenance. His eyes only do bewray as much as can be picked out of him. * There is in him almost nothing that speaketh, besides his tongue, and that at this time, by reason of his leaf, sore lip, and accustomed softness in speaking, did but so so utter things. And yet he did so use his eyes, so move his head, and order his countenance, as I might perceive his great desire was that I should think all a good deal better meant than he could speak it."—Lord Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 54 sq.

to Cosmo de' Medici for a loan of 200,000 crowns; and he thus lost all footing in Tuscany. Sienna, a Ghibeline city, which had placed itself under his protection, alienated through the cruelty and haughtiness of the commandant, Don Diego de Mendoza, one of those stern and pitiless officers whom Charles was accustomed to select⁵, revolted, and with the assistance of some of the French garrison from Parma, drove out the Spaniards. At the same time Naples was exposed to the greatest danger.* The Prince of Salerno, who had fled to the court of France to escape the oppressions of the viceroy Don Pedro de Toledo, suggested to Henry II. an invasion of Naples, and gave out that he could assist it through his influence. There was, indeed, much discontent in that city. Besides the malcontent nobles, many Protestants had sprung up there, formed in the school of Bernardino Ochini and Peter Martyr, and Don Pedro had put many of them to death. Solymán, moreover, at the instance of the French King, despatched the corsair Draghut with a fleet of 150 ships, who, after ravaging the coasts of Calabria, cast anchor in the Bay of Naples. The aged Doria, having ventured to oppose the Turks with a fleet of only forty galleys, was defeated in an action off the isle of Ponza, and after losing seven galleys and 700 men was forced to fly; but the French squadron not appearing, the Turks returned homewards, August 10th. They had scarcely been gone a week when the Baron de la Garde arrived with the French fleet: but as he was neither strong enough to attack Naples by himself, nor could induce the Turks to return, he followed them to the isle of Scio, where they wintered together. In the following year the combined fleet returned to Italy, Draghut, however, bringing only sixty galleys, whilst the French squadron had been augmented. On this occasion the same inhumanities were perpetrated on the coasts of the Two Sicilies as in the preceding year, and with the connivance of the French. The fleet then attacked Corsica, although Henry II., was not at war with Genoa, to which republic that island belonged. The French conquered several places, as Porto Vecchio, Bastia, San Fiorenzo and Ajaccio; but Draghut, having quarrelled with the Baron de la Garde for refusing him the plunder of Bonifazio, the corsair seized for galley-slaves all the inhabitants fit to handle the oar, as well as several Frenchmen of distinction, whom he carried off as pledges for the money which he pretended was due to him (September 1553). Doria subsequently retook several of the places occupied by

⁵ Mendoza, however, is otherwise favourably known as the restorer of letters in Castile. He is distinguished by his

lyrical poems, his history of the war of Granada, and the romance of Lazarillo de Tormes. Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*.

the French, but could not prevent them from retaining a footing in the island.

Meanwhile Germany was the scene of intestine discord. The Emperor, who had seen all his plans in that country frustrated, and whose thoughts were now principally directed towards the encroachments of France, gladly encouraged Albert of Brandenburg as a counterpoise to Maurice; and after retiring from the siege of Metz, he carefully paid up to Albert all the money that was due to him, and thus enabled him to make large additions to his army. The Imperial Chamber, on the appeal of the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, annulled the conditions which Albert had extorted from those prelates; and as Albert was preparing to dispute this decision, a league of the German princes was formed against him, of which Maurice was declared generalissimo (April 1553). Maurice raised an army about equal to that of his opponent; the two princes met at Sievershausen in the duchy of Lüneburg, and a battle ensued which was contested with the greatest obstinacy. Each party seemed alternately to gain the advantage, till the superiority of Maurice in cavalry at length turned the fortune of the day in his favour. But towards the close of the battle as Maurice was leading a body of horse to the charge, he received a bullet in the abdomen, which in two days put a period to his life, in the 32nd year of his age and the sixth of his electoral dignity. He will always be remembered as having worsted the most sagacious and politic, as well as the most powerful, prince in Europe, in the very height of his success.

The death of Maurice allowed Albert to rally his forces and to resume his marauding expeditions. Henry Duke of Brunswick now took the command of the allied army, and defeated Albert in another pitched battle near Brunswick September 12th; by which defeat, after some unsuccessful attempts to retrieve his affairs, he was compelled to take refuge in France, where he lived some years in a state of dependence and discontent. His territories were seized by the princes who had taken arms against him, but on his death (January 12th 1557), were restored to the collateral heirs of the House of Brandenburg.

On the death of Maurice, his brother Augustus succeeded to the Saxon electorate, in whom it had been conjointly vested. John Frederick sent his eldest son to Brussels to request from the Emperor his restoration to the electoral dignity and territories; but Charles refused to violate the stipulation which had been made in favour of Augustus. The latter, however, was inclined to interpret the capitulation of Wittenberg more liberally than his

brother, and by an agreement made in February 1554 he ceded to John Frederick and his heirs, in addition to what they still held, Altenburg, Eisenberg, Herbsleben, and some other places, which enabled the Ernestine line of Saxony to appear at least as princes of the empire. But though they have inherited the Grand Duchy of Weimar, the duchies of Gotha, Coburg, &c., the electorate, and subsequently the kingdom, of Saxony, has continued in the younger, or Albertine, branch of the family. John Frederick expired a little after the execution of this treaty (March 3rd).

After these commotions Germany enjoyed a period of repose, and took but little part in the politics of Europe.

In the spring of 1553 the Emperor had renewed the war on the side of the Netherlands. The French King, elated by his previous success, and thinking the power of Charles completely broken, was amusing himself and his court with balls and tournaments in honour of the marriage of his natural daughter Diana with Horatio Farnese, Duke of Castro, when he was surprised by the intelligence that Terouenne was invested by an Imperial army; which town, considered one of the strongholds of France, fell after a two months' siege, and was razed to the ground. It is the only place recorded in the French annals as having entirely perished. Hesdin was next invested and taken. At this siege Emmanuel Philibert, Prince of Piedmont, first displayed those military talents which enabled him to recover his hereditary dominions. During these operations the Emperor was confined several months at Brussels with so violent an attack of gout that he was at one time reported to be dead; but at a late period of the season, finding that Montmorenci had entered the Netherlands with a large army, Charles also, though scarcely able to bear the motion of a litter, put himself at the head of his troops. Both sides, however, carefully avoided a general engagement; till towards the end of September, Montmorenci was compelled by sickness to resign the command, and the autumnal rains setting in, the campaign was brought to a close without anything of moment having been accomplished. The campaign in Italy had been equally unimportant. On the 16th of August was made what was called the *capitulation de la bonne guerre*, which moderated in part, the sufferings of the Piedmontese.⁶ A month afterwards Charles III., the unfortunate Duke of Savoy, who during the last eighteen years had been deprived of three fourths of his dominions, died at Vercelli at the age of sixty-six. A few days after his death Brissac surprised that place, and then retired with the effects of the deceased duke, valued at

* *Mémoires* of Du Villars, liv. iv.

100,000 crowns. Charles was succeeded by his son Emmanuel Philibert.

The death of Edward VI., the youthful King of England, this year (July 6th 1553), not only retarded the progress of the Reformation in that country, but also gave a new direction to European politics.

The fatal ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, his attempt to procure the English crown for his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane Grey, which ended only in her destruction as well as his own, and the triumphant accession of Queen Mary, are known to every reader of English history. A success so complete and unexpected, and which promised such splendid results for the See of Rome, quite overpowered Pope Julius III., and he burst into tears of joy at the news.⁷ He immediately despatched his chamberlain, Comendone, to England, who obtained a secret interview with Mary, in which she acknowledged her desire to restore her people to the Roman Church. When Julius communicated these glad tidings to the Consistory, the assembled cardinals approved his design of sending Cardinal Pole as legate to the Emperor and to the French King, as well as to Mary, and 2000 crowns were furnished to him to defray the expenses of his journey. He was to devise the best means of accomplishing the great revolution, respecting which he was also to consult the Emperor. Above all, he was enjoined to avoid doing anything that might alienate from Rome the mind of Mary, on whom alone rested the realisation of the project, especially as the greater part of the nation hated the Holy See unto the death, and that the Queen's heretical and schismatic sister was in the heart, as well as in the mouth, of every Englishman.⁸

Charles V. had also his own plans at this juncture, and he did not suffer it to pass unimproved. The English Queen, his cousin, had always listened to his counsels; she relied on his support for extirpating heresy in her kingdom; and to draw the connection closer, and add if possible another state to his already vast dominions, the Emperor resolved to procure Mary's hand for his son Philip. That prince was now a widower, his consort Mary, daughter of John III. of Portugal, whom he had married in November 1543, having died a few days after giving birth to a son, the unfortunate Don Carlos, July 8th 1545. It was believed that Mary's eyes had been turned towards her relative, Cardinal Pole, now however an elderly man; and more warmly still on

⁷ "La qual nuova portò a Sua Beatitudine tanta allegrezza che si profuse in

lacrime."—Quirini, *Ep.* iv. ap. Turner, vol. iii. p. 399.

⁸ Paul's *Letter* in Quirini, *ibid.* p. 112.

Courtney, son of the Marchioness of Exeter, whom, soon after her accession, she created Earl of Devonshire, and appointed to bear the sword of state at her coronation. Her union with an English nobleman would have gratified the nation, but Mary soon dismissed all thoughts of it. In September 1553 the Emperor directed his ambassadors, of whom Count Egmont was the chief, to make to her a formal proposal of his son. Charles stated that had he not been elderly and infirm he should himself have sued for her hand; but, as she knew, he had long resolved to remain single, and he could not propose to her any one dearer to him than his own son.⁹ No objections arose on the part of the cold and calculating Philip, though Mary was eleven years older than himself, and destitute alike of bodily and mental charms. Mary too, although the Spanish match was opposed by her council and by the nation, had fixed her heart upon it. On the night of October 30th she sent for Renard, one of the Imperial envoys, to her private apartment; when kneeling down before the Host, and after repeating the *Veni Creator*, she made a solemn oath that she would marry the Prince of Spain.¹⁰

The Emperor, who was jealous of Pole's pretensions, detained him till he was certain of his son's marriage¹¹; though indeed the cardinal did not think it prudent to proceed into England till after that event. Early in 1554 the marriage was entirely arranged, and the treaty concerning it drawn up. The Queen's Ministers insisted that certain articles for the security and advantage of the kingdom should be inserted in it; the principal of which were, that the administration of the revenues, and the disposal of benefices, &c., should be vested entirely in the Queen; that in case of the death without issue of Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former queen, the children of the present marriage should inherit the crown of Spain, the Netherlands, and all the other hereditary dominions of the Emperor; that Philip should retain no foreigners in his service nor about his person; that he should attempt no alteration in the laws or constitution of England, nor carry the queen, nor any of the children born of the marriage, out of the kingdom; that in case of the Queen's death without issue he should not lay claim to any power in England: and that the marriage should not involve England in the wars between France and Spain, nor have any influence on its foreign policy.¹²

⁹ His *Despatch* ap. Turner, vol. iii. p. 392.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 83 sq.

¹¹ It was reported and believed in England that the cardinal had been proclaimed at Paris Duke of York and Lan-

caster, and that he was about to make a descent on England. *Ambassades de Noailles* t. iii. p. 169.

¹² Rymer, t. xv. p. 377, 393; Ribier, t. ii. p. 498 sqq.

The unpopularity of this match gave rise to three abortive insurrections in different parts of the kingdom, headed respectively by Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Peter Carew, and the Duke of Suffolk; the last of which occasioned the execution not only of Suffolk himself, but also of his innocent daughter, the Lady Jane Grey, and her husband Lord Guilford Dudley, who had hitherto been spared. It is said that the execution of that unfortunate lady was counselled and solicited by Charles V., who likewise advised Mary, as a thing indispensable to her own safety and that of Philip, to put her sister Elizabeth to death, who was known to have been privy to Wyatt's rebellion.¹³ Mary, however, resisted every importunity for that purpose, though she caused her sister to be confined in the Tower, and afterwards at Woodstock.

Philip, to whom the Emperor had resigned before his marriage the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples, in order that his rank might be equal to that of his consort, set sail from Corunna, July 11th, with a fleet of 100 ships, having a splendid suite and 4000 troops on board. He landed at Southampton on the 19th, and on the 25th, being St. James's Day, the Apostle of Spain, celebrated his marriage with Mary. During his absence in England and subsequently in the Netherlands the regency of Spain was intrusted to his sister Joanna. That princess, who was eight years younger than Philip, had married the heir of Portugal; but his untimely death in January 1554 had allowed Joanna to return to Spain at the summons of her father the Emperor (July). Three weeks after her husband's decease she had given birth to a son, Don Sebastian, whose romantic adventures have procured for him a wide-spread celebrity.

Philip strove to make himself popular in England. So far from attempting to break through or evade the conditions of his marriage-contract, he did not even avail himself of all the privileges which they conferred upon him. He seemed to make it a point of honour to bestow rather than to receive. The expenses of his court were defrayed with Spanish or Flemish gold; lines of sumpter horses and waggons laden with treasure passed through the streets of the metropolis to the Tower, and it is asserted that he bestowed on some of the English ministers and great nobles pensions of the yearly value of 50,000 or 60,000 gold crowns.¹⁴ It cannot be doubted that his presence materially assisted the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in England, which was effected under the immediate advice of the Emperor. After the marriage of his

¹³ Prescott, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 71.

¹⁴ Giov. Michele, *Relatione d'Inghil-*

terra, ap. Prescott, vol. i. p. 108, and ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 396.

son, Charles dismissed Cardinal Pole to complete his mission in England, and he kept a body of 12,000 men on the coast of Flanders to support Philip in case of need. Those who had shared the plunder of the church, the number of whom was estimated at more than 40,000¹⁵, were quieted with the assurance that they would not be required to restore what they had received; and in November, scarcely four months after the Queen's marriage, the Parliament and nation solemnly returned to their obedience to Rome. Into the horrible persecutions which followed that event, and which brought so many distinguished men to the stake, we shall not here enter, as they belong more particularly to English history. It is difficult to determine the part that Philip took in them. According to some accounts, he was an advocate for clemency. It is certain at all events that he strove to avert from himself the odium attending these executions; and his confessor Alfonso de Castro, a Spanish friar, preached a sermon bitterly denouncing them.¹⁶ But no conduct on his part could reconcile the English people to his sway; who would neither consent to assist the Emperor his father against France, nor suffer himself to be publicly crowned as King of England.

The French King had done all in his power to frustrate the marriage between Philip and Mary, and through his ambassador, Noailles, had secretly assisted in fomenting the rebellions against the Queen's authority; but finding all these attempts ineffectual, Henry II. assumed the part of Mary's hearty well-wisher, and sent to congratulate her on the suppression of those disturbances. Mary on her side offered her mediation between the Emperor and the French King, and sent Cardinal Pole to Paris to arrange a peace between them; but all his efforts proved abortive. In June 1554 Henry II., assisted by the Constable Montmorenci, assembled a large force in the Laonnois and along the frontiers of the Netherlands; Marienbourg, Bovines, Dinant were successively taken and treated with great cruelty. The whole French army then advanced as if to attack Brussels or Namur. The Emperor, who lay at the former place, had not been able to assemble a force equal to that of Henry. Although nominally master of so great a part of the world, his resources were in fact much less available than those of France. Germany, now emancipated from his yoke, contributed nothing to the French war; the Austrian revenues were absorbed by the struggle with the Turk; Italy, ruined and discontented,

¹⁵ *Letter of the Florentine ambassador*,
ap. Ranke, *ibid.* 398.

¹⁶ Burnet's *Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 612,

vol. iii. p. 459 (ed. 1829); Strype's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 332.

instead of furnishing troops to the Imperial standard, required to be kept in order by the presence of an army; even the Netherlands and Spain with the Indies were almost exhausted by the Emperor's constant wars, and by the efforts which he had made in fitting out and supporting his son Philip. It was therefore fortunate for Charles that the French King made war in the spirit of a freebooter rather than of a great captain. Instead of marching upon Brussels, Henry turned to the left, and entering Hainault ravaged and desolated the whole country, where he made a great booty. At Binche, which surrendered July 21st, the Queen of Hungary had a magnificent palace, adorned with tapestries, pictures and ancient statues. Henry abandoned the town to be plundered by his troops, and after selecting from the palace what pleased him best, he caused that residence as well as the town to be burnt. He then continued his march towards the west by the Cambrésis, Artois, and the county of St. Pol, devastating all before him, till his progress was arrested by the town of Renti, which he was obliged to besiege. Here the Imperial army under Emmanuel Philibert, which had been hanging upon his rear, and which was now joined by the Emperor in person, came up, when a general skirmish rather than a battle ensued (August 13th) in the marshes around that town. Although the French had rather the advantage, the Imperialists maintained their ground, and two days after, Henry, whose army was suffering from disease and want of provisions, raised the siege, returned into France and dismissed his soldiers. Charles, whose sufferings from the gout grew daily worse, then returned to Brussels; while the Duke of Savoy, advancing on the side of Montreuil as far as the river Authie, treated the country as barbarously as the French had done the Netherlands. Thus terminated the campaign of 1544, in which a great deal of damage had been mutually inflicted, without any substantial advantage having been gained on either side.

In Italy the French were still less successful. Cosmo de' Medici viewed with alarm their occupation of Sienna, where they would form a rallying point for all who desired the re-establishment of the ancient republican government in Florence. Seeing that the Emperor, hampered by the war in the Netherlands, would be able to effect little or nothing in Italy, Cosmo offered to conduct a war against the French at his own expense, on condition of being allowed to retain his conquests till his disbursements were refunded; and, from the exhausted state of the Imperial finances, he hoped thus to come into the quiet and undisturbed possession of a considerable territory. Cosmo intrusted the command of his army to

John James Medecino, a soldier of fortune, who had risen from the lowest rank by his military talent, and was now become Marquis of Marignano. He was a native of Milan, and his brother, John Angelo, who had distinguished himself as a jurist, afterwards became Pope Pius IV. Medecino had the weakness of wishing to be thought related to the Medici family, to which honour the only pretension he could allege was some resemblance in the name. Cosmo, by flattering this weakness, acknowledging Medecino as a relation, and allowing him to assume the family arms, secured his devoted affection and services; and as he was loved and admired by the leaders of the mercenary bands which still abounded in Italy, they flocked to his standard in great numbers.

Cosmo de' Medici's principal motive for this war was that Henry II. had bestowed the chief command in the Siennese, together with the title of a marshal of France, on Pietro Strozzi, a Florentine emigrant, whose well known aim it was to excite a revolution at Florence. Strozzi's father, implicated in the attempt to expel the Medici in 1537, had died in a Florentine dungeon, and the desire of avenging him was the sole thought which filled Pietro's heart, the one object to which he devoted his immense fortune and his military talents. Marignano entered the Siennese with an army of 25,000 men, and invested the capital before Strozzi took the command (January 1554); but the latter having assembled his forces, acted at first with such vigour, that Marignano was compelled to raise the siege. Cosmo had ordered him to tame and reduce the Siennese republic by violence and terror, and Marignano carried out these instructions to the letter. The chateaux and villages were burnt; the inhabitants who escaped the sword were in general hanged; and such was the desolation inflicted on this beautiful region, that it became a pestilential desert; whose corrupted air proved deleterious or fatal to subsequent colonists.

Marignano having inflicted a decisive defeat on Strozzi in the battle of Lucignano, August 2nd, again invested Sienna, which Strozzi entrusting to the defence of the Gascon Blaise de Montluc, retired himself, to Montalcino, to wait for the reinforcements which he expected from France, and at the same time to annoy the besieging army. But for the French succours he waited in vain. Meanwhile the situation of Sienna became more and more deplorable. The inhabitants were decimated by famine and disease; several thousands who had been expelled as useless mouths, perished, for the most part, between the walls and the enemy's camp; yet the garrison, animated by the exhortations of Montluc, as well as by the report of some French successes in Piedmont,

held out till the 21st of April 1555, when their provisions being exhausted, they were forced to capitulate. Cosmo de' Medici, who conducted the capitulation in the name of the Emperor, granted favourable terms; the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, while the citizens were assured that their ancient privileges should be respected, and a free pardon granted to all who had borne arms. Some of the more ardent assertors of liberty retired to Montalcino, where, as Marignano had been directed by the Emperor to detach the greater part of his troops into Piedmont, they maintained four years longer the image of a republic. The French, being supported by a Turkish fleet of eighty galleys, still occupied the ports of the Siennese Maremma. Cosmo de' Medici was no sooner in possession of Sienna, than he violated the capitulation, deposed the magistrates, and disarmed the inhabitants. But he was disappointed in his hope of adding Sienna to his dominions. The Emperor granted the investiture of that place to his son Philip, and Francis de Toledo, being appointed governor, disregarded the former privileges of the Siennese and treated them like a conquered people.

Marignano's troops had been withdrawn from the Siennese to augment the army of the Duke of Alva in Piedmont, who had been appointed generalissimo in that quarter, as well as Philip's Vicar-general in Italy. The Marshal de Brissac, as we have already hinted, had obtained some successes in that quarter, and had taken Ivrea and Santia out of the hands of Suarez de Figueroa, the successor of Fernando de Gonzaga in the government of Milan. He afterwards surprised Casale the capital of the Monferrato, which, though belonging to the Duke of Mantua, had been occupied by the Imperialists. The Duke of Alva arrived in June 1555; but in spite of the numerical superiority of his forces, he could wrest from Brissac hardly any of the places he had taken; nay, the French general even succeeded in capturing Monte Calvi and Vulpiano under Alva's eyes; and the latter was compelled to retire into winter-quarters with the disgrace of these losses. He had conducted the war with the most horrible barbarity. Having taken Frassineto, he caused the governor to be hanged, the Italian soldiers to be sabred, and the French to be sent to the galleys. By such acts of cruelty he thought that he should strike terror into his enemies. Marignano, who rivalled him in cruelty, died at Milan in November.

Pope Julius III. had taken no part in this struggle, though it raged so near his dominions. Strozzi had succeeded in prolonging for two years the truce with the Pontiff, in spite of the attempt of

Cosmo de' Medici to draw Julius to his side, by giving one of his daughters in marriage to the Pope's nephew. Julius died before Sienna fell, at the age of sixty-seven (March 24th 1555). He had disgraced the Papal chair by his undignified demeanour, as well as by his scandalous life; and by way of amends the conclave elected as his successor the severe and venerable Cardinal Marcello Cervini, in whose presence Julius had often felt constraint. Cervini assumed the title of Marcellus II., but enjoyed the pontificate only three weeks, being carried off by a fit of apoplexy (April 30th). The choice of the conclave next fell on John Peter Caraffa, whom we have already had occasion to mention as one of the founders of the Theatines, and the introducer of the Inquisition at Rome.¹⁷ Caraffa who had reached the age of seventy-nine, assumed the name of Paul IV.; and with his new name and power he also put on a new character. He who had hitherto been known only for his piety, his learning, and his blameless life, now discovered a boundless ambition, and the most passionate and inflexible temper. When his major-duomo inquired after his election, in what manner he would choose to live, he replied, "As a great prince:" for which station indeed a certain loftiness and grandeur of manners seemed to qualify him. He celebrated his coronation with unusual magnificence, and displayed great liberality on the occasion.¹⁸ Though as a cardinal he had zealously denounced nepotism, he now abandoned himself to that abuse, and gave a cardinal's hat to his nephew, Carlo Caraffa, who had revelled in all the wild licentiousness of a soldier's life, and of whom Paul himself had said, that he was steeped in blood to the elbows.¹⁹ But Carlo had contrived to be surprised by his uncle kneeling before a crucifix in apparent remorse.

The youth of Paul IV. had belonged to the preceding century. Born in 1476, he remembered the freedom of Italy, and he was wont to compare his country in that age to a well-tuned instrument,

¹⁷ Above, p. 9.

¹⁸ The English ambassadors sent to take an oath of obedience to Julius III. on the return of the nation to popery, heard the death both of that pontiff and of Marcellus II. on their way, and finally discharged their mission to Paul IV. One of their train has left some notices of the pomp of the Roman court at that period. On the 12th of June, the ambassadors saw Paul go to vespers "in a chair of crimson velvet wrought with gold, and two servants going before him, crying *Abasso! Abasso!* which is to say, kneel down."

When he went to mass at St. Peter's "two triple crowns were borne before him of an inestimable value;" and two men walked before "with great broad fans made of peacocks' tails, to keep the sun and flies from his holy face." The cardinals had also the same kind of fans, and silver crosses and pillars were carried before them. Every time a cardinal passed over the bridge of St. Angelo, whether going to the Pope or not, a gun was fired from the castle. See Lord Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 97 sq.

¹⁹ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 295.

of which Naples, Milan, the Papal States, and Venice, were the four strings. He cursed the memory of King Alphonso and of Louis the Moor, for disturbing this harmony; and, both in his capacity of Pope, and as a Neapolitan of the French party, his hatred for the same reasons was now fixed on Charles V. He ascribed all the successes of the Protestants to the Emperor, who had encouraged them out of jealousy to the See of Rome; and he could hardly find terms sufficient to vent his hatred of Charles and the Spaniards, while sitting over his *mangia guerra*, or black, thick, volcanic wine of Naples, and pouring forth torrents of abuse against the Spanish heretics and schismatics, the spawn of Jews and Moors, the scum of the earth, and whatever other maledictory epithets came uppermost.²⁰ With such feelings it is no wonder that he speedily entered into an alliance with France, and picked a thousand quarrels with the Emperor.

The object of his enmity, however, was now about to disappear from the political scene. A disgust of public and even of social life, which had long been growing upon Charles, was confirmed as well by the miserable state of his health²¹ as by the entire failure of all his favourite projects. So far from his ambitious dream of universal monarchy being fulfilled, he saw the Turks in possession of the greater part of Hungary, whilst, instead of reducing the Protestants to obedience, they had dictated their own terms, after inflicting on him an ignominious defeat and flight. The proceedings of the Diet assembled at Augsburg in February 1555 still further confirmed him in his project of abandoning the world.

According to the terms of the treaty of Passau, a Diet should have assembled within six months to settle definitively the arrangements respecting the public peace, but its meeting had been delayed by various causes till the period just mentioned. It was presided over by Ferdinand as the Emperor was too unwell to attend. Ferdinand, alarmed by the attempts of his brother to wrest the Imperial crown from his family, showed more disposition than usual to conciliate the Protestant princes. The latter, however, still distrustful of his altered tone, especially as he was treating the Protestants with rigour in his own hereditary dominions, held a meeting at Naumburg in March, where the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the sons of the deceased Elector John

²⁰ Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 292.

²¹ His miserable state at this time is described in the French despatches (Ribier, t. ii. p. 485). He had lost the use of one hand, and of two fingers of the other, and one of his legs was shrunk.

Very little was communicated to him on account of his depressed state. His only amusement was pulling clocks to pieces and putting them together again, in which he would spend whole days.

Frederick, the Franco-Brandenburgian princes, and the Landgrave Philip, under the pretext of confirming the treaty of mutual succession already subsisting between their houses, entered into a new confederation for the defence of their religion. But Ferdinand was really more inclined to make concessions than they had supposed; and after discussions, which lasted several months, the terms of a RELIGIOUS PEACE were at length drawn up, and published with the recess of the Diet, September 26th 1555. The principal conditions were, in substance, that a mutual toleration should be observed between the Roman Catholics and those who belonged to the Confession of Augsburg; but no other sect was to be included in the present peace. The Protestants were to retain all such ecclesiastical property as they were in possession of at the time of the peace of Passau; and those who should be so inclined were to be allowed to sell their estates and emigrate. On the other hand, all ecclesiastics who should forsake the old religion, were to lose their preferments and benefices.²² The last-mentioned article, which was called the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, gave great satisfaction to the Roman Catholics, and in the sequel, proved, in fact, the chief means of upholding that church in Germany. These proceedings were in the highest degree unwelcome to the Emperor, for whom power had but few charms unless he could reign according to his own notions; and he announced to his brother his intention of abdicating.

The death of his mother Joanna, who expired at Tordesillas April 3rd 1555, and whom the Spaniards had continued to regard as the reigning queen, at length enabled him to dispose of the crown of Castile. His constitutional melancholy had increased with age, and often, when engaged in prayer in his solitary chamber, he fancied that he heard the voice of his mother calling him away.²³ The memory of his former life awakened in him the pangs of conscience. He confessed that he had done wrong in refraining, out of love towards his son, from a second marriage, and thereby falling into sins which he now wished to expiate, and to reconcile himself with God before his death.²⁴ He had communicated his plans of retirement to his sisters, the Dowager-Queens of Hungary and France, by whom they were approved and forwarded. Philip was recalled from England to Brussels, and as a preliminary step to receiving the sovereignty of the Netherlands, was made Grand-Master of the Order of the Golden Fleece (October 22nd 1555). Three days

²² The instrument is in Lehmann's *Acta Publica et Originalia de Pace Religionis*, p. 145 sqq.

²³ Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 567.

²⁴ Arnoldi, *Historische Denkwürdigkeiten*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 410.

afterwards, Charles having convoked the States of the Netherlands at Brussels, passed, after dinner, into the great hall of the palace, attended by the senate and an extraordinary concourse of princes, ambassadors, and nobles; in whose presence he caused a Latin paper to be read, by which he made over to his son the sovereignty of Burgundy and Flanders: after which he recapitulated from a written paper all his actions since the age of seventeen, and concluded by saying, that feeling his strength exhausted by his labours and infirmities, he had resolved, for the public good, to substitute a young prince in the vigour of health, for an old man on the brink of the grave, and to consecrate the little time he had still to live to the exercise of religion and piety. Then, having requested the assembly to pardon all the faults and errors which he might have committed during his government, he turned to his son, and recommended him before all things to defend the holy Catholic religion, to maintain justice, and to love his people. At these words, Philip fell on his knees, and kissing his father's hand, promised faithfully to observe all his precepts. Charles raised and embraced him, and placing his hand upon Philip's head, and making the sign of the cross in the name of the Holy Trinity, proclaimed him Sovereign of Flanders. At this part, the Emperor could not refrain from tears, which he hastened to excuse, on the ground that they were not caused by regret at surrendering his power, but by the thought of leaving his native land and so many faithful subjects. In the same assembly, Queen Mary of Hungary abdicated the Regency of Flanders, which she had held five and twenty years; and Philip named Philibert Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, as her successor.

Charles, however, still lingered nearly a twelvemonth at Brussels. On the 16th of January 1556, having assembled in the same hall the principal Spanish grandees then in the Netherlands, in their presence and that of his two sisters, he also resigned his Spanish crowns to his son. The enumeration of the Spanish possessions in the act of abdication, will convey an idea of the extent of Charles's dominions. Besides the Spanish territories in Europe, are mentioned Cape de Verd, the Canary Islands, Oran and Tunis in Africa; the Philippine and Sunda Islands, and part of the Moluccas in Asia; Hispaniola, Cuba, Mexico, New Spain, Chili and Peru, in America.

Philip II., who thus succeeded to such extensive dominions before the ordinary period, was now in his twenty-ninth year, having been born at Valladolid May 21st 1527. In person he bore a

striking resemblance to his father.²⁵ He was somewhat below the middle size, of a slight, but well-proportioned figure. His complexion was fair and even delicate, with blue eyes, and hair and beard of a light yellow colour. His eyebrows were rather too closely knit, his nose thin and aquiline; he had the Austrian lip, and a slight protrusion of the lower jaw. He was in all respects a Spaniard; Spain engrossed his thoughts and conversation; even the Netherlands he regarded as a foreign country. He had never discovered much buoyancy of spirit, and when still a youth he was self-possessed and serious, if not melancholy; stately and ceremonious, yet at the same time averse to parade and fond of retirement. He had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the Latin language, as well as some Italian and French; but he discovered more taste for science than literature, was a fair mathematician, and fond of architecture.

Charles's abdication of the Imperial crown in favour of his brother Ferdinand being a step in which the German Electors were concerned, and against which Pope Paul IV. protested, could not be so speedily effected. It was not till September 7th 1556, when Charles was at Rammekeens in Zealand, on the point of embarking for Spain, that he addressed a paper to the Electors, Princes, and States of the empire, directing them to transfer their allegiance to his brother; which paper, together with the Imperial crown and sceptre, he delivered to the Prince of Orange and to the Chancellor Seld. The prince whom Charles thus selected to be one of the confidential instruments of the most solemn act of his life, was the celebrated William surnamed the Silent, destined one day to become the most redoubtable enemy of his house. With Seld, the Emperor entered for the last time into a discussion on political matters, which continued late into the night. When at length Charles dismissed his minister, it was found that all the lackeys had retired to bed, and the Emperor seizing a candle walked with it down stairs, commanding the astonished Seld to follow. On dismissing his chancellor at the door he playfully remarked: "You will remember that the last act of the Emperor Charles, in whose service you have passed so many years, was to become in turn your servant."

It was not till February 1558 that the Electors and Princes of the empire met at Frankfort to receive from the hands of the Prince of Orange the act of Charles's abdication. The accession of

²⁵ "E il re Filippo la stessa imagine dell' imperatore suo padre — ma di minore statura." — Micheli, *Relazione d'In-*

ghilterra, ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 114.

Ferdinand was not disagreeable to them; and they seized the occasion to require from him a capitulation, in which he engaged to observe the religious peace as well as the public peace, or *Landfriede*, as established in 1555. Ferdinand swore to observe this capitulation, in the Electoral Chapel of St. Bartholomew's Church, March 14th 1558; whereupon the Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg, as arch-chamberlain of the empire, placed upon his head the golden crown. The other ceremonies of installation were completed on a stage erected before the choir; Seld read aloud the act of abdication, after which King Ferdinand was proclaimed Roman Emperor elect. The religious service which concluded the solemnity was so contrived that both Catholics and Protestants might join in it. Pope Paul IV., when he first learnt the intention of Charles V. to abdicate the Imperial crown (1556), had declared in full Consistory that he had no right to take such a step without the consent of the Holy See; moreover that he was *impos mentis*, and that some of the Electors were heretics; and Paul further announced that he would neither recognise the abdication nor the successor nominated by Charles.²⁶ Accordingly, when Ferdinand in April 1558 sent his grand-chamberlain Don Martin Gusman to Rome to notify to the Pontiff his accession to the empire, and his desire to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of his Holiness, Paul hastily refused to give audience to the ambassador, who was compelled to remain at Tivoli; and he reproached the new Emperor with his presumption in assuming that title without the permission of the Holy See; which, as it alone enjoyed the right of deposing emperors, so by a necessary consequence was the only power that could receive and sanction their abdication. He added that Ferdinand by granting to the Protestants an advantageous peace had disqualified himself for the Imperial sceptre; and he concluded by ordering that Prince to resign it, and to submit himself implicitly to the will and pleasure of the Holy See. The cardinals supported this attempt of the Pope to assert, under very altered circumstances, these almost obsolete pretensions. The Consistory declared all that had been done at the Diet of Frankfort null and void, because heretics had taken part in the proceedings, who, by their defection from the true Church, had lost all power as well as grace; and they required that Ferdinand should not only submit himself to the Pope's award, but also that he should do penance, and instead of sending an ambassador to Rome, should despatch an advocate to plead his cause. Philip II. in vain interfered to procure

²⁶ *Letter of Cardinal du Bellay in Ribier, t. ii. p. 623 sqq.*

an audience for Gusman; who was obliged to return with this vexatious answer, after entering a protest against it. The Pope, however, by insisting on these pretensions only injured himself. As Ferdinand, for fear of the Protestant princes, could not admit them, he assumed, like his grandfather Maximilian, the title of Roman Emperor Elect, which was recognised by all the European sovereigns except Paul; and from this period a coronation by the Pope was no longer contemplated.

Germany on the whole must be said to have suffered by the reign of Charles V. The Imperial fiefs of Italy, for which so much German blood had been shed, were handed over to the Spanish crown, while the border towns of Lorraine were irrecoverably lost by the fortune of war. The Netherlands, it is true, had nominally become a circle of the empire, but in their internal administration they were entirely independent of the Imperial government.

The delay of Charles in the Netherlands incidentally contributed to bring about a truce between his son and the King of France. The campaign in the Netherlands in the year 1555 had not been marked by any events worth relating, except perhaps the attempt of a convent of Franciscan friars at Metz to betray that town to the Imperialists. The conspiracy was, however, discovered by Vieilleville on the very eve of its execution, and the whole of the monks, with the exception of six of the youngest, were condemned to death. In May an ineffectual attempt had been made to restore peace. The French and Imperial plenipotentiaries assembled at Marcq, in the department of Calais, whither Queen Mary despatched as mediators, Cardinal Pole, Bishop Gardiner, now Chancellor of England, and the Lords Arundel and Paget; but as neither of the sovereigns was disposed to relax in the smallest tittle of his pretensions, nothing could be effected. Early in 1556 the efforts of Charles to bring the war to a close were attended with more success. Negotiations were opened at Vaucelles, near Cambray, and were conducted on the part of the Emperor and Philip by Count Lalaing, and on that of Henry II. by the Admiral Gaspard de Coligni, nephew of Montmorenci. The Constable had several reasons for desiring peace. He distrusted his own military talents, and was envious of the Guises, who, he feared, would reap all the glory from the continuance of the war. He also ardently wished for the liberation of his eldest son, who had been now some years a prisoner. Henry II. at first hesitated to assent to the terms of the proposed truce, as being at variance with the treaty which he had entered into with Pope Paul IV., and which had been effected under the influence of the Guises. But the Cardinal of Lorraine,

who had negociated that treaty, was absent at Rome; and Henry, who commonly listened to the last advice, was persuaded by Montmorenci, an opponent from the first of the alliance with Paul, to agree to the terms proposed. A truce was accordingly signed, February 5th 1556, for a term of five years, on the basis of *uti possidetis*. Such a truce was undoubtedly in favour of Henry, since it gave him possession not only of the territories of the Duke of Savoy, but also of his acquisitions on the frontiers of Lorraine, namely, Metz, Toul and Verdun. Yet, such was the exhausted state of the Imperial dominions, Charles eagerly closed with the terms; and Philip, though dissatisfied and reluctant, did not presume to oppose his father's will.

Although Paul IV. had been included in this truce he was highly surprised and alarmed when he heard of it. It was also a severe check to the policy of the Guises, who had hitherto directed the French King, and who, building their hopes on the disposition of the Pontiff, had formed some audacious schemes for their own benefit in Italy. Only a few weeks before the truce of Vaucelles, the Cardinal of Lorraine had concluded at Rome a treaty with Paul (December 16th 1555), by which the French King, in whose name it was made, engaged to take the Caraffa family under his protection; and Paul and Henry agreed to attack the Spaniards with a considerable army, either in Naples, Tuscany, or Lombardy, as well as to expel Duke Cosmo and re-establish the republic at Florence. The Pope engaged to grant the investiture of Naples to one of the French King's sons, provided, however, that it should in no case be united with France.

Under this treaty, which appeared to forward only the national interests of France, the Guises had concealed and promoted the objects of their own personal ambition. In the general confusion of Italy, Duke Francis hoped to find a chance of seizing the Neapolitan sceptre, which he claimed as representative of the House of Anjou; and though the treaty vaguely promised that kingdom to one of the French King's sons, yet the feeble health of Henry's children seemed to flatter Guise with no remote prospect of the succession. The Cardinal of Lorraine, on the other hand, was aspiring to the tiara; and as the advanced age of Paul promised a speedy vacancy of the pontifical throne, the presence of the French armies would in that event prove of wonderful efficacy in influencing the decision of the conclave.

There is no more striking instance than Paul IV. of how much pride, violence, and ambition may lurk a whole life unsuspected under a monk's cowl, till opportunity may call these passions into

action. He had already raised some troops when he heard of the truce of Vaucelles, and his anger equalled his disappointment. His character, however, of common Father of the faithful, did not allow him openly to oppose the peace, especially as the parties to it appeared to have consulted his interests. Nay, he even pretended anxiety to convert the truce into a perpetual peace; but under this pretext he only sought the opportunity to undo it. With this view he despatched Cardinal Rebiba as his nuncio to mediate at Brussels, but instructed him to protract his journey thither, while, on the other hand, he sent his nephew, Cardinal Caraffa, in all haste to Paris, with secret instructions which were quite at variance with the ostensible object of his mission. At his first interview with Henry II. at Fontainebleau, Caraffa presented to him a sword consecrated by the Pope. The King received it on his knees from the seated legate, who intreated him to use the holy weapon in defence of the Pope; and in order that Henry might not plead any scruples as to the oath which he had taken to the truce, Caraffa had come ready provided with an absolution from it. The Cardinal of Lorraine had prepared the way for the legate; and Henry being pressed by the Guises, the Duchess of Valentinois, and even by the Queen herself, the enemy of that branch of her family which reigned at Florence, concluded, in spite of the remonstrances of Montmorenci and his nephews, as well as of his wisest councillors, a new treaty with the Pope. War was decided upon, and Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, one of the ablest diplomatists of the time, was employed to justify this perfidious breach of faith by a paper in which he imputed all sorts of plots, and even the use of poison²⁷, to Emmanuel Philibert and the other ministers of Philip II.

The impetuous Paul, who considered himself as nothing less than a God upon earth, and regarded all opposition to his commands as impiety as well as rebellion²⁸, had thrown off the mask even before he learnt the decision of the French King. He recalled his nuncio Rebiba, who had not yet reached Brussels; he cited before him Charles V. as Emperor, and Philip as King of Naples, for having failed in their duty as feudatories of the Holy See, by the protection which they accorded to the Colonna family (July 27th), whom he had excommunicated, and given the dukedom of Paliano and the marquisate of Montebello, which belonged to members of that family, to two of his nephews; he imprisoned

²⁷ Upon the Duke of Bouillon, son-in-law of Diana.

²⁸ "Le Pape, qui dès le temps de sa jeunesse avoit fait contenance d'une re-

ligion très austère, — est devenu nouveau gendarme soudain qu'il a esté appelé à la Papauté." — *Lettres d'Etienne Pasquier*, liv. iv. Lett. i.

the Spanish envoy in the Castle of St. Angelo; nay, he even went so far as to order the suspension of divine service in Spain. This was a great blow to the bigoted and superstitious Philip, as the Spanish ecclesiastics, by whom he had been educated, had impressed him with a great veneration for the Holy See, whose attacks he now found himself compelled to resist. The Duke of Alva published at Naples, where he was Viceroy, a sort of counter-manifesto against the Pope (August 21st), in which, though couched in very respectful language, he recapitulated all the injuries which his master had received from the See of Rome. Philip and his father had indeed conciliated the House of Farnese, and seduced them from the alliance of France and the Pope, as soon as they learnt the secret league between those two powers. Charles V. reconciled himself with his son-in-law Ottavio Farnese; Philip restored Piacenza to Ottavio, with the exception of the castle, and added the gift of Novara; he also reinstated the Cardinal Farnese in the Sicilian Archbishopric of Montreale; and France exclaimed loudly, but in vain, against Italian ingratitude. Philip had also sought to make the Grand-Duke of Florence his ally, who, however, resolved to remain neutral.

It was not before he had consulted the theologians of Alcalá, Salamanca, Valladolid, and even of some of the Flemish and Italian schools, that Philip ventured to make open war upon the Pope, although the successor of St. Peter, on his side, so far from feeling any religious compunctions, endeavoured to form an alliance with the infidel Turks.²⁹ When all other means had failed, Alva at length invaded the Papal territories, overran the Campagna, and appeared at the very gates of Rome. In this war Alva displayed the natural cruelty of his temper, though he conducted it in the spirit of a devout Catholic. Whenever he entered a Papal town, he caused the arms of the Sacred College to be hung up in one of the principal churches, with a placard announcing that he held the place only till the election of a new Pontiff; and he might have entered Rome itself without much difficulty, but for the reverence which he felt for the Vicar of Christ. Paul, who expected the assistance of the French, now began to amuse him with negotiations, and in November a truce of forty days was concluded. Towards the end of December, in a rigorous season, the Duke of Guise passed the Alps with a considerable army. His military talents had induced many of the French nobility to accompany him, to be the spectators of the great things which he

²⁹ See *Despatch* of Bishop of Lodeva to Henry II., Jan. 5th 1557, in Ribier, t. ii. p. 674.

would achieve. Guise might now have accomplished the conquest of Lombardy and Tuscany, which lay at his mercy; both Milan and Sienna stretched out their arms to him; Duke Cosmo implored that his neutrality might be respected. But Guise, as we have already explained, had other schemes, to which he postponed the advice of his generals and the interests of France. As Paul, who pretended that he had many partisans in the Abruzzi, was pressing for his presence in that quarter, Guise directed his march by Bologna into the March of Ancona. Instead of the promised succours, he found, however, nothing but vain excuses; and he posted to Rome to expostulate with the Pope. Here he succeeded no better with regard to the means of the campaign; but he persuaded Paul to create ten new cardinals, three of whom were French³⁰, and he thus strengthened his brother's prospect of the tiara. After wasting a month at Rome, abandoned to licentious pleasures³¹, Guise penetrated with his army into the Abruzzi. His plan of the campaign, however, was anything but on a grand scale. His efforts were frittered away in little miserable expeditions, conducted in the most barbarous manner; for, in spite of the general progress of civilisation, war seemed only to have acquired more atrocity. Having taken Campli by assault, Guise allowed all the inhabitants to be massacred. The consequence was that the little town of Civitella, to escape the same fate, made the most obstinate resistance, and detained the French army several weeks, till the approach of the Duke of Alva with superior forces compelled Guise to raise the siege (May 15th 1557). The two armies now manœuvred some months on the borders of the Abruzzi and the March of Ancona. There were marches and counter-marches, advances and retreats, towns invested and sieges raised, but no serious engagement. Guise was involved in continual disputes with the Papal leaders. One day at table he accused Antonio Caraffa, Marquis of Montebello, the youngest of the Pope's nephews, of robbing his soldiers, and threw a plate at his head, an affront which Paul was compelled to overlook. A new invasion of the Campagna by the Colonnas at length obliged the Pope to call Guise to his assistance. The Duke of Alva followed the French to the environs of Rome, but before any serious action could take place, Guise was recalled by Henry II., who directed him to recross

³⁰ Ribier, t. ii. p. 684; Belcarius, liv. xxvii. p. 896.

³¹ "Le Cardinal de Caraffe, scélérat s'il en fût oncques, le tint tout le mois de Mars dedans la ville de Rome, l'entretenant de toutes délices, festins, courti-

sannes, vierges et femmes mariées, dont ce gouffre d'abominations s'accoustumé de fournir, pour, par ce temperisement, attraper du duc de Florence 400,000 écus." — *Mém.* de Vieilleville, liv. vii. ch. 1.

the Alps as quickly as possible with his army (August), as his presence was urgently required in France.

When Guise showed the order for his recall to the Pope, Paul flew into a transport of impotent rage. He at first endeavoured to detain Guise; but when the latter insisted upon going, Paul replied: "Begone, then; you have done but little for your King, and still less for the Church; for your own honour, nothing." Paul was now compelled to treat with the Duke of Alva. As it was with the greatest reluctance that Philip II. had entered into the war, the Pope did not find the negotiations very difficult; for the whole system of that bigoted monarch may be comprised in a few words: the extinction of social liberty under a religious and political despotism, in which the latter, in appearance at least, was to be subordinate to the former. Conferences were opened at Cavi between the Duke of Alva and the Cardinals Fiora and Vitelli, which led to a peace (September 14th); the principal articles of which were, that the Spanish troops should be withdrawn from the States of the Church, and that all the places which had been taken should be restored. Paul declined to reinstate the Colonnas in their possessions, but agreed that their claims should be referred to the arbitration of Venice. In a preliminary article he insisted that Alva should repair to Rome to ask pardon in his own name and that of his sovereign for having invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, and to receive absolution for that crime. The haughty Spaniard was forced to comply. At the threshold of the Vatican, Alva fell upon his knees and kissed, with real or simulated veneration, the foot of the bitterest and most inveterate foe of his sovereign and country. Cosmo de' Medici, by a course of artful policy, succeeded in obtaining Sienna in satisfaction of the sums which he had advanced to the Emperor. By the reunion of Florence and Sienna was formed the grand-duchy of Tuscany³²; but some maritime places were reserved, which the Spaniards held till the French Revolution. From this period Italy ceased to be the chief theatre of war. The French had grown tired of their unsuccessful efforts in that country; the equilibrium of Europe had been in great degree restored by the abdication of Charles V., and consequent division of the power of the House of Austria; and the rivalries of the French and Spanish monarchs were beginning to disappear a while

³² It was not, however, till 1569 that Pope Pius V. conferred the title of Grand-Duke on Cosmo, by a Bull dated Aug. 27th. He was to rank next after the Duke of Savoy. The Emperor Maximilian II.

protested against this exercise of Papal power. Pfeffel, t. ii, p. 204. Pius crowned Cosmo next year at Rome, with a kingly diadem.

in what they called the interests of religion, but which in reality they considered as the interests of their thrones.

In France the return of Guise was awaited with anxiety. Henry II. had, at first, pretended that he had not violated the truce in sending an army into Italy to the assistance of his ally the Pope when attacked by the Viceroy of Naples; but this excuse was soon belied by further acts. Admiral Coligni, now governor of Picardy, was directed to commence hostilities in the north; and after an abortive attempt to surprise Douai (January 6th 1557) he captured and burnt Lens. After these violations of the truce, war was declared, January 31st; but for the next six months nothing of importance was attempted on either side. During this period, however, Philip had not been idle. In March 1557 he repaired to England, in the government of which country he exercised a secret but considerable influence. The minutes of the proceedings of the Privy Council were regularly forwarded to him, which he returned with manuscript notes; and he even required that nothing whatever should be submitted to the Parliament without having been first seen and approved of by him.³³ By his influence over the mind of Mary, who, in spite of his coldness and neglect, doated on him with the most extravagant fondness, he prevailed on her to disregard the wishes of her council and of the nation, and to declare war against France (June 20th 1557); and levying large sums by her own authority, she despatched an army of 10,000 men into the Netherlands, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke. These forces joined Philip's army under the Duke of Savoy, which now numbered upwards of 50,000 men. Meanwhile, little had been done to recruit the French army. In spite of its almost constant wars, France seemed to grow every day less military. With the exception of a few Gascons, the best part of Henry's troops consisted almost entirely of Germans; the ban and arrièraban had been called out, but assembled slowly and reluctantly; the flower of the veteran bands was in Italy with Guise and Brissac.

In July, Emmanuel Philibert was in motion. After threatening Champagne he turned suddenly to the right and invested St. Quentin. At great risk, Coligni succeeded in throwing himself into the town with a small body of troops on the night of the 2nd of August, and thus revived the spirits of the garrison. Montmorenci, who had advanced with the French army as far as La Fère, ordered d'Andelot, Coligni's brother and his successor in the command of the French infantry, to force his way into the town

³³ Tytler, *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. ii. p. 484.

with 2000 men ; but he was repulsed with great loss. In a second attempt, covered by Montmorenci with a rash and unexpected audacity, who, holding cheap the youth and inexperience of the Duke of Savoy, made a demonstration with his whole army, d'Anelot succeeded in penetrating into the town with 500 men. But this small success was purchased with a signal and disastrous defeat. Montmorenci had neglected to secure the road by which the enemy might penetrate to his rear ; and as he was withdrawing his forces after the success of his manœuvre, the Duke of Savoy ordered large masses of cavalry, gallantly led by Count Egmont, to cross the Somme and precipitate themselves on the retreating columns of the French. In a moment they were overthrown and dispersed. The Duke d'Enghien, brother of the King of Navarre, and several other chiefs, were slain ; Montmorenci himself, and his youthful son, De Montberon, the Duke of Montpensier, the Duke of Longueville, the Marshal St. André, together with many other persons of distinction, were made prisoners. After overthrowing the *gendarmerie*, the victors attacked the French infantry, who were broken and dispersed, and either cut to pieces or driven away prisoners, like flocks of sheep. It was with difficulty that the Duke of Nevers and the Prince of Condé succeeded in regaining La Fère with a handful of soldiers, whilst François de Montmorenci, the Constable's eldest son, escaped in another direction.

All seemed lost for France. The only army on which it relied for defence was almost annihilated, its commander in the hands of the enemy. Paris trembled for its safety ; and some of the courtiers already talked of removing to Orleans. But France was saved by Philip himself, who, at the news of the victory, hastened from Cambrai to the camp just in time to prevent the Duke of Savoy from reaping its fruits. The battle of St. Quentin was fought on St. Laurence's Day (August 10th), and Philip determined to commemorate it in a manner worthy of his bigotry and superstition. He vowed to erect a church, a monastery, and a palace in honour of that saint ; their form was to be the appropriate one of a grid-iron, in memory of Laurence's martyrdom ; and after twenty-two years' labour and the expenditure of vast sums of money, the Escorial rose at Madrid. But his own conduct rendered the victory unworthy of this sumptuous monument. Philip II. had all the obstinacy of his father, without his talent or enterprise ; and, contrary to the advice of the Duke of Savoy and his ablest generals, he forbade the army to push on for Paris till St. Quentin and the neighbouring places had been taken. Coligni, however, obstinately defended St. Quentin nearly three weeks. At last, eleven breaches

having been effected, the town was carried by assault, August 27th, while Philip looked on from a neighbouring eminence. Coligni was made prisoner, and St. Quentin, which as an entrepôt of the trade between France and the Netherlands, possessed considerable wealth, was abandoned to pillage. The Spaniards then took Ham, Noyon, and Chauni. But the time thus lost proved fatal to the main enterprise. The English, with whom the war was unpopular, insisted on going home; and Philip was obliged to dismiss them for fear of worse consequences; while the Germans, who were badly paid, mutinied and deserted in great numbers. On the other hand the French had time to repair their losses, and Henry II., as already related, summoned Guise to return from Italy. Charles, who in the bosom of his retirement had received the news of the Duke of Savoy's victory early in September, was calculating that his son must be already at Paris; instead of which, Philip, before the middle of October, had returned to Brussels, where he ordered part of his army to be dismissed, and put the remainder into winter-quarters.

The disasters of the French army and the captivity of Montmorenci, were destined to compensate Guise for the ill success of his Italian expedition. He was received with acclamation in France. The King bestowed upon him new honours and dignities, and named him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, a post which conferred upon him a power almost regal. Henry II. thus made a plain and public declaration of his own incapacity to reign. Guise's brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, had obtained the administration of the interior and of the finances; the third brother commanded the galleys; another was destined to replace Brissac in Piedmont. The Cardinal of Guise alone was without ambition, and distinguished only by his dissoluteness, whence he obtained the name of the "Cardinal des Bouteilles." In short, in the absence of the Constable, the Guise family reigned in the name of Henry II.

The Duke of Guise hastened to take the command of the army of the north, and, although the winter had set in, he resolved on commencing operations. But he was too prudent to attempt the recovery of St. Quentin, or to enter on a winter campaign in a country that was already exhausted. He despatched the Duke of Nevers with a strong division towards the Meuse, to engage the attention of the enemy on the side of Luxembourg, but with orders to turn suddenly to the west and join himself and the rest of the army on the coast of Picardy. When the junction was effected, the French army unexpectedly presented itself before Calais (January 1st 1558).

The surprise of that place had been long meditated. In the preceding November, Marshal Strozzi accompanied by an engineer had entered the town in disguise, and observed the insufficient precautions which had been taken for its defence. Indeed, the English deemed it impregnable³⁴; and in the winter time, when the surrounding marshes were overflowed, they were accustomed, out of a false economy, to reduce the numbers of the garrison, who were now only 500 men. Of this practice Lord Wentworth, the commandant, had complained in vain; the Privy Council replied to his remonstrances that at that season they could defend the place with their white rods.

Calais was protected by two forts: that of Newnham bridge, or Nioullai, which commanded the only causeway through the marshes on the land side; and that of Risbank towards the sea, which protected the port. The French having carried by a *coup de main* the little battery of St. Agatha, which formed a sort of outpost to the fort of Newnham bridge, one part of their army sat down before the latter, while the rest, filing to the left, took up a position before Risbank. Both these forts were taken the first day the batteries of the French opened upon them (January 3rd). The town itself was then bombarded during three days. On the evening of the 6th January, Guise himself led at low tide a chosen body across the harbour, the water reaching to their waists, and carried the castle by assault; nor could the English with all their efforts succeed in recapturing it. Lord Wentworth now found it necessary to capitulate; the inhabitants obtained leave to retire with their property, but all the cannon and warlike stores were surrendered. Guines was next invested and taken January 21st. Thus were the English finally deprived of every foot of land in France, after holding Calais, the fruit of Edward III.'s victory at Crécy, more than two centuries. Its loss occasioned the greatest discontent in England: for this irreparable disgrace was the only fruit of the needless and unpopular war in which Mary had involved the country. The Queen herself was overwhelmed with confusion and remorse at so unexpected a blow; and was often heard to say, that if her heart were opened after her death the name of Calais would be found engraved upon it. On the other hand this achievement saved the reputation of Guise, and more

³⁴ They had inscribed over one of the gates the following couplet:—

“Il sera vraisemblable que Calais on assiége,

Quand le fer ou le plomb nagera comme liège.”

De Rouillé, *Hist. des Ducs de Guise*, ap. Martin, t. viii. p. 460.

than counterpoised in the minds of the French the memory of their defeat at St. Quentin.

The power and influence of the Guises was soon after further increased by the marriage of the Dauphin Francis with their niece the young Queen of Scots (April 24th 1558). Francis was then only fourteen years of age, whilst Mary, who had been educated in France, was in her sixteenth year. A few days before the Guises had made their niece sign two secret acts, by one of which, in the event of her death without children, she bequeathed her kingdom to be inviolably united with that of France; by the other she abandoned the revenues of Scotland to Henry II. till he should have been repaid a million crowns expended in succouring that country. Yet in her marriage contract, Mary and her youthful husband were to take an oath to maintain the laws, the liberty, and the independence of Scotland! Such was the early initiation of the unfortunate Queen of Scots into that course of duplicity and fraud which at length terminated in her destruction. From this time the Court of France gave the Dauphin the title of King of Scotland, which was confirmed by the Scotch Parliament, in spite of the opposition of a numerous party, who feared that their country would become a mere province of France.

In May some conferences were held with a view to peace at Marcoing near Cambray, between the Cardinal of Lorraine and Granvella, Bishop of Arras, now chief minister of Philip II., as he had before been of Charles V. The pretensions of the Spanish monarch were too haughty to admit of an immediate accommodation; but the two churchmen here laid the foundations of a league against heresy destined in time to bear its fruits. In proof of his sincerity, Granvella denounced to the cardinal as followers of the new doctrines the nephews of the Constable; a fact which he had discovered from an intercepted letter, as well as some Genèveve books, which d'Andelot had endeavoured to convey to his captive brother, the Admiral Coligni. The Duke of Guise having represented to the French King that he could not hope to prosper in his campaign if a heretic remained in command of the French infantry, Henry sent for d'Andelot and interrogated him as to his opinions concerning the mass. The blunt and honest soldier was not the man to disguise his opinions. "There is," he cried, "but one sacrifice made once for all, that of our Lord Jesus Christ; and to make of the mass a sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead is detestable and abominable." At these words Henry could no longer control his anger, and snatching up a plate, he hurled it at d'Andelot's head, which it missed, and struck the

Dauphin. The King then clapped his hand on his sword, but restraining himself, sent d'Andelot prisoner to the castle of Melun. Thus the Duke of Guise attained his end by getting rid of one of the Constable's family, and gave the post of colonel of the infantry to Montluc.

The conduct of the campaign of 1558 did not add much to the military reputation of the Duke of Guise. He lost his time in besieging Thionville, which held out till June 2nd; at which siege Peter Strozzi, the Florentine emigrant, who was celebrated as an engineer, was killed by a musket ball. Guise next took Arlon and threatened Luxembourg; but his dilatoriness occasioned a disastrous reverse to the French arms at the other extremity of the Netherlands. Paul de Termes, governor of Calais, had been ordered to operate against West Flanders; and counting upon being joined by Guise and the main army after the taking of Thionville, he passed the Aa which separates Flanders from the district of Calais, with 10,000 or 12,000 men, leaving Gravelines un-reduced behind him. He took Mardyck, and having carried Dunkirk by assault, was marching upon Nieuport, when intelligence of the approach of the Count d'Egmont with an army of some 15,000 men, induced him to retreat. He contrived to repass the Aa at low water, when he found himself in presence of the enemy who had crossed the river higher up. An engagement ensued (July 13th) on the downs, or sandy hillocks which border that coast, and in the midst of it ten English vessels that were cruising in the neighbourhood, attracted by the noise of the cannonade, entered the mouth of the Aa and directed their fire on the French flank. The slaughter was dreadful. The French were thrown into a disorderly rout; De Termes himself, with a great many officers, was taken prisoner; while the greater part of the French soldiers were massacred by the Flemish peasantry, who were enraged at the devastation they had committed.

The Duke of Guise was now obliged to hasten into Picardy, and with the main French army, consisting of about 40,000 men, took up a position so as to cover Corbie and Amiens, threatened by the Duke of Savoy, who with an army equal to that of the French had established himself on the river Authie. As both the French and Spanish monarchs had joined their respective camps, some great and decisive action was every day expected; yet both armies remained watching each other without coming to an engagement. Meanwhile some unofficial overtures for a peace had been made between the Constable and the Marshal St. André, who were prisoners of war, and the ministers of Philip II. Montmorenci

was naturally desirous of peace at any price; for while he was a captive the Guises were supplanting him at court. The Cardinal of Lorraine, however, had imprudently offended the Duchess of Valentinois, who still retained great influence over the King, and who now threw her weight into Montmorenci's scale; whilst Henry himself not unjustly imputed the loss of the campaign to the misconduct of the Duke of Guise. The Constable having obtained a short *congé* on parole, confirmed the French King's impressions in a visit which he paid to him at the camp; when Henry showed him one of the greatest marks of favour then customary among princes by allowing him to share the royal bed. Under these circumstances conferences were opened at the abbey of Cercamp, October 15th, but were interrupted by the death of the English Queen, November 17th 1558, an event which placed the interests of Philip II. in quite a new position. When the congress was reopened at Câteau-Cambrésis early in February 1559, the Spanish monarch had discovered that there was no chance of his obtaining the hand of Elizabeth, who had now ascended the throne of England, and to whom he had made offers of marriage; and therefore though his general political interests still drew him towards that country, he ceased to insist, as he had previously done, on the restitution of Calais.³⁵ The sagacity of Elizabeth, or of her minister Cecil, perceived how difficult would be the recovery of that ancient possession, and she therefore contented herself with conditions which might tend in some degree to soothe the wounded feelings of national pride at its loss. In the treaty between France, England, and Scotland, signed at Câteau-Cambrésis, April 2nd 1559, it was agreed that the King of France should hold Calais for eight years, at the expiration of which term it was to be restored to the Queen of England; failing which, France was to pay 500,000 crowns; a forfeit, however, which was not to abrogate the English claim. It was sufficiently plain that restitution would never be demanded; nor can this abandonment of a place, which offered a continual temptation for plunging into a war with France, be considered as any real loss to the English nation.³⁶

The treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, between France and Spain, was signed on the following day (April 3rd). It was principally founded on a double marriage, namely, between Philip II. him-

³⁵ The Duke of Alva, the chief Spanish Commissioner, had favoured the claims of France with regard to Calais; being of opinion that it was not for the interest of Spain and Flanders that England should command the Strait by the pos-

session both of Dover and Calais. Rustant, *Hist. del Duque d'Alva*, ap. Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 20.

³⁶ Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 29. sqq. Cf. Forbes, *Full View*, &c., p. 68.

self, and Elizabeth the eldest daughter of the French King, then thirteen years of age, who had previously been destined for Philip's son, Don Carlos; and another between Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and Margaret of France, sister of Henry II. The two contracting monarchs engaged that they would endeavour to procure a general council to heal the dissensions of the Church; nearly all the conquests of both parties on the French and Flemish frontiers were mutually restored; the French surrendered their acquisitions in Corsica to the Genoese, and abandoned the republic of Sienna as they had before abandoned that of Florence, stipulating, however, an amnesty for the Corsicans and Siennese. The Duke of Savoy, upon his marriage, was to be reinstated in his dominions, with the exception of the towns of Turin, Pignerol, Chieri, Chivasso and Villanova d'Asti, which were to be held by Henry till his claims as heir of his grandmother, Louisa of Savoy, should have been decided by arbitration.³⁷ These were the principal articles. With regard to the Empire, Ferdinand had demanded in the Diet of Augsburg (February 1559), the restitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. But Ferdinand was weak. His hereditary dominions were menaced by the Turks; he was ill supported by his nephew Philip; and he ended by letting the French ambassadors know, that in spite of his public protest he should not go to war for the three bishoprics.³⁸

While these negotiations were pending, the great sovereign who had been for so many years the leading character on the political scene, had expired. Charles V., as we have before intimated, sailed from Zealand for Spain, September 17th 1556. He had lingered a few days at Ghent, the place of his birth, and of some of the happiest days of his childhood; but he declined a pressing invitation of his daughter-in-law, Queen Mary, to visit England on his way. He landed at Laredo in Biscay, after a prosperous voyage of eleven days; whence he proceeded towards the convent of Yuste near Placentia in Estramadura, which he had fixed upon as the place of his retirement. His journey seems to have been protracted not only by ill health but also by want of money; a neglect which must have cut Charles to the quick, though it does not appear to have arisen, as it has been sometimes asserted, from the fault of his son Philip. At Valladolid he took leave of his two sisters, the Dowager-Queens of France and Hungary, whom he would not permit to accompany him into his solitude. He arrived in November at Járandilla, about two leagues from Yuste, where he took

³⁷ Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 34.

³⁸ Belcarius, lib. xxviii. p. 919.

up his abode in the castle of Count Oropesa, till the house building for him at Yuste should have been completed. This consisted of eight rooms on two floors, and was seated in a little valley watered by a brook and enclosed by well-wooded hills. It adjoined an ancient convent of Hieronymite monks, and was surrounded with a pleasant garden, which, when health permitted, the abdicated Emperor would sometimes cultivate with his own hands. There was a communication with the monastery, and a window in one of his bedchambers looked into the chapel, so that when confined by sickness he could still participate in the service of the mass. He did not, however, live, as some writers have asserted, in a state of monastic mortification. His apartments were well, nay, magnificently furnished; he had a rich wardrobe, a valuable service of plate, a choice collection of paintings; and he indulged in the pleasures of the table to a gluttonous extent, that was very detrimental to his health. He had no objection to scourge his back³⁹, but he could not endure to punish his belly by fasting, from which mode of penance he procured an absolution. He delighted in the music of the choir, in which he often joined; for he had a good ear as well as a sonorous voice, and would reprehend a false note with epithets that accorded but ill with the devotional character of the performance. He amused his leisure hours with mechanical pursuits, in which he displayed considerable ingenuity, and he took a particular interest in the mechanism of clocks and watches. It is related that on finding he could not make all his time-pieces go exactly together, he exclaimed against his own folly in attempting to cause all men to think alike; a philosophical reflection which would seem incompatible with his last injunction to his successor to maintain the Inquisition, did we not know that men will occasionally give a transient recognition to speculative truths, which nothing can induce them to adopt in practice. When he felt his end approaching, Charles was seized with a melancholy whim, which had in it a touch of insanity. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies. The convent chapel was hung with black and lighted with numerous tapers; in the centre a funereal trophy was supposed to contain the body of the deceased monarch; while Charles himself, holding a lighted torch in his hand, mingled with the monks and attendants who gathered round to celebrate the burial service.⁴⁰ This counterfeit of death was followed in a

³⁹ A scourge, stained with his blood, was preserved with veneration by Philip, and by him bequeathed to his son. Prescott, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 252.

⁴⁰ The occurrence of this tragical farce has been questioned by Mignet in his

Charles-Quint, but is accepted by Gachard, Stirling, and Prescott. The circumstances of it have been exaggerated in the narrative of Robertson, taken from Gregorio Leti.

few weeks by its reality. Soon after midnight on the 21st September 1558, the sovereign in whose dominions the sun never set, yielded to the common fate of human nature.⁴¹

It is a mistake to suppose, as Robertson and other writers have related, that Charles did not concern himself with business in his retreat. He was in constant correspondence with his son, and his despatches from Yuste to Valladolid directed the policy of his daughter Joanna, who, in the absence of Philip in England and the Netherlands, conducted the regency of Spain. In his secluded abode, he even sometimes gave audience to foreign envoys. He took the most lively interest in the French campaign of 1557, as well as in that in Italy. In the alarm of those wars Philip despatched Ruy Gomez to Yuste for his father's advice, and even entreated him to resume for a while the direction of affairs. Charles did not share his son's scruples respecting hostilities with the Pope; and he manifested the deepest disappointment when he found that Philip had not availed himself of the victory of St. Quentin to march upon Paris.

The character of the Emperor Charles V. will have been gathered by the attentive reader from the narrative of his actions. Ambition was his ruling passion, to which all his other motives, and even his religious feelings, must be ranked as subordinate. He carried out his plans with a skill, a perseverance, and a consistency which mark him as a great statesman, though his method of action was far from being always compatible with morality or with the good of his people. His policy must be regarded as his own, for though he had always a confidential minister, he was not implicitly guided by his advice; and he never submitted his designs to a body of councillors. His first minister and chancellor was Gattinara, a Piedmontese by birth, and president of the parliament of Franche Comté; a man of proud and independent spirit, as appears from his letters to Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, whose coun-

⁴¹ Since the time when Robertson wrote, the Archives of Simancas have thrown considerable light on the history of Charles V. in his retirement. To those who wish to pursue a subject which our limits do not permit us to treat at much length, the following notice of sources may not be unacceptable. From the Archives just mentioned, Don Tomas Gonzalez drew up a MS. volume, entitled *Retiro, Estancia y Muerte del Emperador Carlos Quinto en el Monasterio de Yuste*, which was never published; but being bought by the French Government, was placed in the *Archives des Affaires étran-*

gères. From this MS. M. Mignet, who had charge of the collection in which it was deposited, compiled his *Charles Quint, son Abdicacion, son Séjour et sa Mort au Monastère de Yuste*. Others have availed themselves of the same source, as Mr. Stirling in his *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, a book of high repute; and M. Amédée Pichot in his *Charles Quint, Chronique de sa Vie intérieure et de sa Vie politique*. M. Gachard's *Retraite et Mort de Charles V.* (2 vols.) is devoted to the letters of the Emperor and his household, which form the staple of the Gonzalez MS.

seller he had once been.⁴² His successor Granvella, who was a more supple, and perhaps an abler politician, lived in confidential intimacy with Charles, yet cannot be said to have governed him.⁴³ It was his practice every evening to send the Emperor a note containing his opinion on the business to be transacted on the morrow: but though their judgments usually coincided, that of Granvella was not allowed to predominate. The Emperor's confessor had access to these consultations, but no voice in the decision. The Bishop of Arras, Granvella's son and successor in the ministry, seems to have possessed less influence than his father.

One of the worst traits in Charles's character was an intolerant bigotry; and in the latter years of his life, when his understanding was enfeebled by a degrading superstition, he became fanatically cruel. He endeavoured to awaken the spirit of persecution in the bosom of the Regent Joanna; and in a codicil to his will he solemnly adjured Philip to cherish the Inquisition, and never to spare a heretic. Yet in his earlier days he could make religion bend to policy, as appears from his treatment of the Protestants, as well as of the captive Pope Clement VII. He had a high notion of the calling and authority of a sovereign; he required strict order and obedience; and he enforced them when he considered it necessary with a severe and unsparing hand; but he was not needlessly cruel, and his humanity, as well as his courage, was conspicuous in his expeditions to Africa. On the whole, measuring him by the morals and maxims of his times, and comparing him with contemporary princes, he must be pronounced a great, a wise, and a successful monarch.

Charles's court was modelled on the old Burgundian fashion of that of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, and consisted of between 700 and 800 persons. Those in immediate attendance on the Emperor's person were of princely birth, while the palace was filled with the lesser nobility. His chapel of forty musicians was the completest in the world, and sustained the reputation of the Netherlands as the birthplace of modern music.

To facilitate the government of his wide-spread dominions, Charles had instituted a very peculiar court, composed of a governor or minister, from each of his various states: namely, a Sicilian, a Neapolitan, a Milanese, a Burgundian, a Fleming, an Aragonese and a Castilian; besides two or three doctors. These consulted

⁴² See *Lettres de Louis XII.* t. iv.; Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 255.

⁴³ "Si serve l'imperatore del consiglio suolo di Monsignor Granvella. La cosa

si risolve tutta fra l'imperatore et Monsignor Granvella."—Cavallo, *Relat.* ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 149.

together on all matters relating to the Emperor, or to the interests of the states collectively ; each being kept informed of the circumstances of his own province, and making a report upon them. The members enjoyed an annual pension of 1000 to 1500 crowns. The president was the younger Granvella, the Bishop of Arras.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ *Relat. of Cavallo*, ap. Ranke, *Fürsten*, &c., B. i. S. 146.

CHAPTER V.

THE peace of Câteau-Cambrésis opens a new era in the history of Europe. That treaty must be regarded as a conspiracy of the French and Spanish monarchs against the spirit of the age; for though it contained no formal article for the suppression of Protestantism, and of those ideas of civil and religious liberty which it had inspired, yet it is notorious, that in the antecedent negotiations the growth of the Reformation was alleged as an argument for the necessity of peace.¹ The two leading powers having thus combined to maintain with the sword the tenets of Rome, the Protestants were driven to make common cause together; and Europe became divided into two hostile camps, distinguished by their modes of faith. Hence the Reformation necessarily assumed more and more of a political character: civil grievances were associated with those of religion; intestine wars broke out in France and the Netherlands; and Protestant England, to avert the subjugation threatened by the great papal conspiracy, and the attempt to depose Elizabeth and place the Queen of Scots upon the throne, lent her aid to the insurgents in both those countries. Thus, during the latter half of the 16th century, there was little political action unconnected more or less directly with religion. The great wars, if not the national jealousies, which had marked its earlier period, almost entirely ceased. France, the common disturber of the peace of Europe, was occupied with her domestic broils; while Germany, by the severance of the empire from Spain, and by its comparative freedom from the attacks of the Turks after the death of Solymán, enjoyed a long period of unwonted tranquillity. Spain, the great leader of the Catholic cause, and England, the champion of Protestantism, seemed to be the only powers capable of vigorous action abroad; but at that time, and till after the destruction of the Spanish

¹ The Spaniards always maintained that their motive for entering into the peace, was to enable the King of France to put down heresy. Ranke, *Französische Gesch.* B. i. S. 97. "Upon the making of the late peace, there was an appointment made between the late Pope (Pius IV.),

the French King, and the King of Spain, for the joining of their forces together for the suppression of religion" (*i. e.* Protestantism). — Kylligrew's *Despatches*, January 6th 1560, in Forbes' *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 296.

Armada, it would have appeared ridiculous to name the two countries in the same breath. During the life of Philip II., Spain remained, in opinion at least, the dominant power in Europe, and the idea entertained in England of its might is shown by the cautious policy of Elizabeth. The decline of Spain had, indeed, already commenced in the reign of Charles V.; but she still possessed her far-famed infantry, and the prestige of her vast possessions and reputed enormous wealth. Her strength, half fact half phantom, was wielded by Philip II. in a spirit partaking of a monkish inquisitor and a government clerk; assiduous at the desk from morning to night, diligent and serious, but without a spark of talent. But as Spain was engaged and crippled by the revolt of the Netherlands, while Elizabeth's policy was mostly defensive, there was little general European action, and our attention during the remainder of this book will be chiefly occupied with the civil wars of France and the Low Countries; movements, however, which differ vastly in importance. For while the struggle in France neither extended beyond the limits of that country nor produced any lasting effect, the revolt in the Netherlands, and the establishment of the Dutch republic, resulted in changing the face of Europe, by introducing among its members another Prot  stant power.

The dissatisfaction with the treaty of C  teau-Cambresis, by which the unconquered garrisons of sixty fortresses were to lay down their arms, was universal in France. Montmorenci and St. Andr   were unmercifully abused; France, it was said, had to pay more dearly for their ransom than for that of Francis I. But though the treaty was denounced as the work of an ambitious minister and an artful mistress, Henry II. not only ratified it, but faithfully performed all its articles. The Duke of Savoy repaired to Paris to celebrate his marriage with the king's sister, Margaret; and the Duke of Alva to wed his daughter Elizabeth, by procuration, for his master, Philip.

Amid the discontent of the nation, the court seemed dissolved in pleasure, and to be entirely engrossed with the f  tes preparing in honour of the double marriage. Yet at this very moment events were passing that were to cause nearly half a century of civil warfare. We have already had frequent occasion to allude to the religious persecutions in France. The earlier reformers in that country were Lutherans; but the French reformers had now received a new impulse and a better organisation from their own countryman, Calvin, at Geneva; whose doctrines, expressed with vigour and precision in their own language, at well as in Latin,

had also recommended themselves to the French mind by their logical clearness and practical spirit, and had thus easily supplanted those of Luther. The churches of the French Protestants had already been organised on the model of that of Geneva, to which their eyes were directed as to the new Jerusalem; and Calvin's rescripts thence had with them the same force as the Papal Bulls with the Roman Catholics. Calvinism had spread into the greater part of France, and especially in the provinces of Brittany, Normandy, Languedoc, Gascony, Poitou, Touraine, Provence, and Dauphiné. Its converts belonged chiefly to the higher ranks, including many of the clergy, monks, nuns, and even bishops; and the Catholic churches seemed almost deserted, except by the lowest classes.² The boldness of the Calvinists had increased with their numbers. In 1557 they had ventured to assemble in open day in the *Pré aux Clercs*, the fashionable promenade of the Parisians, where they sung psalms that had been versified by Marot, and set to the music of Guillaume Franc by Louis Bourgeois and by Goudimel, the master of Palestrina. Even Antony of Navarre and his Queen had countenanced these meetings with their presence.

Henry II. had viewed the progress of the Reformation with distrust and alarm, and had endeavoured to repress it by persecution; in which he was assisted by the fanaticism of the populace, excited by the preaching of the friars and the calumnies circulated against the Calvinists. The year 1553 was rendered remarkable by the number of its martyrs.³ The same year, unfortunately, witnessed the intolerance of Calvin himself; and Michael Servetus perished in the flames for having asserted his doctrines with too much talent and too much boldness against the Genevese Reformer. In 1555 the King, at the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, had endeavoured to revive the ancient Inquisition in all its terrors; but the Parliament of Paris remonstrated. In the spring of 1557, while the Duke of Guise was pursuing his successes in Italy, the Pope was solicited to establish the Spanish and Roman Inquisition in France; Paul consented, and issued a Bull to that effect, April 26th, which was ordered to be enregistered by a royal edict issued at Compiègne July 24th. By this instrument the three Cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, and Châtillon, the first of whom had been the prime mover in the matter, were appointed grand inquisitors. The Parliament again refused to register the edict. Its opposition, however, was not dictated by humanity, but by the fear of being supplanted in its jurisdiction by the priests; and,

² *Relations* of Micheli, 1561, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 16.

³ Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. ii. p. 56.

influenced by this fear, it showed itself as relentless as any Inquisition, and sanctioned some horrible persecutions. But the practice of that body was anomalous. The processes against heretics were conducted, according to circumstances, by two different Chambers, *La Grand'Chambre*, and that called *La Tournelle*; the latter of which was inclined to mercy, while the *Grand'Chambre*, from the numerous victims whom it consigned to the flames, obtained the name of the *Chambre Ardente*, or Burning Chamber.

After the peace of Câteau-Cambresis, which released the King from the necessity of courting the Protestant cantons of Switzerland and the German Lutheran princes, Henry II. resolved to render persecution more vigorous and consistent in his own dominions by reducing the Parliament to obedience, and compelling them to accept the Pope's Bull for the establishment of the Inquisition. The reformed church in France, in spite of the renewed persecutions to which it was subjected, had continued to flourish and increase. In May this very year, 1559, it held its first general synod at Paris, and established itself as a great religious republic, by drawing up a confession of faith and publishing regulations for ecclesiastical discipline. A crisis had thus arrived when a decisive step seemed necessary. The King summoned the Parliament to restore unity to its proceedings, and to enforce a strict execution of the royal edicts. This question was submitted to the Parliament for discussion by the *Procureur-général* in a *Mercuriale*⁴, and gave rise to a long and animated debate, in which several of the members expressed themselves with dignity and freedom. When the different Chambers were thus assembled together, the voice of mercy prevailed; the bloody rigour of the *Grand'Chambre* was condemned, and the question now lay between mitigated penalties and complete absolution. In this state of things, Henry II. unexpectedly appeared in the Parliament (June 10th), accompanied by several princes of the Houses of Bourbon and Guise. He told the members that having concluded a peace, and cemented it by the marriages of his sister and daughter, he meant now to proceed to the repression of heresy; he knew, he said, that they were then discussing the subject, and he invited them to continue the debate in his presence. Many of the members, and especially Du Bourg and Du Faur, expressed themselves with great boldness. Du Faur concluded an eloquent denunciation of the abuses of Rome by exclaiming: "We must know who those are

⁴ A quarterly session of the Parliament, in which all the chambers were reunited, and which was held on a Wed-

nesday (*Mercredi, die Mercurii*), whence its name.

who trouble the Church lest that should happen which Elijah the Tishbite said to King Ahab, "It is thou that troublest Israel."

At these speeches the King could scarce contain his anger. He despatched the Constable to seize with his own hand the two counsellors on their benches; nor did Montmorenci decline the degrading office. Five other counsellors were arrested by the captain of the guard, and they were all sent to the Bastille. This scene, which forcibly recalls to mind the attempted seizure of the five members by Charles I. in the English Parliament, may also, like that act, be regarded as inaugurating the civil wars which ensued. In vain the Protestant synod, still sitting at Paris, interceded for the prisoners. The King, setting at nought the privileges of the Parliament, appointed a special tribunal for their trial, and had the brutality to declare that he would see with his own eyes the burning of Du Bourg. But his own unexpected death deprived him of this spectacle.

On the 20th of June the marriage of Mademoiselle Elizabeth with the King of Spain was celebrated, and on the 29th the contract was signed for that between Mademoiselle Margaret, the King's sister, and the Duke of Savoy. Among the fêtes in celebration of these events, a grand tournament was held in front of the Royal hotel of the Tournelles, and nearly at the foot of the Bastille. On the 29th of June; Henry II., who was fond of this exercise, and had already run some courses, determined, in spite of the entreaties of his queen to the contrary, to tilt with Montgomeri, Count de Lorges, the captain of his guard; when the lances of both combatants were shivered in the charge, and a fragment of that of Montgomeri pierced the King's visor and entered his eye. In the midst of indescribable confusion and alarm, Henry was carried to the Tournelles, where, in spite of the best surgical aid, he expired of the wound, July 10th. He was in the prime of life, being only in his forty-first year. He left seven legitimate children; namely, four sons, Francis II., Charles IX., Henry III., and Francis, Duke of Alençon; and three daughters, Elizabeth, married as we have said to Philip II., Claude who married the Duke of Lorraine, and Margaret, who espoused Henry of Navarre, subsequently Henry IV.

The unexpected death of Henry II. seemed to crown with a sudden success all the ambitious aspirations of the Guises. Francis II., who now ascended the throne of France, was the husband of their niece, Mary, the youthful Queen of Scots; and as the new King was only in his sixteenth year, it was evident that the whole power of the monarchy would fall into the hands of his uncles-in-law. Nor was their influence confined to France. Their sister,

the widow of James V. of Scotland, was Queen Regent of that country; while their niece, Mary Stuart, claimed to be rightful heir of the English, as well as Scottish, crown; and much to the annoyance of Queen Elizabeth, she and her husband Francis openly assumed the arms of England. The chief offices of trust and power in France were immediately seized by the Guises; Duke Francis assuming the command of the army, while the Cardinal of Lorraine undertook the administration of the finances. Montmorenci, who had enjoyed so large a share of power under Henry II., though treated by the young king with outward respect, was deprived of his office of Grand-master of the royal household, which was conferred upon the Duke of Guise; and the Constable retired to his châteaux of Chantilli and Ecouen; Antony King of Navarre, and even Catherine de' Medici, both of whom, Antony as first prince of the blood and Catherine as queen-mother, had better claims than the Guises to assume the reins of government, were repulsed, and treated with studied indignity. The notion of a regency was scornfully rejected on the ground that the king was old enough to reign; and thus the Guises were enabled to govern under his name. When Antony, who, after Henry's wound, had been invited to court by Montmorenci, arrived at St. Germain, he experienced nothing but insults. Nobody went to receive him, and the principal apartment of the palace, to which he was entitled as first prince of the blood, was occupied by the Duke of Guise. Antony, a poor feeble creature, patiently endured these contumelies. His brother, Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, who had more vigour of character, and was regarded by the Protestants as their head, was sent out of the way to ratify the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis at Brussels, and his poverty was insulted by the inadequate sum of 1000 crowns for his journey. Catherine de' Medici, who saw that her time had not come, and that she had only escaped from the dominion of the Duchess of Valentinois to fall under that of her daughter-in-law Mary, offered no resistance, and endeavoured to steer between the different parties. The Guises even talked of sending her back to Florence.⁵

Under the domination of the Guises, it might be foreseen that the religious disputes, the great question of the age, must soon be

⁵ The principal authorities for the ensuing period, are Davila (the apologist of Catherine de' Medici), *Storia delle guerre civili di Francia*; Thuanus (De Thou), *Historia sui temporis* (1543—1607); Regnier de la Planché, *De l'état de France sous François II.*, the work of a zealous but well-informed Protestant; the *Mémoires* of Cas-

telnau, a Catholic, but impartial and judicious; Laplace, *De l'état de la Religion et de la République*; *Mémoires* de Condé, ed. de Secousse; D'Aubigné, *Hist. Universelle*, and *Mémoires*; De Bouillé, *Histoire des ducs de Guises*, a recent work of good authority, the author having used the Archives of Simancas.

brought in France to the arbitrament of the sword. Bigoted and violent, that family were the thorough and unscrupulous adherents of the policy of Rome and of Philip II. After the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis they had stimulated their sister, the Queen Regent of Scotland, to acts of violence against the reformers in that kingdom, who were now organised into a league under the name of the Congregation. The example of the Scots had encouraged the French Protestants, who also formed a closer union, and began about this time to be called HUGONOTS.⁶ At Paris they almost entirely occupied the Faubourg St. Germain, which obtained the name of "the Little Geneva." Numerous edicts now began to be levelled at them, and they were forbidden to carry arms, or to wear large mantles or boots in which weapons might be concealed. The bigotry and intolerance of the government were seconded by the fanaticism of the lower classes. Those who neglected to salute the images of the Virgin exhibited at the corners of the streets, were dragged to prison, nay, sometimes killed by the infuriated populace.

The principal leaders of the Hugonots at this time were Antony's consort Jeanné, his brother the Prince of Condé, and the Châtillons, especially the Admiral Coligni and his brother d'Anelot. Antony himself was too insignificant to be of any account. Condé openly professed himself the head of the Hugonots; and he held a conference of their principal leaders at his residence, La Ferté, in Champagne. The position of parties, the attitude of the government, rendered the question as much a political as a religious one; and in the hope of regaining their influence the Hugonot leaders loudly demanded an assembly of the States-General. Catherine who had hitherto pretended to favour the Hugonots, alarmed at the idea of such an assembly, drew nearer to the Guises, and solicited the assistance of her son-in-law, Philip II. of Spain. But the force of circumstances rendered at that time the policy of Philip somewhat singular and anomalous. As far as the suppression of heresy was concerned, he went heart and soul with the Guises; but in this instance the prosecution of his darling views was embarrassed by the existence of a young female, Mary Stuart⁷; and, as in many other instances, he seems to have grudged a life which thwarted his policy. He dreaded any revolution that would unite the crowns of

⁶ Castelnau, however, liv. ii. ch. 7, says that this term was first applied contemptuously to the French Protestants after the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise, and that it was derived from a petty coin in use in the days of Hugues Capet. Another derivation is from the German *Eidgenossen* (sworn companions), a name applied to

the confederates of Switzerland.

⁷ "If the young Queen (Mary Stuart) were to die, it would relieve us from serious embarrassments."—Philip's *Letter to Granvelle*, *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle*, t. v. p. 643; cf. vi. 89, 93, &c.; Mignet, *Mary Stuart*, app. A.

France, England, and Scotland on one head, and was consequently, in this respect, from purely political considerations, opposed to the Guises; and he announced that he would not suffer them to assist the Catholics in England by a descent. Hence, singularly enough, the champion king of orthodoxy was led to defend for a while the heretic Elizabeth against the See of Rome, and thus indirectly aided the re-establishment of Protestantism in England. And though he returned Catherine a courteous and consoling answer, he did not at this juncture contribute a single man or a single maravedi in support of the Catholic cause in France.

The refusal of the Guises to assemble the States-General led to the wild and impolitic conspiracy of Amboise; the object of which was to seize the King and the Guises at Blois, to bring the latter to trial, to summon the States, and to confer the Regency on King Antony. The chief mover in it was Geoffroy de la Barre, sieur de La Renaudie, a man of bankrupt fortunes, and ready for any desperate enterprise. Condé and the Châtillons appear to have been privy to the conspiracy, but took no active part; and it was disapproved of by Calvin, whom La Renaudie had consulted. The plot was betrayed by one of the conspirators, a lawyer named Avenelles, and frustrated by removing the Court from Blois to the Castle of Amboise. Some of the leading Hugonots were summoned to the defence of the King, and the command of the castle of Amboise was intrusted to Condé himself, who, under an apparently honourable appointment, became in reality a prisoner. La Renaudie, who had nevertheless persisted in his design, at the head of 300 men, was intercepted and killed, and his troops dispersed. Like all abortive conspiracies, this plot only strengthened the hands of those against whom it was directed. In spite of the opposition of Catherine and the Chancellor Olivier, Guise was proclaimed the King's Lieutenant-General, an office which conferred upon him an almost dictatorial power; and he caused a great many of those who had been connected with the conspiracy to be executed.

The Chancellor Olivier, at heart a Protestant, died soon after the detection of this conspiracy, and Catherine de' Medici, with the consent of the Guises, now gave the seals to Michel de l'Hôpital, who at that time filled at Nice the office of Chancellor to Margaret of France, Duchess of Savoy. The princes of Lorraine as yet knew him only as a man of humble origin, but of great legal and literary talent; they suspected not the patriotic devotion, the inflexible constancy, which, though concealed under an appearance of deference towards the great, have rendered L'Hôpital one of the most remarkable and worthy ministers that France has ever

possessed. He was one of the few enlightened spirits in those days of bigotry and fanaticism, who held that toleration was not incompatible with true religion; his grand scheme was to let Catholicism and Protestantism subsist side by side; whence by some he was regarded as a Hugonot, by others as an Atheist. A man of these moderate views had necessarily many difficulties to contend with in those days of excitement. Flushed with their recent triumph, the Guises wished to use the power which the abortive conspiracy had thrown into their hands, in order to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into France; nor could L'Hôpital divert them from this project, except by consenting to the EDICT OF ROMORANTIN (May 1560). It was with great reluctance that the Parliament of Paris registered an edict, which transferred all trials for heresy from the civil to the episcopal jurisdiction. L'Hôpital somewhat modified the law by his interpretation of it, and introduced a clause by which false accusers were subjected to the *lex talionis*.

- The policy of the Guises was not so successful abroad as at home. The death of their sister the Queen Regent of Scotland (June 10th 1560), the dispersion by a storm of the French fleet, with a considerable army on board, and the vigorous assistance afforded by Queen Elizabeth to the Congregation, obliged the French in Leith to capitulate; and the Guises found themselves compelled to sanction a treaty by which the French were to evacuate Scotland; while King Francis II. and his consort Mary Stuart agreed to renounce the arms and title of sovereigns of England (July 5th). Thus the Reformation was established in Scotland, and the Scots were now inclined towards the English alliance in preference to their ancient one with France.

The affairs of France itself, however, sufficed at this period to engross the attention of the Guises. The French Protestants were preparing to take up arms; Condé had retired to the court of his brother Antony at Nérac, and endeavoured to stir into action his sluggish nature; the Guises on their side were arming for the struggle, and treating with German counts and barons for mercenary troops. Their great difficulty was the empty state of the Royal exchequer; nor in the present state of parties dared they venture on assembling the *Etats-Généraux* or States-General, in order to lay on new taxes. As a preliminary step, it was determined to call an assembly of Notables, which met at Fontainebleau, August 20th 1560. At this meeting, over which the young King presided, Montmorenci and his nephews, the Admiral Coligni, d'Andelot and the Cardinal de Châtillon, the Vidame de Chartres, and others, appeared, on the side of the Protestants, escorted by a

strong body of cavalry: the King of Navarre and his brother Condé were invited, but refused to attend.

Before business began, Coligni surprised the assembly by suddenly rising and presenting a petition from the Protestants of Normandy, whose prayer was that they might be allowed to meet for worship in the face of day, and thus avoid the calumnies that were spread respecting their nocturnal meetings. Coligni proceeded to complain of the young King's education; that his person was surrounded with guards, and that he was thus taught to look upon his subjects as enemies, instead of seeking to live in their affections. This speech excited the rage of Guise and his brother the Cardinal. The Duke having observed that the petition had no signatures, the Admiral replied that he would soon get it signed by 10,000 men; upon which Guise furiously retorted, "And I will put myself at the head of 100,000 men, who will sign the contrary with their blood."⁸

The result of the deliberations at Fontainebleau, was that the States-General should be assembled, and that a National Council should be called for the discussion of the religious differences: the States were to meet at Orleans in October, the Council at Paris in the following January. But before they met, events took place which changed the whole aspect of affairs.

Although Condé did not himself attend at Fontainebleau he had sent an agent named La Sague to come to an understanding with the Constable and the Châtillons. This man was arrested by order of the Guises, and revealed all the plans of Condé. It appeared from despatches written in sympathetic ink, that Montmorenci had advised the Bourbons to come to the court in great force, and to overpower and arraign the Guises. In consequence of these disclosures the Vidame de Chartres was thrown into the Bastille; several other distinguished persons were arrested, and Francis II. cited the King of Navarre to bring his brother to court, in order that Condé might justify himself from the designs that were imputed to him against the safety of the state.

To disconcert the measures of their enemies, the Guises conceived a plot of wonderful audacity and extent. Protestantism was to be put down with a high hand, and its principal leaders destroyed, by a movement in which the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and other Italian princes were to participate. The National Council was to be refused on the ground that the Council of Trent was about to be reopened; the States when they assembled were to

⁸ Calvin, *Epist.* 300; Beza, *Hist. des Eglises Réf.* t. i. p. 173 sq.; Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. iv. t. i. p. 183 (ed. 1619).

abstain from discussing any point of religion, and a confession of faith was to be handed to the deputies, as well as to all nobles, prelates, officers and others who attended. Laymen who refused to sign it were to be instantly condemned and burnt; while ecclesiastics were to be handed over to their own order for punishment. Coligni, d'Andelot, and probably their brother, the Cardinal Châtillon, were to be involved in this extermination, and as Montmorenci and his sons could not be charged with heresy, they were to be accused of a plot against the state. The executions at Orleans were to be repeated throughout the kingdom; French troops were join those from Italy and Savoy, to massacre the Vaudois, and to attack Geneva; while the Spaniards were to invade Bearn, and to find occupation for the vassals of the heretic Bourbons. The plan, however, was only very partially executed. In order to understand the causes which encouraged its formation, as well as led to its failure, we must cast our eyes for a moment on the position of the potentates who were expected to co-operate in it.

It was not till the summer of 1559 that Philip II. quitted the Netherlands, to which he never returned. One of the causes of his departure was the intelligence which he had received of the progress of the Reformation in Spain⁹, the consequence of the close connection between that country and Germany during the reign of Charles V. Bibles in the Castilian tongue and other prohibited books printed in Germany had found their way into Spain; but as the study of them was chiefly confined to the higher and more educated classes, the progress of the new tenets had long remained undiscovered. It was immediately combated by the Bulls of Pope Paul IV. and the edicts of Philip II. The chief inquisitor, Fernando Valdès, Bishop of Seville, a fierce and cunning fanatic, was a fitting instrument to carry out the views of Rome and of his master. The fires of the Inquisition in Spain were no longer lit for Jews and Moors alone, and in May 1559 took place the first *auto de fé* of Spanish Protestants.

Philip II. having embarked at Flushing August 20th arrived off Laredo in Biscay on the 29th. A violent storm had nearly delivered Europe from almost half a century of oppression. The vessel which had brought Philip, freighted with a large collection of valuables, as well as several others of his fleet, foundered in sight of port; more than 1000 persons perished, and Philip himself only escaped by landing in a boat. From Laredo he proceeded to

⁹ On this subject see Mc Crie, *Hist. of the Reformation in Spain*.

Valladolid, where he received his sister Joanna's resignation of the regency, and feasted his eyes with seeing some of his heretical subjects burnt. These measures of severity proved successful in Spain, and in a few years all traces of the Reformation were obliterated, but with it was also extinguished the future prosperity of Spain. To a victim who had implored his mercy, Philip exclaimed that he would send his own son to the flames were he convicted of being an impenitent heretic. Don Carlos was indeed suspected of sympathising with the reformers; and Philip was afterwards accused of having fulfilled his horrible threat.

Early in 1560 the Spanish King consummated at Guadalajara, in New Castile, his marriage with Elizabeth of France, whose espousal by proxy at Paris we have already related. Elizabeth, who was now fifteen, while Philip was thirty-four, had been previously betrothed to his son, whose age was more suitable to her own; and though the story of a mutual passion between Don Carlos and the French princess seems to be devoid of foundation, it is not improbable that he was annoyed and offended at being thus supplanted by his father. Elizabeth, from the circumstances of her marriage, was called by the Spaniards, *Isabel de la Paz*, or *Isabella of the Peace*.¹⁰

Philip II. was not averse to the scheme of the Guises. He had again accorded his friendship to that family after the revolution in Scotland, which removed his distrust of French policy in that quarter; but the Spanish arms had just experienced great reverses in Africa, the finances were in a bad state, and Granvella dissuaded Philip from taking any active part in the plot. Nor did the Guises obtain anything more than good wishes from Rome, where another and milder Pontiff now occupied the Papal chair.

The last year of Paul IV.'s pontificate was marked by a singular revolution. This Pontiff, who, suddenly raised from the cloister to the crown, had used his new dignity with insatiable greediness, began now to reign as had been at first expected of him, and returned to his old plans of reform. The change was specially signalised by his renunciation of nepotism and the disgrace of his nephews. He had been estranged from Cardinal Caraffa by his unsuccessful embassy to the court of Philip II., and from the young Cardinal Del Monte by his riotous conduct in drawing his sword in a midnight brawl. At a meeting of the Inquisition,

¹⁰ Isabel is equivalent in Spanish to Elizabeth. In 1563 Philip took up his permanent residence at Madrid, which henceforth became the Spanish capital; previously there had been no fixed capi-

tal. The population of Madrid, which was only 12,000 in 1563, rose by the end of Philip's reign to 30,000; and the town was of course adequately enlarged and improved, Prescott, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 377.

January 9th 1559, Paul rebuked Del Monte in violent terms, and thundered out "Reform! Reform." His agitation was so extreme that it deprived him of appetite and sleep, and threw him into a violent fever. On the 27th of January having summoned a consistory, he passionately denounced the immoral lives of his nephews, called on God and man to witness that he had been ignorant of their conduct, dismissed them from their posts and sent them into banishment; retaining only the son of Montorio, whom he had made a cardinal in his eighteenth year.

Paul IV. now entered on an entirely new course of government. He abandoned his hatred of Spain, and zealously assisted the Spanish Inquisition in repressing heresy. The secular affairs of the Roman State were intrusted to entirely new hands; many abuses were abolished, the sale of places was restricted, and a chest, of which he alone kept the key, was erected in public, into which every man might throw his petitions and complaints. As a token of these reforms, he caused a medal of himself to be struck, having on the reverse the subject of Christ driving the money changers from the temple. His ecclesiastical reforms kept pace with the civil. He never missed attending the weekly meetings of the Roman Inquisition; and in a Bull, which he issued respecting that institution (February 15th 1559), he declared that if the Roman Pontiff himself should be found to have lapsed into heresy before his election, the election itself, as well as all his acts, should be annulled. His deeds corresponded with his words, and his last days were occupied with arrests and excommunications. At the same time he increased the pomp of divine worship, embellished the decorations of the Sistine Chapel, and instituted the representation of the Holy Sepulchre, still exhibited in Catholic churches at Easter. The people, however, did not forget the war that he had brought upon Rome; and the reign of informers and executioners had become so terrible that they conceived an implacable hatred against him. Paul IV. died August 18th 1559, at the age of eighty-three. As he lay expiring, the populace broke open the dungeons of the Inquisition, delivered the prisoners, burnt the prison and the acts of the Holy Office, tore down the arms of the Caraffas from the public places, overthrew the statue of the Pope, and breaking off the head with the triple crown, rolled it with shouts and execrations into the Tiber.

The choice of Paul IV.'s successor was violently contested by the French and Spanish parties. The conclave lasted four months; and at length Gian Angelo Medicino was elected (December 26th 1559), who assumed the title of Pius IV. He was, as already

mentioned, the brother of the too celebrated Gian Giacomo Medici, who by his military talent had obtained the dukedom of Marignano. John Angelo, after taking the degree of doctor of laws, settled at Rome, where he bought an office, and having won the confidence of Pope Paul IV., he obtained a cardinal's hat through the interest of his brother, who had married an Orsina, the sister of Peter Louis Farnese's wife.

No men could be of more opposite tempers than Pius IV. and his predecessor. Instead of the dignity and haughtiness of Paul IV., Pius who had not been clerically bred displayed nothing but affability and condescension. This diversity of temper had caused an enmity between them, and Cardinal Medici, during the pontificate of Paul IV., who could not endure him, had been obliged to quit Rome. At the time of his election, Pius IV. was an able-bodied old man, of lively eye and cheerful aspect, active enough to repair to his country house before sunrise, fond of jocular conversation and the pleasures of the table. But though no bigot or ascetic, Pius relaxed nothing in the severe discipline established by his predecessor. He declared that he was no theologian—that he was not acquainted with such matters; and he consequently left them to take their own course. He even made a fearful example of the nephews of Paul IV., whose excesses had been frightful, including robbery, forgery, murder, and crimes of all sorts. Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Pagliano, and two of their nearest relatives, were condemned to death. On the score of nepotism Pius IV. himself was not put to the trial. One of his nephews, Frederick Borromeo, had died early; the other, the celebrated Cardinal Charles Borromeo, was distinguished by the purity of his life, and found his only dissipation in the society of literary men. As well as being a lover of peace and conciliation, Pius IV. also differed from his predecessor in being attached to the House of Austria, through which his brother had obtained his advancement; and hence he not only recognised Ferdinand's title to the empire, but also consented to the reassembling of the Council of Trent, as there will be occasion to relate in another place.

Pius IV., as we have said, lent no active participation to the scheme of the Guises, and the Duke of Savoy alone, induced apparently by the desire of aggrandising his territory, afforded his assistance in executing the plan. In September 1560, the troops of Philibert Emmanuel attacked the Vaudois in the valleys of the Alps and Dauphiné, but found not such unresisting victims as had been slaughtered at Cabrières and Mérindol. The relics of that massacre hastened from Provence to the assistance of their brethren

with a courage lashed into fury by the memory of their former wrongs. The disciplined troops of Piedmont were repeatedly defeated by a handful of ill-armed peasants, and in June 1561, the Duke of Savoy, in spite of the protests of Rome and Spain, was fain to grant the Vaudois a peace, in which he recognised their religious liberties.

Although abandoned by their foreign allies, the Guises persevered in their plan, to the execution of which the destruction of the Bourbons was a necessary preliminary. Antony had repudiated the charges against his brother, and declared that if his calumniators would make themselves parties, instead of judges, in the suit, he would bring Condé with him to Orleans. Allurement was now substituted for menace; the weak and credulous Cardinal of Bourbon was despatched to his brothers in Guienne to assure them of a peaceful reception and unmolested return; and after much doubt and perplexity, King Antony and Condé determined to go to Orleans. Their chief motive seems to have been that a refusal would have the appearance of hesitating to meet the States, whose assembly they had so urgently demanded; and although they received many letters on their road warning them not to enter Orleans, they continued their journey. The blood royal that flowed in their veins would, they thought, protect them; nevertheless, wherever they passed, they summoned the ministers of the reformed churches and recommended themselves to their prayers. The King of Navarre even refused the offers of about 800 well-armed gentlemen, who met them at Limoges and promised the aid of 10,000 Protestants to deliver the King out of the hands of the Guises.

King Antony and Condé entered Orleans Oct. 31st. Francis II., who had denounced them to the Parliament of Paris as the authors of the conspiracy of Amboise, directed the Prince to be arrested and a watch to be placed on the King of Navarre. Of the Châtillons, Coligni alone had gone to Orleans; but his liberty was respected for fear of his brothers and the other branches of his family. A commission was appointed to try Condé, at the head of which was the president De Thou, the father of the celebrated historian; and though the Prince refused to plead before such a tribunal, his objections were overruled, and sentence of death pronounced upon him. Another fate awaited the King of Navarre. He was to be assassinated in the very cabinet of the King, and the Guises had prevailed on Francis to strike the first blow with his own hand; but at the fatal moment, fear, not conscience, arrested the stroke. Such were the sons of Catherine, the Machiavellian Tuscan, familiar with the dagger and the bowl. Another plan was now adopted; it

was resolved to destroy Antony by contriving some "fatal accident" at a hunting party. An unexpected event, however, disconcerted all the schemes of the Guises, just at the moment of their completion. The young King, who had always been of a feeble and sickly constitution, fell ill the day before the hunt, and expired after a sickness of about three weeks (December 6th 1560).¹¹

The Queen-Mother was now mistress of the situation. The lieutenantship of the Duke of Guise fell *ipso facto* on the death of the King, and Catherine undertook the conduct of affairs in the name of her second son, now Charles IX., without, however, assuming the title of Regent. The Guises, seeing that their power henceforth depended on the favour of the Queen, urged her to make herself the absolute mistress of France by putting the Bourbons to death: and they assured her of their devoted services. With their usual slyness, they had, however, avoided committing themselves openly, and had made the Council sign the order for the arrest of the princes, without attaching their own signatures.¹² L'Hôpital saved Catherine from a step that would have been as impolitic as criminal; and by his advice was adopted the policy of balancing one party against the other, which she afterwards so successfully adopted.

The two chief princes of the blood were, at this juncture, completely in her power; even their lives were at her disposal, and the wily Florentine saw and used her advantages. While her son Francis II., lay at the point of death, Catherine resolved to extort from the feeble Antony the regency, which would by right have fallen to him during the minority of her son Charles. She invited him to an interview, after he had first been secretly informed by the Countess of Montpensier, that, if he wished to save his life, he must refuse nothing that the Queen should desire. When Antony entered the cabinet of Catherine she assumed a serious mien, reproached him with his machinations, exhorted him to reconcile himself with "his cousins, the Guises," and called upon him to sign a paper by which he agreed to renounce the regency, even though it should be offered to him by the States that were about to meet. At such a price was he to obtain not only his life, but also the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom, and the next place to herself.

To the terror of threats were added the artifices of seduction. Catherine was surrounded by a swarm of brilliant, easy beauties,

¹¹ "Le duc d'Albe dit expressément, 'qu'il mourut de Marie Stuart.'"—Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 326.

¹² Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 237. •

who, conquering the advantages of war by the blandishments of love, were called, "the Queen's flying squadron;" by one of whom, Mademoiselle de Rouet, Antony was brought to abandon all thoughts of contesting the regency with the Queen, and to content himself with the title of Lieutenant-General, which was afterwards officially conferred upon him, March 25th 1561. As soon as Francis II. had expired, Condé, whose execution had been fixed for the 10th of December, was told that he was free; but he refused to accept his life as a favour, and he demanded to know by whose authority he had been imprisoned. He was impolitic enough to be persuaded that his honour required an official justification; in consequence of which he was remanded to a sort of honourable imprisonment at one of his brother's places in Picardy; and thus lost the advantage in such a crisis of being present at the court and at the meeting of the States.

Charles IX. was of a constitution as feeble as that of his brother Francis; he was of a nervous and bilious temperament, but with considerable ardour and imagination. As he was only ten years of age, his minority could not be disputed, as in the case of Francis; and unfortunately it would be a long one, at the very moment when the nation was fermenting with the most violent passions. After the death of her husband, Mary Stuart sank into insignificance in France; and Catherine retaliated so harshly the contumelious treatment which she considered that she had received at the hands of the Scottish Queen, that Mary was compelled to withdraw from court, and finally from France. The Montmorencis and Châtillons reappeared at court, with a great retinue, and the Constable resumed the military authority which he had been obliged to resign to the Duke of Guise. Thus Catherine de' Medici at length began to rule; though hardly competent to the great part she was called upon to play. Not but that she had considerable talent and application to business; her deficiency lay in her heart and character, rather than in her head. She was a sensualist of the lowest kind, devoted to the pleasures of the table; nor in the midst of a debauched court, does she appear to have felt those passions which appeal to the imagination as well as the senses.

The meeting of the *Etats-Généraux* was opened at Orleans, December 13th 1560. The amount of debt, however, was so alarming, that the deputies declared they could do nothing without a new election, and the assembly was consequently dissolved. Calvin strongly urged King Anthony to seize the sovereign power to which he was entitled; and there can be no doubt that he would have succeeded

in obtaining the regency, if he had had the courage to assert his claim before the States. But that weak prince, as we have already said, was fettered by the double power of fear and love. On the day when the *Etats-Généraux* were dissolved (January 31st 1560), appeared the celebrated EDICT OF ORLEANS, in which with some modification the greater part of the reforms demanded by the representatives of the *Tiers Etat* were granted; and especially those two great blots on the reign of Francis I., the Concordat and the sale of offices, were removed. The Concordat had proved most injurious to the French Church, by placing all ecclesiastical patronage in the King's hands, which was thus often exercised by his mistresses. The sons and relatives of civil and military officers, nay, sometimes those officers themselves were rewarded with ecclesiastical preferments, and there are instances of captains of foot who enjoyed rich abbeys. Some of these men even undertook to discharge the functions of their holy offices; and soldiers, traders, and courtiers might be seen in the robes and mitres of bishops and abbots. The reforms of L'Hôpital were, however, warmly opposed by the Parliament of Paris, which was urging on the most detestable persecution, while he was endeavouring to establish an enlightened toleration.

For a while, Catherine, in pursuance of her trimming policy, submitted to be governed by her chancellor. The reformed service was allowed in the very verge of the court; and Montluc, Bishop of Valence, a prelate inclined to Protestant tenets, preached in the great hall of the palace of Fontainebleau. It was now time for the Constable Montmorenci to choose his part. He must either declare for the Protestants, or for the Papists and the Guises. There were several motives that induced him to decide for the latter party. Montmorenci was jealous of his nephews, and especially of Coligni; besides, if he decided against the Guises he lost the friendship of Spain, whose creature he was.¹³

Instead of attending the sermons of Montluc, Montmorenci resorted to a chapel in the courtyard, intended for the lower orders, where mass was performed in the orthodox fashion, and where he met the Duke of Guise, the Marshal St. André, and others. Guise seized the opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Constable; the reconciliation was mediated through the Marshal St. André and the Duchess of Valentinois; and a sort of holy league for the

¹³ Philip II. had remitted his ransom of 200,000 crowns, besides bestowing on him other favours. This grey-headed veteran, under the mask of frankness, was the

friend of the Granvellas, and completely in the Spanish interest. See Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 244 sq.

destruction of Protestantism was entered into by Montmorenci, Guise, and the Marshal, and cemented by their taking the sacrament together on Easter Sunday (1561). This alliance obtained the name of the TRIUMVIRATE. But the time was not yet ripe for action; and Guise and the Constable withdrew at present from the court.

The measures of the government encouraged the Protestants, who now began to display an active resistance. Riots took place at Beauvais, the episcopal residence of the Cardinal of Châtillon, and at Paris the disturbances were still more serious. A body of the fanatical party, among whom were a great number of students, stormed a house in the suburb of St. Germain, where the Protestants were assembled for worship; several noblemen among the congregation rushed out sword in hand, and a bloody fight ensued, in which many of the assailants were killed, and the whole body routed and dispersed. The contest was renewed on the following day with similar results.

These disturbances afforded the Cardinal of Lorraine a pretext to step forth as head of the Catholic Church in France. The cardinal was no fanatic. He was candid enough to admit that the greater part of the people were averse to the superstitions of Rome; yet he coolly maintained that the dominant system must be upheld by the secular arm. His motives for this opinion were better than his reasons. Under Charles IX., the cardinal succeeded in installing himself in no fewer than twelve episcopal sees, among which were three archbishoprics, Rheims, Lyon, and Narbonne, and the three rich and newly-acquired German sees of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which were, in fact, principalities. Their wealth may be computed from the fact that in Verdun alone the cardinal made the Duke of Lorraine a present of vacant fiefs to the value of 200,000 crowns.¹⁴ Catherine had not sufficient firmness to assert the principles of L'Hôpital in opposition to the Catholic leaders. It was determined that, in awaiting the meeting of the ecclesiastical synod, some arrangement must be come to with the Parliament of Paris respecting the treatment of dissenters; and on the 23rd of June 1561, the Royal Council and the spiritual and temporal peers met the Parliament in the *Palais de Justice*. The debates lasted three weeks. One party demanded the penalty of death, without conditions, against all heretics; another, that all penal proceedings should be suspended till the meeting of the

¹⁴ Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 55. It was computed that the cardinal and his brothers held benefices of the yearly

value of 300,000 crowns. Beza, *Réville-matin*, p. 14.

general council; the third and largest party voted for sentence of death against all who attended conventicles, and that cases of simple heresy should be remitted to the ecclesiastical courts; persons condemned, however, were not to be subjected to a heavier penalty than banishment. An edict, known as the EDICT OF JULY, was drawn up in conformity with this decision, but mitigated in some of its articles by the chancellor. Neither party was satisfied. The Protestants complained that they had been deceived; the Parliament, that the decree had been altered; and the edict was only provisionally registered.

The States-General again assembled at Pontoise in August 1561. The deputies of the clergy, who had met at Poissy in the preceding month and voted a considerable supply, did not appear in this assembly, which, therefore, consisted solely of the representatives of the nobles and *Tiers Etat*. The elections had gone completely against the Guises and the high Catholic party. One of the first acts of the States was, to insist that the Parliament should enregister the Edict of Orleans; after which they proceeded to discuss the subject of the regency, the religious differences, and the public debt. The arrangement which Catherine had made with the King of Navarre was acquiesced in, but only at the pressing instance of Antony himself and Admiral Coligni. But the States declared, in opposition to the Guises, that no cardinals should sit in the Council of Regency, because they were in the service of a foreign master; nor any bishops, because they were bound to reside in their dioceses; nor, lastly, any *foreign* princes, a veto which included the whole family of Lorraine. With regard to religion, the States demanded complete toleration, and the assembly of a council; and they agreed to throw upon the clergy the chief burthen of the public debt.

The religious conference, after several adjournments, at length took place in September, in the refectory of the Benedictines at Poissy. The Reformed Church was represented by twelve ministers and twenty-two deputies, who were joined by Peter Martyr Vermiglio, once an Italian abbot, and now a distinguished reformer. The Hugonots had pressed Calvin to be present; but the Council of Geneva would not allow him to enter France unless hostages of the first distinction were given for his safety; nor, indeed, did the state of his health render it prudent for him to undertake so long a journey. The Reformers probably lost nothing by his absence. Beza, who managed the conference on the part of the Hugonots, was, perhaps, better qualified to conduct it on the present occasion, on which was arrayed against him all the splendour of the French

court and hierarchy. His handsome person, his noble bearing, his perfect self-possession and natural fluency of speech, rendered him well qualified to treat with Catherine and her courtiers; and though in theological learning, and especially in patristic lore, he was not so well prepared, yet on such points he would be assisted by Peter Martyr, the most learned of the Reformers. Previously to the opening of the conference, Beza was unexpectedly introduced to an interview with the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal of Lorraine, during which Catherine displayed much inquisitiveness respecting Calvin.

The conference was opened on the 9th of September. The young King presided in person, surrounded by the Queen-Mother, the King and Queen of Navarre, the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine, Tournon, Bourbon and d'Armagnac, together with many prelates, doctors of the Sorbonne and distinguished theologians. The Cardinal of Lorraine managed for the Catholic party, who though no theologian was a man of ability, a good scholar, and fluent Latin speaker. It is unnecessary to specify the arguments advanced, especially as, with the customary fate of such discussions, they had not the slightest effect on either side. In the midst of the conference, Ippolito d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, son of Alphonso d'Este by Lucretia Borgia, arrived as Papal legate, bringing with him Lainez the General of the Jesuits. The legate met with a bad reception. His cross-bearer was hooted in the streets by the Protestants, so that he was obliged to dispense with that ensign of his dignity. Lainez, in an abusive speech which lasted an hour, protested against the meeting as unauthorised, and succeeded in converting it into a sort of private conference, with five managers on each side. In order to set the Protestants at variance, the Cardinal of Lorraine pretended that he should not be indisposed to accept the Confession of Augsburg. He had brought some Lutherans with him in order that there might be a quarrel between them and the Calvinists respecting the doctrine of the Lord's Supper; and he proposed that the Calvinists should subscribe a Lutheran formula, in which the real presence in the Eucharist was acknowledged; but Beza foiled him by remarking that such an act would lead to nothing unless the cardinal himself would also sign.

On the whole, the conference at Poissy gave an impulse to Protestantism in France. It was something gained that such a meeting should have been even tolerated, and the Calvinists allowed by the government openly to state and defend their opinions without danger of the stake. After the breaking up of the conference, Catherine

requested Beza to remain in France, in the hope that his presence might contribute to quell the disturbances with which the kingdom was afflicted; and as the leaders of the Hugonots were also desirous of retaining him, permission was obtained from the Council of Geneva for the prolongation of his stay. At Paris, however, where the populace were fanatical Papists, his presence was the signal for tumult instead of peace; and though he obtained permission to preach, it was necessary that d'Andelot should escort him to the church at the head of an armed band. The day after Christmas Day, these Protestant meetings occasioned a bloody conflict. Beza, escorted by command of Catherine by the prefect of the watch and his men, attended a sermon preached by a minister named Malot in the suburb of St. Marceau. Malot had scarcely begun his discourse, when the Catholic priests in the neighbouring church of St. Médard began to ring the bells with all their might in order to drown his voice; and one of Malot's congregation, who had civilly requested them to desist, was run through the body with a partisan. A general affray ensued. The Catholics called the people to arms by the sound of the tocsin; the Hugonots, headed by the prefect of the watch, took the church by assault, captured a number of their adversaries, and among them ten priests, most of whom had been wounded. The tumult was renewed on the following day with still bloodier results, and gave the signal for similar riots in the provinces.

After the conference at Poissy, it had been resolved to call another assembly of Notables with a view to publish at least some provisional edict on the subject of religion. Such a step was vehemently opposed by the Guises and the high Catholic party; who, finding the Queen resolute, retired to their country seats. The assembly in question, which was composed of the presidents and counsellors of the different parliaments of France, met at St. Germain in January 1562; and the result of their deliberations was the famous EDICT OF JANUARY, or EDICT OF TOLERATION. This law, by which the existence of Protestantism was formally recognised, and which formed the basis of the privileges it has subsequently enjoyed in France, was the work of the Chancellor L'Hôpital. Its main provisions were: that all penalties contained in former edicts against the Protestants should be suspended till the meeting of a general council; and that Protestant congregations should be allowed to assemble for worship in the day-time, and in the suburbs of towns, but not in the towns themselves. On the other hand, the Hugonots were not to come to their conventicles with arms, except such gentlemen as were privileged to wear them; they were

ordered to restore all the churches which they had seized upon, and to replace all the ornaments and sacred utensils which they had defaced or removed; they were forbidden to resist the payment of tithes, to levy troops, or to contribute among themselves for any other purpose than providing salaries for their ministers.

These events raised the spirits of the Hugonots above the pitch of moderation, and even men of talent and learning shared in the popular fervour. After the promulgation of the edict, and in spite of its provisions, La Ramée, or Ramus, the celebrated opponent of the Aristotelian philosophy and founder of a new system of logic, caused all the images in the chapel of the college of Presle, of which he was principal, to be thrown down. Calvin foretold that if the provisions of the edict were carried out, the Popish power would be annihilated in France.¹⁵ Yet this measure, which the Protestants regarded with so much confidence, proved the immediate cause of the ensuing civil war, by which, after many years of bloodshed, the supremacy of the Roman Catholic faith was finally established.

The edict was received with violent indignation by the Catholic party. The Constable Montmorenci and the Duke of Guise were resolved to oppose it by force of arms. The King of Spain and Pope Pius IV. used every artifice to excite opposition to it; and as both were represented in France by very able diplomatists, their efforts were attended with considerable success. Perrenot de Chantonay, the Spanish minister (a brother of Cardinal Granvella), whose letters throw great light on the intricate policy of the period¹⁶, succeeded in detaching the Queen from the Protestant cause, although she still kept up the appearance of an alliance with the Hugonots. Philip II. had written to his mother-in-law that if she continued to tolerate heresy in France it would be impossible for him to prevent its entrance into Spain and the Netherlands; she must therefore purge her kingdom from this pestilence with fire and sword, no matter what the number of the victims; and he would assist in its extirpation in whatever way she might require.

De Chantonay, assisted by the Cardinal of Ferrara, the Papal legate, also succeeded in gaining over the King of Navarre to the cause of the triumvirate; an acquisition, however, of no great importance except from the rank of the apostate. It would be useless to speculate on the motives which operated on so weak a mind as Antony's; whether he was shaken by the conference of Poissy and the eloquence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, as he himself gave out;

¹⁵ *Letter to Sturm*, ap. P. Henry, *Leben Calvins*, B. iii. S. 523.

¹⁶ Published in the second vol. of *Mém. de Condé*.

or whether he was moved by a secret jealousy of his brother Condé, who, as the recognised head of the Hugonots, enjoyed a post to which he thought himself entitled; or whether he was really dazzled and enticed by the false but splendid baits held out to him by Philip and the triumvirate: such as among others the Island of Sardinia in place of his lost kingdom of Navarre, or the hand and throne of Mary Queen of Scots; a proposal, however, which he could not have accepted without procuring a divorce from his consort, Jeanne d'Albret. However this may be, he was induced to send Jeanne back to Bearn, and he promised to educate in the Catholic faith his son Henry, whose chance of the throne which he afterwards ascended, in consequence of the feeble constitutions of Catherine's sons, did not even then appear very remote. Jeanne, however, read young Henry a long lecture before she departed; and threatened that if he attended the mass he should never succeed to her kingdom of Navarre.¹⁷

One of the first steps of Antony after his recantation, and in his capacity of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, was to summon Guise with his *compagnie d'ordonnance* to Paris, in order as he said, to preserve the metropolis and the Catholic religion. Guise had already determined to use violence. In the previous month, with the view of depriving the Hugonots of any assistance which they might expect from the German Lutherans, he and three of his brothers, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise and the Duke of Aumale, had had an interview with Christopher, Duke of Würtemberg, at Saverne in Alsace; when the Cardinal of Lorraine pretended to agree on almost every point with the Lutheran doctrines; and the Duke of Guise, after listening with affected patience to the dogmatic explanations of Christopher, exclaimed, "Well, well, if that's the case, I am a Lutheran too." But on their return from the conference they caused an artizan to be hanged for having his child baptized according to the reformed rites. Guise's road to Paris lay through Vassy, a town which formed part of the dower of Mary Stuart. It was governed by Antoinette de Bourbon, Mary's grandmother and mother of the Guises, who expressed much annoyance at the Calvinists having established a conventicle in a barn not far from the parish church. Either through chance or design, Guise entered Vassy with his troops on a Sunday, when a congregation of more than 1000 Hugonots were assembled in the barn for worship, as they were entitled to do by the January edict. The scene that ensued has

¹⁷ *Négociations ou Lettres politiques d'Hippolyte Este, Cardinal de Ferrare*, ap. Martin, t. ix. p. 111.

been differently described by Catholic and Protestant writers. The former assert that the Hugonots were the aggressors; that some of Guise's men had strayed to the spot from mere curiosity; and that a tumult having arisen, the Duke was struck on the cheek with a stone before his soldiers made use of their weapons. This version somewhat resembles the fable of the wolf and the lamb; and it is hardly probable that a defenceless multitude should have provoked a contest with a body of well-armed troops. But however this may be, a dreadful slaughter ensued. Between forty and fifty persons were killed upon the spot, and upwards of one hundred more were wounded, many of whom subsequently died of the injuries they had received. Guise sent for the mayor of Vassy and severely reprehended him for allowing the Hugonots to meet; and when that magistrate pleaded that he had only acted in conformity with the edict of January, the Duke, drawing his sword, furiously exclaimed: "Detestable edict! with *this* will I break it!"

As soon as the news of this massacre reached Paris, Beza, at the instance of his fellow-religionists, repaired to the court, then at Monceaux in La Brie, to remonstrate against the violation of the edict. Catherine received him very graciously, and pretended as if she would oppose Guise's entering Paris; but, in fact, the trimming policy which she had been forced to adopt was a confession of weakness, and proved that if ever the two parties should come into open collision, the royal authority would be reduced to a nullity. At this interview with Beza, the King of Navarre, like all renegades, displayed the utmost virulence against his former party; he defended Guise's conduct with all the warmth of a partisan, and laid the blame of the massacre upon the Hugonots, for having committed the first assault. Beza replied, with dignity and firmness, — "I admit, Sire, that it is the part of God's Church, in whose name I speak, to endure, rather than to inflict, blows; but may it please you to remember that it is an anvil which has worn out many a hammer,"¹⁸

In spite of Catherine's pretended prohibition, Guise, accompanied by Montmorenci and St André, — the whole triumvirate together — entered Paris at the head of his troops, March 20th, and was received by the Parisians with shouts of *Vive Guise!* Condé was also in the metropolis, at the head of a considerable body of troops, and at one time a collision appeared imminent. A contest in Paris, however, must undoubtedly have terminated in

¹⁸ *Hist. des Eglises Réf.* liv. iv. (t. ii. p. 2).

favour of the triumvirate, who had not only most troops, but were also supported by the citizens; and under these circumstances, Condé, through the mediation of his brother, the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had been named by the Queen Provisional Governor of Paris, came to an understanding with Guise, that both should withdraw at the same time with their troops, by different gates. Condé fulfilled his part of the engagement; but Guise incited the populace to compel him to stay; and after the departure of Condé, a strong guard was placed at the different gates to prevent him from returning.

Condé made another false step in not seizing the young King and his mother, who were now at Fontainebleau; a capture which he might easily have effected, and thus have given to his cause the prestige of legitimate authority. Condé stopped short at Meaux, and contented himself with sending a message to Catherine to know her pleasure. At the same time he addressed circulars to the reformed churches to prepare to defend themselves, and invited the neighbouring Hugonot nobility to repair to him at Meaux. The triumvirate seized the advantage which had been neglected by Condé. Antony of Navarre and the triumvirs proceeded with a strong guard to Fontainebleau; and Catherine, after some days of real or feigned reluctance, in which she alternately listened to the counsels of L'Hôpital and the pressing instances of Antony and his allies, removed at last by easy journeys to Paris, and was installed with her son at the Louvre, April 6th 1562. The Catholic chiefs signalised their victory by a flagrant breach of the Edict of January. Montmorenci, with 200 men, assisted by the mob, attacked two Hugonot meeting-houses outside the gates of St. Jacques and St. Antoine, threw down the pulpits, and burnt the benches. This exploit, which did not much redound to the honour of the Constable of France, procured him the nickname of Captain *Brûle-bancs*, or Burn-bench. It was the signal to the populace to commence their outrages, and the unfortunate Hugonots were pillaged and murdered without mercy.

The advantages of activity and decision were thus on the side of the Catholics. The Admiral Coligni seems to have been the chief cause of the delay on the part of the Hugonots. No two men could be more dissimilar in character than the two chief Hugonot leaders. Condé, small and mean in person, was full of grace and animation; amiable, volatile, addicted to pleasure, yet full of ambition. Coligni, on the contrary, was of a grave and imposing exterior, taciturn, severe, averse to all disorder, constant and tender in his affections. He was the grandest character among the Hugonots,

the Cato of the civil wars of France. Two such men had little sympathy with each other, and it is not surprising that they did not always agree. It was with the greatest reluctance that the Admiral, now living in retirement in his château at Châtillon-sur-Loing, was prevailed upon to take up arms. He saw how inferior were the Protestant forces; he dreaded the responsibility of kindling the flames of civil war; and it was only through the urgent importunities of his friends, and especially of his wife, Charlotte de Laval, that he was at last induced to mount his horse and join Condé at Meaux.¹⁹ But such natures, though the last to enter on a doubtful course of action, when once resolved, are also the last to abandon it.

The news of the massacre of Vassy had excited all the Protestants of the north, and Condé and the Admiral were soon surrounded at Meaux by a considerable body of men. On the 30th of March, Condé marched towards Paris with the design of seizing the King, and obtained possession of the bridge of St. Cloud. Here he heard that he had been anticipated; and he immediately took the road to Orleans, with the intention of rendering that city the head-quarters of the Hugonots. Followed by 2000 mounted nobles he set off at a gallop; eighteen miles were accomplished without drawing bridle; horsemen rolled over one another in the dust; and as the cavalcade swept by like a whirlwind, travellers asked one another whether it was a meeting of all the madmen in France. On arriving at Orleans on the morning of the 2nd of April, they found that the town had already been seized by their fellow-religionists, under the leadership of D'Andelot.

On the 8th of April, Condé published a manifesto which must be regarded as the inauguration of the civil wars. The objects of the Hugonots in taking up arms were declared to be to restore the captive King and his mother to liberty, and to maintain the Edict of January. Though they possessed neither the person, nor probably the affections, of the King, they gave themselves out for his supporters, and adopted his colours, the white scarf; while the Catholics, on the contrary, were shameless enough to assume the red scarf of Spain, and even obliged the young King to wear that foreign livery; thus displaying before all Europe the vassalage of France, and the degradation inflicted by the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis. Charles IX. and Catherine answered the manifesto of Condé by a counter-declaration that they were no prisoners; and they issued letters patent confirming the January Edict, and per-

¹⁹ The scene has been strikingly described by D'Aubigné the Protestant historian (*Hist. Univ.* liv. iii. ch. ii.).

mitting the Protestant worship except in Paris and its environs. The Catholic chiefs thus hoped to deprive Condé of his adherents; but it was too late. On the same day, April 11th, the Protestants signed an association placing the Prince of Condé, whom they styled the protector and defender of the Crown, at the head of a council composed of the leading Hugonot nobles, among whom figured some of the first names in France; as the three Châtillons, the Count de la Rochefoucauld, Rohan, Grammont, Soubise and others. These noblemen levied taxes and raised recruits in their different departments, and provided fanatical preachers to stir up the rage of the southern populations. Many of the chief towns of France declared for the Hugonots; as Rouen, Dieppe, Havre de Grâce, Angers, Poitiers, Tours, Blois, and especially the important city of Lyon. Beza, who remained with the army of Condé, was the soul of the Calvinistic party. He caused a synod to assemble at Orleans April 27th, in which was read a Confession of Faith drawn up by Calvin, and ordered to be presented to the Emperor of Germany. Condé requested the prayers of the Genevese for the success of his cause, and they were constantly offered up while the war lasted.

The more regular hostilities were ushered in by scattered tumults and massacres. Blood flowed in torrents in most of the great towns of southern France, and the most unheard-of cruelties were committed on both sides. At Sens, in the diocese of the Cardinal of Guise, a massacre was perpetrated which surpassed in atrocity that of Vassy; Protestants, whether men, women, or children, were slain and thrown into the Yonne. The rage of the Protestants was scarcely less; but in the more northern parts of France it was chiefly directed with a senseless fury against the national monuments and the symbols of Catholic worship. At Cléry, the tomb of Louis XI. was overthrown, and his bones burnt, together with those of the Duke of Longueville, a descendant of the celebrated Dunois. At Caen, the tombs of William the Conqueror and Queen Matilda, were destroyed. At Orleans, the heart of the late King, Francis II., was burnt in the cathedral of St. Croix; but the crowning profanation in the eyes of all loyal and orthodox Frenchmen, was the overthrowing of the monument of Joan of Arc, which stood on the bridge.

Before the struggle began, both parties sought for foreign aid. The Catholic leaders turned of course to the King of Spain, who offered 36,000 men, a force which rather startled them; they requested Philip to provide them with some money and not quite so many soldiers. The Guises purchased the assistance of the Duke of Savoy by ceding to him the places which the French still held

in his dominions, with the exception of Pignerol, and one or two other small towns. The Pope sent Catherine 100,000 crowns, for which she allowed the legate to have a leading voice in the council. On the other hand, Condé sought the friendship of Queen Elizabeth. France and England were then at peace; but it was obvious that if the conspiracy against Protestantism succeeded on the Continent, England must be next overwhelmed: and thus, during the reign of Elizabeth, the maintenance of that confession formed the key-stone of English policy. After the accession of Francis II., which might be said to have added Scotland to the kingdoms already combined in favour of the Pope, Elizabeth and her ministers had contemplated effecting a league among all the Protestants of Europe for their common defence, and some steps had been taken with that view²⁰; and though the death of Francis II. mitigated the immediate apprehensions of Elizabeth and her ministers, their policy still remained unchanged. Negotiations were accordingly entered into with Condé and the Hugonots, which resulted in a treaty signed at Hampton Court, September 20th 1562.²¹ Condé engaged to put Havre de Grâce into the hands of the English; and Elizabeth undertook, on her side, to land a body of 6000 men on the coast of Normandy, and to pay the representatives of Condé in Germany 100,000 crowns, after receiving possession of Havre, which was to serve as a pledge for the restitution of Calais. The money was wanted to hire German and Swiss mercenaries, as Condé expected aid from the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Würtemberg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other German princes. But meanwhile hostilities had begun in France long before assistance could be expected either from England or Germany.

Catherine had sought to avert, or, at all events, to delay the impending civil war, by negotiations. She and King Antony on one side, the Prince of Condé and the Admiral on the other, attended respectively by a numerous body of nobles, had met in an open plain near Thouri in Beauce, where, from the nature of the ground, no ambushade could be dreaded; and strict injunctions had been given to refrain from all abusive language. Needless precaution! When the two parties approached and recognised in each other's ranks a brother or a friend, they rushed into one another's arms, and deprecated a war which could be carried on only by a mutual slaughter between the nearest connections. The interview between the two Bourbons, however, formed a complete contrast to this touching scene. Antony exhibited nothing but

²⁰ Forbes, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 166.

²¹ In Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 94.

harshness and obstinacy, and the brothers separated more embittered than ever. Other conferences followed; but Catherine having declared at one of these that the execution of the January Edict was impossible, an appeal to arms became inevitable.

To detail with minuteness the bloody scenes which ensued would afford neither instruction nor amusement. France became one wide scene of horror; fanaticism was mingled with the most brutal passions, and lust, robbery and murder prevailed without control. Anarchy reigned wildest in the midland districts. All the towns captured by the Catholic forces were abandoned to slaughter and pillage; the Loire, the Indre, and the Sarthe, bore upon their waters innumerable corpses. Besides the usual concomitants of civil war were to be seen the populations of whole towns, either expelled by force or voluntarily emigrating, and wandering about from place to place as the tide of war advanced or receded. Among the leaders distinguished by their atrocities were Blaise de Montluc, and the Baron des Adretz, a Hugonot. Montluc has not scrupled to chronicle in his *Mémoires* the deeds of blood perpetrated by himself and his myrmidons in Guyenne; where the reader may learn the systematic barbarity, the cynical contempt for human life with which civil war, especially when heightened by fanaticism, is capable of inspiring a nature otherwise not devoid of generosity. In like manner in Provence and Dauphiné, the name of Des Adretz, the Protestant leader, long lived in the memory of the people, as the symbol of murder and destruction. With the rapidity of a bird of prey, he ravaged, in a few days, the country between the Saone and the Durance, the Alps, and the mountains of Auvergne, spreading everywhere terror and destruction.

The fortune of war was at first unfavourable to the Protestants, who for the most part evacuated the towns which they held at the approach of the royal army. Guise abandoned all the places he entered to pillage and murder. At Tours, the Duke of Montpensier caused to be executed a number of women who would not renounce the Calvinistic faith. Bourges, which had been besieged for some time by the young King in person, and by the King of Navarre, surrendered by capitulation August 31st 1562; in spite of which several Protestants were cut down, and the remainder banished. In Normandy the Hugonots were more successful. Morvilliers, the commandant of Rouen, although a Protestant, flung up his command when he found that the English were to be introduced into France; but Montgomeri, the involuntary homicide of Henry II., marched through Normandy with a Protestant force and took possession of its capital. Havre was occupied by

3000 English early in October; about the same time a German force destined for the succour of the Protestants was beginning to assemble on the Rhine. A diversion was thus effected of the Catholic forces; the siege of Orleans, which they had been for some time carrying on, was converted into a blockade; St. André marched with a division into Champagne to arrest the progress of the Germans, while Guise proceeded with the main body into Normandy and laid siege to Rouen. Charles IX. and the King of Navarre came to Guise's camp to encourage the troops by their presence, and Rouen was taken by storm and sacked, October 26th. But Antony received a slight wound during the siege which his own imprudence and excesses rendered fatal; he expired November 17th at the age of forty-two, leaving the field still more open to the ambition of Guise, who was shortly afterwards nominated in his place Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

On the other hand the Prince of Condé, having been joined by some German contingents (November 9th), marched upon Paris, and would probably have taken that capital had he ventured upon an immediate assault; but waiting for some reinforcements under d'Andelot, and being amused with negotiations by the Queen-mother, he suffered the opportunity to slip through his hands. While he and Coligni lay encamped with their forces before Paris at Montrouge, Arcueil, and Gentilly, the Parliament issued an *arrêt* condemning to death the Admiral and all his associates, with the exception of the prince. The only affair that took place here, was a smart skirmish before the Boulevard St. Victor (November 28th). By the advice of Coligni, Condé determined early in December to retire into Normandy, to await fresh supplies of men and money from England; but on his way, having imprudently wasted some days in a fruitless attempt to seize Chartres and Dreux, he was overtaken by the army of the triumvirate, which had intercepted his line of march, by taking up a position on the left bank of the Eure, at no great distance from Dreux. At this juncture the ferocious Guise, the experienced Montmorenci, the warlike St. André, are said to have dreaded the responsibility of giving battle, and sent to obtain the sanction of the King and the government. Catherine, with a bitter irony, expressed her surprise that three great captains should, on such a subject, ask the advice of a woman and a child, both overwhelmed with regret at seeing the extremity to which matters were reduced; she would give no opinion, and referred them to the King's nurse!²² Guise was, in

²² *Mémoires de Castelneau*, liv. iv. ch. iv.

fact, unwilling to incur the responsibility of having the civil war imputed to the House of Lorraine, and affected to have no other command in the army than that of his own *compagnie d'ordonnance* and a body of volunteers. This was part of his usual policy. He seems to have always had before his eyes the fear of some future impeachment, and to have wished to be able to show that he had acted only by superior orders.²³ On the 19th of December, however, Montmorenci began the engagement by a violent cannonade; the battle was obstinately contested, and it was only at nightfall that Coligni retired with his forces in good order from the field. By a singular coincidence, the general on each side, Condé and Montmorenci, had been taken prisoners, and the Constable had also been wounded in the jaw by a pistol ball. Marshal St André also fell into the hands of the Hugonots, and was assassinated after his capture by a private enemy; so that Guise became the sole head of the Catholic party. Montmorenci was sent under an escort to Orleans, where, in the custody of his niece, the Princess of Condé, he quietly awaited his liberation. Condé was conducted to the castle of Onzain, where, by Catherine's order, he was at first harshly treated and strictly watched; till policy dictated a milder treatment, in order to use him as a counterpoise to the ambition of Guise, who, after the death of Antony, even dreamt of eventually succeeding to the throne.

Coligni, who after the capture of Condé was elected by the Hugonots for their commander-in-chief, led the defeated army towards Orleans; and soon after, having entrusted the command of that place to his brother D'Andelot, proceeded into Normandy, where, with the assistance of the English, he succeeded in taking Caen. He then invested Rouen, and pressed it so hardly that Marshal Brissac, the commandant, sent a message for assistance to Guise, then engaged in besieging Orleans. Guise replied that he must first take Orleans by assault; but before he could accomplish this, he was shot by an assassin named Poltrot, February 18th 1563, and in six days died of his wound, at the age of forty-four. He displayed great anxiety on his death-bed to clear himself from the charge of having authorised the massacre of Vassy, and his last words were exhortations to peace. Francis Duke of Guise left three sons: Henry, who inherited the titles and possessions, as well as the bravery and other qualities of his father, including his fanaticism; Charles, Duke of Mayenne, of a totally different disposition from his brother; and Louis, who afterwards became a Cardinal.

²³ Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 309.

Poltrot was apprehended, and being subjected to the torture, accused Coligni, La Rochefoucauld, Beza, and other Hugonot leaders of having incited him to murder Guise. The charge was not so clearly refuted as might be wished; but Poltrot varied in his confessions. Coligni appears by his own avowal to have given at least a tacit sanction to the deed; and after its completion, he offered up a solemn thanksgiving for what he characterised as one of the greatest blessings to France; to God's Church, and especially to himself and his family.²⁴ Beza admits having desired the death of Guise; and while the Duke was besieging Orleans, preached a sermon, in which he described in glowing terms how glorious a deed it would be if any one should slay the Duke in battle. It appears from a letter of Calvin's to the Duchess of Ferrara that some of his followers had long contemplated the assassination of Guise²⁵; and though Calvin himself dissuaded them from such an attempt, he was in the habit of beseeching God either to convert Guise, or to lay His hand upon him and deliver His church from him. When so many fanatical spirits were abroad how far did indirect hints of this description differ from open exhortations to murder?

The death of Guise altered the destinies of France. Had he lived to take Orleans and defeat the Protestants he would have enjoyed the power of the ancient mayors of the palace under the *Rois Fainéants*, and would probably have at length succeeded in placing his own family upon the throne. Catherine de' Medici was the chief gainer by his death, who now, after the extinction of the triumvirate, began indeed to reign. One of her first steps was to enter into negotiations with the Protestants. To the Prince of Condé she held out the hope of the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom, again vacant by the death of Guise²⁶; but she neither could nor would promise the maintenance of the January edict. As Condé wished to regain his liberty, and d'Andelot was hard pressed in Orleans by the royal troops, the propositions of the Queen and her chancellor were accepted without waiting for the consent of Coligni; who, as well as the Hugonot ministers, was for continuing the war. The preliminaries of a peace were discussed between Condé and Montmorenci in the *Isle aux Bœufs* in the Loire. Their conference ended in nothing but their mutual exchange: negotiations

²⁴ Bêze, *Hist. des Eglises Réf.* liv. vi. t. ii. p. 187.

²⁵ In Ruchat, *Hist. de la Réf. de la Suisse*, t. vii. p. 410.

²⁶ She had previously offered it to Christopher Duke of Würtemberg, who declined.

Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 272. No fact can show more strongly the distracted state of France, than this offer of the lieutenantancy to a foreigner. Christopher was, however, in every way worthy of it.

were, however, renewed between Damville and L'Aubespine on the part of Catherine, and St. Cyr and d'Aubigné on that of the Hugonots, and a treaty of peace was agreed upon, the provisions of which were embodied in a royal edict, called the EDICT OF AMBOISE, drawn up by the mild and patriotic L'Hôpital, and signed by Charles IX. March 18th 1563. By this decree the exercise of the Protestant worship became in a great measure an aristocratic privilege. All nobles and holders of fiefs were allowed to celebrate it, with their vassals and subjects; but only those towns where it had been exercised up to the 7th of March. In Paris and its viscounty it was forbidden; in the rest of France, with the exception of the manors of the nobility, it was allowed only in the suburbs of one town in each bailiwick.

D'Andelot, who had been in great danger in Orleans, was saved by the peace of Amboise. The Germans evacuated France; but Queen Elizabeth refusing to give up Havre, which place she professed to hold as security for the restoration of Calais, war was declared against England July 6th 1563. Condé and the greater part of the Hugonots, anxious to expiate their offence in having called in the English, joined the royal army under Montmorenci; but Coligni, slower both to take and to abandon resolutions, held himself aloof. Havre was reduced by cutting off the supplies, especially the water, which produced a pestilence; and on the 28th July, the Earl of Warwick, the commandant, capitulated; just as the long-expected English fleet hove in sight.

In order to check the ambition of Condé, and put an end to his importunities for the Lieutenant-Generalship, Catherine, by the advice of L'Hôpital, declared her son Charles IX. of age (August 17th 1563), although he had only recently entered on his fourteenth year. As the Parliament of Paris had displayed great refractoriness, and had refused to register the Edict of Amboise, this solemn act was performed in a *Lit de Justice* held in the Parliament of Rouen. The Paris Parliament, irritated by this breach of custom, sent a deputation to the court to complain of the edict; when Charles, tutored by his mother, addressed to them a reprimand, the severity of which formed a strange contrast with the infantine tones in which it was delivered. "Know," said he, "that the kings our predecessors have not placed you where you are either to be the guardians or protectors of the kingdom, or the conservators of my city of Paris; and I command you to meddle with nothing but the administration of justice. You have conceived an idea that you are my guardians; I will teach you that you are not, but only my subjects and servants."

In the midst of all these religious troubles, the French Court firmly defended against the Pope the liberties of the Gallican Church. Jeannè d'Albret having forbidden the exercise of the Roman Catholic worship in Bearn, was cited by Pope Pius IV. to appear at Rome within six months (September 28th 1563); failing which, she would incur, by her contumacy, the loss of her dominions, besides other penalties. At the same time were cited all French prelates convicted or suspected of heresy; as the Cardinal of Châtillon, the Bishops of Beauvais, Valence, and others. But the French Court addressed so vigorous a protest to the Pope that he abandoned the citation. Shortly afterwards, the Council of Trent having brought its labours to a close, Pius IV. sent an embassy to Fontainebleau (February 1564), to demand from the French Court the recognition of the decrees of the Council: a step which he had been prevailed upon to take by the Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. This subject calls our attention to the proceedings of that celebrated Council; and as a necessary preliminary, we must also take a brief view of the history of the German empire after the resignation of Charles V.

The accession of Ferdinand I. to the Imperial throne, and the refusal of Pope Paul IV. to acknowledge his title, have been already related. The arrogance of Paul led to an inquiry into the Papal pretensions; the necessity for a coronation by the Pope was altogether rejected; and Pius IV., who had in 1560 received Ferdinand's ambassadors with great distinction, consented, after a slight struggle, to acknowledge his title. When, in 1562, Ferdinand's eldest son, Maximilian, was elected King of the Romans, he refused to make the usual profession of obedience to Rome, contenting himself with assuring the Pope of his reverence and devotion; and thus was finally established the independence of the empire on the Papal See, which had been virtually asserted by Maximilian I.

It has been already seen that Ferdinand, long before his accession to the empire, had, in right of Anne, his wife, become King of Bohemia and Hungary. After the submission of the Bohemians at Prague in 1547, Ferdinand succeeded in his attempts to convert Bohemia into an hereditary monarchy; and in 1562 he caused his son Maximilian to be crowned as his heir and successor in that kingdom. It is from this epoch that we may date the decline both of the commercial and military spirit of the Bohemians.

In the same year (1562), with a view to consolidate his own power and that of his successor, Ferdinand concluded a truce of eight years with Sultan Solyman. Since the truce of 1547, the

German Diets had ceased to take any real interest in the affairs of Hungary, which kingdom was left to its fate as a thing which concerned only Ferdinand. In 1555 and 1556, Sigeth was fruitlessly besieged by the Turks, whose inroads extended into Carinthia. In the latter year the Sultan again established the family of Zapolya in the government of Transylvania; but Ferdinand retained Erlau and a large tract east of the Theiss. In 1559 Queen Isabella died; after which her son, John Sigismund, demanded from Ferdinand the title of King of Hungary, the district between the Theiss and Transylvania, and the principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor. A war ensued, in which the Turks sometimes took part; till at last, after long negotiations with the Porte, in the course of which Ferdinand was obliged to submit to the grossest indignities and insults, he succeeded in effecting the truce mentioned; a result to which the religious troubles in France not a little contributed, by weakening the French influence at Constantinople. By this truce, which was negotiated by Busbek, Ferdinand's ambassador at the Porte, that monarch agreed to pay a yearly sum of 30,000 Hungarian ducats to the Sultan, together with the arrears, while Solymán engaged not to support Zapolya's son with his arms.²⁷ John Sigismund was to retain possession of Transylvania as well as the other territory which he held; but he did not concur in the truce, and made frequent irruptions into Ferdinand's territories.

Germany, as we have already said, was now in a considerable degree isolated from the general affairs of Europe, and the short reign of Ferdinand I. presents little of any interest, except the affairs of religion and the conclusion of the Council of Trent. Ferdinand, rather from political views than religious principle, was more flexible than his brother. He had a nearer interest than Charles V. in defending Austria and Hungary against the Turks; hence he endeavoured to conciliate the different religious parties in Germany, as a means of obtaining the assistance of the whole empire and strengthening his hands against the Porte. Born in Spain²⁸, and educated in that country till his fifteenth year, his real principles however were orthodoxly Roman; and, in fact, by the introduction of the Jesuits into Germany, for whom he founded a college at Vienna in 1556, he may be regarded as having inaugurated that great reactionary movement against Protestantism which made so much progress in Germany during the latter half of the 16th century. He had for his counsellor one of the most

²⁷ The conditions are in Busbequii *Opera*, p. 453 sq., ed. Elzev. 1633).

²⁸ At Alcalá de Henares in Castile, March 10th 1503.

distinguished Jesuits of the age, the redoubtable sophist and polemic Canisius, the author of the catechism still used by the Papists. Canisius became provincial of the Jesuits in Upper Germany, and during the forty years that he administered their affairs they spread themselves throughout the empire.

Nevertheless, as we have said, Ferdinand's political interests led him to conciliate and reunite the Catholics and Protestants; and as a means to this end, he endeavoured to persuade the Protestants to submit to the Council of Trent, which, in conjunction with the courts of France and Spain, he had induced Pius IV. to reassemble. In order to meet the views of the Protestants, who would not acknowledge the previous decrees at Trent, Ferdinand endeavoured to obtain the convocation of a new Council, to begin *ab initio*; but without success. He sent his own ambassadors with the Papal legates Commendone and Delfino to invite the Protestants assembled at Naumburg (1560) to attend the Council; who, however, contemptuously returned to the legates the Papal Bulls unopened, and denied the Pope's power to call such an assembly. The only conditions on which they would hear of it were: that the Pope should attend as a party and not as a judge; that Protestant divines should appear on the same footing as Catholic bishops; and that the synod should be held in some German town. But such demands were inadmissible. An invitation had also been forwarded to Queen Elizabeth to send ambassadors to Trent; which was of course refused.²⁹

The German Protestants, however, had now begun to divide among themselves. Into the nature of their dissensions, which spread very wide, lasted very long, and were carried on with great heat and acrimony, we shall not here minutely enter, as they belong rather to the history of Germany, and indeed to its ecclesiastical history, than to a general history of Europe.³⁰ It will suffice to state generally, that they were occasioned by the infusion of Calvinism, which had penetrated even into Saxony; and hence, while some of the German Protestants adhered strictly to the Confession of Augsburg, others proposed to modify that formulary with an admixture of Calvinistic tenets. The chief of the German Calvinists was the Elector Palatine, Frederick III., who forcibly introduced that creed into his dominions. His son Louis restored Lutheranism; but dying in 1583, and leaving a minor son, Frederick IV., John Casimir, the uncle and guardian of the latter,

²⁹ Pallavicino, lib. xv. cap. 7.

³⁰ They are related at length by Planck in his *Gesch. der Entstehung*, &c., and by

Menzel in the second vol. of his *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*.

reinstated the Calvinists. The two rallying points of these sects were the Heidelberg Catechism for the Calvinists, and the Formula of Concord for the Lutherans, both of which were published in opposition to the decrees of Trent. These sectarian quarrels injured the cause of Protestantism in general, and promoted that Catholic reaction in Germany which has been already noticed.

The Council of Trent reassembled in January 1562, after an interval of nearly ten years. The French Court had agreed with Ferdinand in demanding an entirely new Council; but this was opposed by the Spaniards, and was also disagreeable to the Court of Rome. The first meetings were attended almost solely by poor Italian bishops, the pensionaries of Rome, and thus the method of the proceedings was regulated in a way that rendered the assembly altogether subservient to the Papacy. It was arranged that propositions should be initiated only by the Papal legates, and that the decisions of the meeting should be submitted to the revision of the Pope; thus rendering the pretended Council nothing more than a pontifical commission; especially as the votes were to be taken *per capita* and not by nations. On the arrival, however, of the Spanish and Portuguese prelates, and of the French and Imperial ambassadors, considerable opposition began to be manifested. The Spaniards, who, as we have before had occasion to remark, cherished, with all their bigotry, a surly independence of Rome, struck at the root of the Papal system by maintaining that the episcopal authority was not a mere emanation from the Pope, but of divine original; and they showed themselves as ardent for reforming the Roman court as for suppressing heresy. The representatives of the empire and of France were equally as warm advocates of reform, though not so zealous against the heretics. At first the French and Germans acted together. The Cardinal of Lorraine instructed the French ambassadors to second the demands of Ferdinand, which were principally: the cup in the sacrament of the eucharist; the marriage of priests; the abolition of scandalous dispensations, pluralities, and simony; the compulsory residence of bishops; a reform in the use of excommunication; the erection of schools for the poor; the purification of the breviary, legends, and postils; more intelligible catechisms; church music adapted to German, or French, words; and a reformation of convents.³¹ The Germans and French also required that the Council should be transferred to a German town; that the Pope should submit to the decrees of the Council, instead of revising them, together with other

³¹ Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 337.

provisions derogatory to the power of Rome.³² On the other hand, the Spaniards opposed giving the cup to the laity, and the marriage of priests. Nothing could be more unpalatable at Rome than the last proposition. The celibacy of the clergy was a main prop. of the Papal power; and Pius IV. had plainly declared that at the head of a priesthood who had wives, children, and a country, the Pope would soon be reduced to a mere Bishop of Rome.

The arrival of the Cardinal of Lorraine at Trent, in November 1562, accompanied by a score of bishops, and a dozen doctors of the Sorbonne, occasioned the Pope great alarm. The news, however, of the assassination of his brother, and then of the peace of Amboise, which arrived one after another in the spring of 1563, completely changed the cardinal's views. He now felt that the support of Rome and Spain was indispensable to his tottering House. Philip II. also perceived the necessity of a closer union with the Pope, and he was, besides, displeased at the independence affected by his bishops. Thus the proceedings of the assembly were decided from without by the Pontiffs and the Sovereigns, rather than from within by the debates of the assembled Fathers. Pius IV. had now only to overcome the opposition of the Emperor Ferdinand. Through the diplomatic skill of the legate Morone, Ferdinand was gradually induced to withdraw his opposition, and as the French prelates also relaxed in their demands, the sittings of the Council advanced rapidly to a conclusion. In the last three sessions, several important reforms were carried respecting ordination, the sacrament of marriage, indulgences, purgatory, the worship of saints, as well as regarding the discipline and morals of the clergy. Various shameful abuses were suppressed, and diocesan seminaries were founded, which were destined to breed up a better-educated and more worthy generation of priests. In these reforms Pius IV. was influenced by his nephew, the pious and austere Cardinal Charles Borromeo; the only occasion, perhaps, on which nepotism has been favourable to piety and virtue. The general character of the reforms admitted, was, however, such as should neither injure the power of the Pope, nor that of the temporal sovereigns. So far from the object first contemplated being attained, the limitation, namely, of the Pope's power, his authority was, on the contrary, rather enhanced, since the Council implicitly acknowledged the superiority of the Pope, by praying him to confirm the canons it had made, by giving him the exclusive right to inter-

³² The Bishop of Verdun having made a stirring speech against the Papal pretensions, the Bishop of Orvieto remarked:

"Gallus cantat." On which Danès, Bishop of Lavour rejoined: "O utinam ad Galli cantum Petrus respisceret!"

pret them, and by imposing on all bishops and beneficiaries the oath of fidelity to the Roman See. It is true that these advantages were gained at the expense of shutting out of the Church half the Christian world, and renouncing for ever the idea of effecting a union by means of a Council; but, on the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that the decrees of Trent, and the amended state of the Church to which they gave rise, wonderfully contributed to promote the Catholic reaction observable in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The last sitting of the Council was held December 4th 1563. Its canons were subscribed by 255 prelates, but more than half of these were Italians. The earlier proceedings during the Smalcaldic war, and those under Pius IV., are distinguished by the circumstance that, while the former were doctrinal, the latter were practical. In the first was established the whole system of dogmatic Catholic theology, as still professed; and the doctrine of justification, as then expounded, separated for ever the Roman creed from the Protestant. The second assembly was employed almost exclusively with questions of discipline and practice, and by the canons of reform the hierarchy was organised anew.

The decrees of the Council were almost in every respect contrary to the demands of Ferdinand, who nevertheless accepted them. His claims in favour of the Reformers had been dictated rather by policy than conviction, and even while making them he was taking steps to repress Protestantism in his hereditary dominions. He adhered, nevertheless, to the terms of his capitulation, and faithfully maintained the religious peace of Passau.

Ferdinand I. died not many months after the close of the Council of Trent, July 25th 1564, at the age of sixty-one. By his consort Anne, the daughter of Ladislaus, who died in 1547, he had no fewer than fifteen children, twelve of whom reached maturity; namely, three sons and nine daughters. By a will dated August 10th 1555, and confirmed by the signatures of his sons, he left to the eldest, Maximilian, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary; to the second, Ferdinand, the Tyrol and exterior provinces; to the third, Charles, Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola: thus imprudently weakening his dominions by dividing them.

Ferdinand had enjoyed a good education, the plan of which was drawn up by Erasmus. He knew enough Greek and Latin to read the classics with facility, and understood the Spanish, German, French, and Italian languages. He patronised literary men, and especially Busbek (Busbequius), his ambassador at Constantinople, who has left an interesting account of the Turks. While the

Spanish branch of the House of Austria was destined to lose part of its dominions through the intolerance and bigotry of Philip II., the wise and moderate policy of Ferdinand I. helped to fix the Austrian branch firmly on the Imperial throne and to render it virtually hereditary. The chief blots on the character of this sovereign are, the extinction of the liberties of Bohemia, and the resorting, like the rest of his House, to assassination, as an instrument of state policy.

Ferdinand I. was in the usual course succeeded on the Imperial throne by the King of the Romans, his son Maximilian II.; whom, a little before his death, he had also caused to be crowned, at Presburg, King of Hungary. Maximilian, who was in his 37th year at the time of his accession, was fortunately still more forbearing in matters of religion than his father, and thus contributed to postpone those civil wars which the acrimony of bigots and zealots was preparing, and which were destined during thirty years to deluge the plains of Germany with blood. Although educated in Spain under the superintendence of Charles V., and in company with his cousin Philip, who was of the same age, yet the characters of the two princes offered a comple contrast. Affable in his manners, mild and tolerant in his disposition, Maximilian had early imbibed a predilection for the Lutheran tenets; a tendency which Ferdinand had thought it necessary to excuse to the Pope by explaining that it was through no fault of his, and that his son had received a sound Catholic education.³³ After his accession to the empire, Maximilian, from motives of policy, made a public profession of Catholicism, though he always observed the most liberal toleration. But we must now return, in a fresh chapter, to the affairs of France.

³³ See Letter of Ferdinand to Pius IV., and the inclosed instruction to his ambas-

sador at Rome, in Le Plat's *Monumenta Tridentina*, t. iv. p. 621 sq.

CHAPTER VI.

CATHERINE DE' MEDICI, who was still under the guidance of L'Hôpital, did not give the decrees of Trent that unqualified approval which had been accorded to them by Ferdinand I. and Philip II. The embassy from Paul IV., before mentioned¹, did not indeed meet with an absolute repulse. The French bishops were authorised to execute in their dioceses such canons as were not contrary to the laws of the land; but, on the plea of the difficult and dangerous situation of the kingdom, the publication of the decrees was indefinitely postponed. Catherine, however, was not sincere in the moderation which it suited her present policy to display. It was her design to make Catholicism gradually predominant, and to overthrow the oligarchy, which, fortifying itself by the religious troubles, had again established itself around the throne. The national genius favoured her plans. The severity of the Calvinistic discipline, however it might serve the party views of the nobles, was equally repugnant to French manners and French laws. The execution at Orleans, according to the rigorous code of Calvin, of two fashionable persons for adultery, had disgusted the court, and the Hugonot preachers, instead of the monks, became in turn the objects of well-bred ridicule. Nothing could be more opposed than such rigour, we will not say to the morals, but to the policy, of Catherine, of which gallantry was one of the chief instruments. She now employed it to enchain Condé, as she had before done with Antony: the prince's wife, of a feeble constitution, is said to have died of grief at her husband's infidelities. After this event, the Cardinal of Lorraine offered Condé the hand of Mary Stuart.

The years 1564 and 1565 produced few events of importance in France², and were chiefly occupied by Catherine in making a tour of the kingdom with her son Charles IX. After the surrender of Havre, the war between France and England had been confined to

¹ Above, p. 168.

² In 1564 it was arranged in France that the year should commence on the 1st of January, instead of at Easter. The Pascal year had occasioned great incon-

venience, and has been the source of many chronological errors in historians in spite of the *Art de vérifier les Dates* of the Benedictines.

piracies, and was finally terminated by a treaty of peace, signed April 11th 1564, in which Queen Elizabeth contented herself with 120,000 crowns for Calais, instead of the 500,000 stipulated by the treaty of 1559.³ The year was distinguished by the deaths of what may be termed two European potentates, that of Calvin at Geneva (May 24th), and that of the Emperor Ferdinand I. already mentioned.

The court had set out on their tour in March, proceeding first to the northern provinces. At Troies was signed the treaty with England just mentioned; at Bar-le-Duc important negotiations were entered into with some of the German princes. Burgundy, Dauphiné, Provence were successively visited, and the winter was spent in Languedoc. Throughout the journey, Catherine endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the Catholics. Before her departure for Fontainebleau she had signified her wish to meet her daughter, the Queen of Spain, when she should approach the Pyrenees; and, under this pretext, she had endeavoured to arrange an interview with Philip II., whom, as well as the Pope, she was anxious to satisfy on the subject of her temporising policy. Philip, however did not think fit to keep the appointment. He was at that time fully occupied with the affairs of his own dominions, the insurrectionary agitation among the Moriscoes of Spain, the memorable siege of Malta by the Turks, and the commencement of the revolt in the Netherlands; but he sent his consort and the Duke of Alva, who met Catherine on the Bidassoa, June 14th 1565. Hence the Queen-mother conducted them to Bayonne, where three weeks were spent in festivities.

This celebrated interview has been the subject of much discussion. According to some historians of no mean authority an extensive conspiracy against Protestantism was here entered into, and that atrocious massacre of St. Bartholomew arranged which seven years after threw an eternal blot on the annals of France.⁴ This much only is certain, that Alva, according to his favourite policy, which he subsequently practised in the Netherlands, exhorted Catherine to get rid of some five or six of the chief leaders

³ Leonard, *Traité de Paix*, t. ii. p. 318.

⁴ Currency was first given to this view by Adriani, in the *Istoria di suoi Tempi* lib. xviii. p. 740, (ed. 1583). Although unsupported by authority, it was adopted by De Thou on the supposition that Adriani might have derived it from the papers of the Grand-Duke Cosmo de' Medici, and from that period it has been commonly accepted by historical writers. See

Ranke, *Französische Gesch.* B. i. S. 270.

What actually passed at the conference will be found in Alva's *Letters* to Philip II. from June 15th to July 4th 1565, published in the *Papiers d'Etat* du Cardinal Granvelle, t. ix. p. 281 sqq. Von Raumer has examined the subject at great length, *Gesch. Europas*, B. i. S. 112 ff.

of the Hugonots, either by fair means or by foul. The somewhat homely illustration by which Alva enforced his advice—*mieux vaut une tête de saumon que dix mille têtes de grenouilles*⁵—was overheard by young Henry of Béarn, whom Catherine, charmed by the lad's vivacity and wit, kept about her person; and he afterwards reported the words to his mother, Jeanne d'Albret. The views of Alva were supported by some part of the French court, as the Duke de Montpensier, the Cardinal of Guise, Blaise de Monluc and others; but it is a mistake to suppose that they were acceded to by Catherine and the young King. The Queen-mother even refused to put down the Calvinist preachings near the frontiers of Spain, and the French and Spanish courts parted with a degree of coldness. The Protestant chiefs nevertheless suspected that a secret league had been concluded; and they renewed on their side their relations with England, Germany, and the malcontents of the Netherlands. The long progress of the French court lasted nearly two years, and was not concluded till December 1565.

On the 9th of that month Pope Pius IV. had expired; a pontiff who at all events was sincere in his religion. The most memorable act of his pontificate is the close of the Council of Trent. His catechism, modelled on the decrees of that Council, is remarkable for the beauty of its Latinity, and contains many passages which even a Protestant may read with interest. He was succeeded on the Papal throne by Michel Ghislieri, Cardinal of Alessandria and Grand-Inquisitor, who assumed the title of Pius V. His election was chiefly due to Pius IV.'s nephew, Cardinal Borromeo, the indefatigable bishop of Milan, who enjoyed almost as great a reputation for sanctity as Ghislieri himself.⁶ Ghislieri was born of poor parents at Bosco, near Alessandria in 1504, and entered a Dominican convent at the age of fourteen. He came to Rome on foot, a destitute friar; and in fifteen years successively rose to be a bishop, a cardinal, and the head of the Inquisition. Austere in his manners, averse to nepotism, the enemy of all vices and abuses, Pius V. pursued the internal reforms commenced under the influence of Cardinal Borromeo. But his piety was sombre and fanatical; as a Pope he was the *beau-idéal* of the Ultramontanists, who called him *Saint Pius V.*; and indeed he was eventually canonised by Pope Clement XI. in 1712, and the 1st of May appointed for his worship. Although good-tempered and simple

⁵ "One head of salmon is worth 10,000 heads of frogs."

⁶ It was computed that in the course

of his life Borromeo had consecrated 300 altars, each consecration demanding a space of eight hours.

in his habits, Pius V. had a strong consciousness of his religious merits. Convinced that he had himself walked in the right path, he was intemperate and inflexible towards those who opposed his views, could brook no contradiction, and was never known to mitigate the sentence of a criminal. He not only renewed the publication of the Bull in *Cœna Domini*, of which sovereigns had often complained, but even added new clauses of increased severity. Under his pontificate terror reigned through Italy. The researches of the Inquisition were carried back for twenty years; the prisons of Rome sufficed not for the number of the accused, so that it was necessary to build new ones; every day beheld executions either by the cord, the axe, or the flames.⁷ Thus may a mistaken piety become one of the most terrible scourges of humanity. A temperament like that of Pius V. is incompatible with that love of art and literature which distinguished a Leo X. Pius sentenced to the stake, as heretics, three of the most distinguished literary men of Italy: Zanetti of Padua, Pietro Carnesecchi of Florence, and Anniius Palearius of Milan, who had likened the Inquisition to the poniard of the assassin. The chief objects of the policy of Pius V. were to oppose the Turkish power, to subvert the Protestant reformation, and to annihilate its adherents. It was impossible that such a pontiff should comprehend or tolerate the tortuous and temporising policy of Catherine de' Medici; and he trembled with rage and indignation when he learnt the precautions with which she treated the Hugonot leaders, and especially the apostate Cardinal of Châtillon.⁸

By the advice of L'Hôpital, an Assembly of Notables was summoned at Moulins in January 1566, with the alleged object of remedying the complaints received by the King during his progress. There were, however, some other subjects of more private nature to be considered; the arrangement of a quarrel which had recently exploded with great violence between the Cardinal of Lorraine and Marshal Montmorenci, and especially the settlement of the proceedings instituted by the Guises against Admiral Coligni for the alleged murder of the Duke. The first of these affairs was arranged without much difficulty; the other was of more importance. On the 29th of January, Coligni having sworn an oath before the

⁷ McCrie, *Reformation in Italy*, p. 272 sq.

⁸ The letters of Pius V. were collected by Goubau, secretary of the Spanish Embassy at Rome, under Philip IV., and published by him in the original Latin, Antwerp, 1640. There is a French

translation of them by De Potter, Brussels, 1827. The life of Pius V. has been written from authentic materials by Girolamo Catena, secretary of the *Consulta* of Pope Sixtus V., to whom he dedicated his work. There is also a life by Gabutius.

King in Council that he was neither the author nor the accomplice of the assassination, and challenged to mortal combat whoever should assert the contrary, the Council unanimously declared him innocent, and the Cardinal of Lorraine and the widow of the duke gave him the kiss of peace. But Guise's son, the young Duke Henry, had abstained from appearing at Moulins; while his uncle, the Duke d'Aumale, who arrived late, manifested so violent an animosity against the Châtillons that the Queen was obliged to dismiss both parties from court; and thus the termination of an assembly intended to promote peace evidently threatened a renewal of war. It was, however, distinguished by some great legal reforms introduced by L'Hôpital and published the following month under the title of the "Grande ordonnance de Moulins," which, together with the previous Edict of Villars Cotteretz, formed one of the bases of French legislation down to the time of the Revolution.

It was plain that both parties were preparing for another struggle. Physical force preponderated on the side of the Catholics, who had organised themselves into *confréries*, or brotherhoods; and in the riots which frequently occurred they commonly had the advantage. The Jesuits had now obtained a footing in France. In 1564 they had succeeded in matriculating themselves at the University of Paris, and had established their College of Clermont (afterwards Louis le Grand) in the Rue St. Jacques, under the title of the College of the Society of Jesus. But the struggle was a hard one. The Sorbonne was opposed to them, and they had to appeal to the Parliament, which influenced by the Catholic leaders at length granted them a provisional authority to teach independently of the University.

The permission granted by the court for the Duke of Alva to march through France with his army in the summer of 1567, when on his way to exterminate the Protestants of the Netherlands, tended very much to excite the distrust of the Hugonot leaders. Catherine, although she pretended to entertain suspicions of Alva's designs, secretly sent him supplies. Condé and Coligni, on the other hand, alleging their fears for the safety of France, offered to raise 50,000 men to cut off the Spaniards, but their assistance was of course declined. The suspicion of the Hugonots was augmented by the reception given by Charles IX. to an embassy from some of the German princes, to request that he would faithfully observe the Edict of Pacification, and allow the Gospel to be preached in Paris as well as other places; to which the young King replied by begging the Germans to attend to their own affairs. Soon after Alva's arrival in Flanders, the Hugonot chiefs received secret notice, supposed to

have been communicated to them by L'Hôpital, that the court of France meant to follow Alva's example, and that the revocation of the Edict of Amboise, the perpetual captivity of Condé, and the death of Coligni had been resolved on. The Prince and the Admiral determined to counteract this plot by one of still greater audacity, to carry off the young King and the whole court from Monceaux in La Brie. Condé seems even to have entertained the hope of seizing the crown. Catherine having learnt the plot two days before the time fixed for its execution, she and the whole court fled how they could to Meaux, where by parleying with the Hugonot leaders she gained time for a body of 6000 Swiss to arrive; and the young King putting himself at their head set off for Paris. Condé and Coligni having only about 500 horse, were not strong enough to attack so large a body but they harassed the royal force with skirmishes, and after Charles IX. had gained the metropolis in safety, took up a position at St. Denys. Here some conferences ensued between Montmorenci and the Hugonots; but the latter, who had succeeded in seizing Orleans, Dieppe, Mâcon, La Charité, Vienne, Valence, Nîmes, and other places, made demands which far exceeded the provisions of the Edict of Amboise, and nothing could be arranged. On the 10th of November 1567 the army of the Catholics, which was four or five times more numerous than that of the Hugonots, although they also had been reinforced, marched out from Paris and deployed in the plain des Vertus. A charge headed by Condé and Coligni threw the Catholics into disorder. The Constable was surrounded and summoned to surrender, and being hard pressed by a Scotchman named Robert Stuart, knocked out three of his teeth with the pommel of his sword, when Stuart is thought to have shot Montmorenci with his pistol. The Constable was rescued, while still alive, by his sons the Marshals Montmorenci and Damville, but expired two days after at the age of seventy-five. His qualities were hardly equal to his renown.⁹ Notwithstanding this mishap, the battle was in favour of the Catholics; yet, after retaining possession of the field a few hours, they retired into Paris. Next day the Hugonots marched to the very gates; but as Charles IX. had received reinforcements from the Duke of Alva of 1500 Flemish and Walloon cavalry, and as 8000 Gascons were expected to join the royal army, Condé and Coligni thought it prudent to retire, and marched into Lorraine to meet the German succours conducted by the Count-Palatine, John Casimir. The Queen-mother, instead of filling up

⁹ "Depuis cinquante ans, il encom-
braît l'histoire d'une fausse importance,

toujours fatale à son pays."—Michelet,
Guerres de Religion, p. 341.

the office of Constable, vacant by the death of Montmorenci, appointed her favourite son the Duke of Anjou, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. She is said to have loved Anjou as the viper loves the most venomous of its brood.

The events of the war which followed are not important enough to arrest our attention. The Queen, to save Chartres, which the Hugonots were besieging, concluded a fresh peace, March 20th 1568, proclaimed in the Edict of Longjumeau on the 23rd, and which for its short duration was also called "*la courte paix*." The terms were favourable to the Hugonots, and consequently gave great offence at Rome. In fact, however, neither party was sincere, and it was soon evident from the nature of the ordinances published, as well as from a Papal Bull authorising the alienation of ecclesiastical property, provided the proceeds were employed in exterminating the heretics, that the court was meditating a fresh war. The letters of Pius V. at this period to the French and other courts are terrible. They may be summed up in two words: "Kill all you can."¹⁰ Assassinations and massacres took place every day. The Jesuits, whose authority had now come into vogue in France, taught that no faith should be observed towards heretics. Catherine, who felt herself more secure since the King had attained his majority, cared not any longer to court the Hugonot chiefs, and it was currently reported that an attack would be made on that party after the harvest. She would even have seized Condé and Coligni at Noyers in Burgundy, had not Tavannes, the governor of that province, who was to have executed the plot, given the prince a hint of it. He and the Admiral escaped with some difficulty to La Rochelle (September 1st), where they were cordially received by Jeanne d'Albret and the troops assembled round her.

The dismissal of L'Hôpital in October seemed to show that Catherine meant not only to draw the sword, but also to throw away the scabbard. The seals were given to Morvilliers, bishop of Orleans; but Birago, a Milanese, had the chief influence in the council after the dismissal of L'Hôpital. The King was abandoned to the directions and those of the Florentine Gondi, who inculcated the principles of the ultramontane tyrants. On the other hand, Condé and the Admiral gathered round them at La Rochelle an army of 20,000 men; and this force and the royal army spent the last months of 1568 in marching about between the Loire and the Garonne, without any result except the violences which both sides committed upon the wretched inhabitants. Severe edicts were

¹⁰ See De Potter's transl. p. 14 sqq.

issued by the court; former concessions were withdrawn; no religion but the Popish was tolerated; Protestant divines were ordered to leave the kingdom in a fortnight, and Protestant laymen were deprived of any offices they might hold. But these severities only caused the Hugonots to offer up more zealously their lives and property.

Pope Pius V. sent some money and a small body of troops into France, with instructions to their general to make no prisoners, but to kill all the Hugonots that fell into his hands.¹¹ Philip II. had also despatched some veteran Spanish troops to the assistance of the French Catholics. On the other hand Queen Elizabeth sent Condé 100,000 gold crowns, and after spending some time in recruiting, the prince rejoined Coligni in February 1569 with much augmented forces. It was their object, till joined by some German auxiliaries, to prevent the royal army, commanded nominally by the Duke of Anjou but in reality by Tavannes, from crossing the Charente. The royalists, however, taking advantage of some negligence on the part of their opponents, effected a passage (March 12th), and defeated Coligni and D'Andelot, with a body of Hugonots at the abbey of Bassac, near Cognac. Condé, who was at Jarnac with the rear-guard pressed forward to their assistance. On coming upon the field he received a kick from the horse of his brother-in-law, La Rochefoucauld, which broke his leg; nevertheless he charged into the thickest of the fight, overthrowing all that opposed him, till his horse being killed under him, he was captured. As he was being led away prisoner, Montesquiou, a Gascon, captain of the guard of the Duke of Anjou, it is supposed by order of that prince, rode up to him and shot him from behind through the head. Anjou, who thus gave a foretaste of the baseness which he subsequently displayed as Henry III. had that day taken the communion. He caused the body of Condé to be carried to Jarnac on a she-ass, thus adding a cowardly insult to his cowardly crime. The prince left a son, Henry, subsequently one of the most distinguished generals of France.

After the death of Condé, Coligni and d'Andelot retreated towards St. Jean d'Angéli. The number of Hugonots slain at the BATTLE OF JARNAC¹² was not great, but among them were upwards of one hundred nobles. At Xaintes, young Henry of Navarre, now in his

¹¹ "—hæreticos eorumque duces, utpote Dei hostes, omni severitatis animadversione punire." *Letter of Pius to Charles IX.*, March 6th 1569, De Potter, p. 34.

¹² The *Mémoires* of La Noue, a distinguished Hugonot general, who was taken prisoner in this battle, but afterwards exchanged, are the best authority for this war.

fifteenth year, was elected by the Hugonots for their chief in place of Condé, and Coligni became his instructor in the art of war.

The Admiral was not exposed to the dangers of the field alone. La Rivière, another captain of Anjou's guard, wishing apparently to outrival Montesquiou, bribed a valet of Coligni's to poison him; but the plot was discovered and the valet hanged. Even the government were competitors in these schemes of assassination. On the 13th of September 1569 the Parliament of Paris published an *Arrêt* condemning Coligni to be hanged in the Place de la Grève, and his estates and property to be confiscated; and meanwhile they promised a reward of 50,000 crowns to whoever might bring him in, either dead or alive. But the Admiral's hour was not yet come. He had still to fight and lose another battle.

The two armies were nearly equal, but that of the King was superior in artillery. Pius V. and the Duke of Florence had reinforced it with 6000 Italians, while the Duke of Alva had sent Germans and Walloons. On the other hand the German succours of Coligni had not arrived in any great numbers. On the 3rd of October 1569 Tavannes forced the Admiral to give him battle at MONCONTOUR, a place between the Loire and Poitiers; when the Hugonots were again, but still more terribly, defeated, and lost upwards of 12,000 men. Tavannes having dismissed for a ransom of 10,000 crowns M. D'Assier, the general of the Hugonot infantry, who had been taken prisoner, Pius V. loudly complained that Tavannes had not obeyed his directions to kill out of hand whatever heretic fell into his power¹³; and after the victory he sent the Duke of Anjou a consecrated hat and sword. But the royalists did not vigorously follow up their advantage. They lost their time in sieges, a part of their army was dismissed for want of funds, and Tavannes was recalled through court intrigues. A moderate or peace party had arisen, at the head of which were the Montmorencies; the King, who was jealous of the success of his brother was inclined to listen to their counsels; nor was Catherine averse, as part of their plans embraced a marriage between the Duke of Anjou and Queen Elizabeth. Indeed, Catherine, whose only fixed idea was to promote the greatness of her sons, and especially of her favourite, Henry, seems not, though harbouring a mortal hatred of the Hugonots, to have had those settled schemes of policy which have been attributed to her by some writers, but rather to have suited herself to the course of events.¹⁴ She began to treat with the

¹³ " — si dolse del Conte, che non tico gli fosse venuto alle mani." Catena, *Vita di Pio V.* p. 85.
¹⁴ "Elle suivait les événements au

Hugonots shortly after the battle of Moncontour; but the latter were on their guard, and were as active as the royalists were supine. From the plains of Poitou, Coligni retired to the mountains of Languedoc, his army increasing as it went. Jeanne D'Albret displayed wonderful courage and constancy, inspired her son Henry with her own ardour, and encouraged the troops by her enthusiastic addresses. Coligni led his army by masterly marches over the wildest mountains from Rousillon into Burgundy, where he expected to be joined by the Count Palatine John Casimir and his forces, and designed then to march on Paris. In these alarming circumstances, even the Cardinal of Lorraine advised an accommodation. An armistice was agreed on, and, after considerable negotiation, was at length concluded the PEACE OF ST. GERMAIN (August 8th 1570). By this peace liberty of conscience and a general amnesty were secured to the Protestants, who were to recover all their confiscated possessions, privileges, and offices, and to be allowed the free and public exercise of their religion in all places where it had been established before August 1st; except in Paris and ten leagues round, and in places where the court resided and two leagues round. Four places of security, or cautionary towns, were assigned to them, namely, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité, on the Princes of Navarre and Condé and twenty nobles to be named by the King taking an oath that these towns should be restored at the expiration of two years.¹⁵

Nothing could be more unwelcome both to Pope Pius V. and King Philip II. than this peace, which seemed to break the unity of the Catholic power at the very moment when the Pope, encouraged by the success of the orthodox arms both in France and the Netherlands, was preparing to strike a terrible blow against England by dethroning Queen Elizabeth. But both Philip and Pius were at this time too much occupied with other affairs to enter into any serious quarrel with France. Philip, besides the revolt in the Netherlands narrated in another chapter, was now also engaged in quelling an insurrection of the Moriscos in Spain; while the attention of the Pope was absorbed by the movements of the Turkish fleets in the Mediterranean. Thus the followers of Mahomet, though without their wish or knowledge, were incidentally instrumental in saving the Protestants from destruction. But in order to lay these things before the reader it will be necessary to advert to some passages in the domestic history of Spain, as well

jour le jour, accommodant son indifférence morale, sa parole menteuse et sa dextérité à toute cause, qui semblait pré-

valoir." Michelet, *Guerres de Rel.* p. 362.

¹⁵ The Edict in La Popelinière, 2^{de} Partie, fol. 195.

as to resume somewhat higher the history of the Turkish power and wars; after which we shall narrate the great Catholic plot against the English Queen and nation.

The death of her daughter Elizabeth (October 1568) had excited for a time in the mind of Catherine de' Medici a suspicion of unfair play on the part of her son-in-law Philip II.¹⁶ and is said to have been one of the causes which disposed her to abandon the Spanish alliance in favour of that of England. The fate of Elizabeth has been so intimately connected by some writers, though apparently without adequate reason, with that of Philip's son Don Carlos, that we must here briefly advert to the still obscure and mysterious history of that unfortunate prince.

Don Carlos, the son of Philip II. and his first wife Mary of Portugal, was born July 8th 1545. His mother died a few days after giving him birth, and his education was therefore intrusted to his aunt, the regent Joanna. From childhood his constitution was wasted with bilious fevers; he early betrayed symptoms of a perverse and cruel disposition, though blended with traits of courage and generosity; and Charles V. who, when on his way to Yuste in 1556, had seen his grandson at Valladolid, had augured but ill of the future heir to his monarchy. Carlos was present at his father's marriage in 1560, with Elizabeth of France, who had once been destined for himself, and is said to have displayed his rage and jealousy at being deprived of her hand. At Alcalà de Henares, whither he had been subsequently sent for the benefit both of his mind and his health, he fractured his skull by a fall. A tale congenial with Spanish bigotry and superstition assures us that he was recovered by a miracle—the cerement of a departed saint wrapt around his head. Human means, however, were not neglected; he was trephined, but the brain seems to have been permanently injured; a result whether due to the saint or the surgeon we need not inquire. Certain it is that after this period his conduct was disgraceful, unruly and licentious; he insulted his tutors and all who were about him, and would sometimes threaten their lives. These symptoms may partly perhaps be ascribed to the treatment he experienced from his father, who allowed him no part either in civil or military affairs, and the energies of the young prince consequently found vent in a reckless, dissipated life. Tiepolo, who was Venetian ambassador at Madrid in 1567 gives a rather better account of Don Carlos than other authorities, and describes him as having won the affections of his companions. It

¹⁶ See her letter cited by Van Raumer, *Gesch. Europas*, B. i. S. 163.

is said that when the revolt broke out in the Netherlands Carlos sympathised with the insurgents. It is certain that he was annoyed at Alva's being appointed, instead of himself, to command the army sent against them, and when that general came to take leave Carlos attempted to stab him, and would have succeeded but for the superior strength of Alva. He is also said to have expressed a wish to take his father's life, and to have avowed it in the confessional. He then laid a plan to fly the kingdom, and when his uncle Don John communicated his design to Philip, he attempted to murder that prince. These are the acts of a madman, whom it was necessary to put under restraint. In January 1568 Philip himself, clothed in armour and attended by several nobles and twelve of his guard, entered at night the chamber of Don Carlos and seized him in his bed. From this time the unfortunate prince was placed in strict confinement; and the description of his mode of life in his imprisonment, his long fasts followed by an inordinate gluttony, the cooling of his bed with snow water, and other acts of a like kind, all show that he was deranged. That he was not hindered from such actions betrays however at least a culpable want of proper solicitude and attention, and renders probable the account of Llorente that Philip had not obscurely intimated to the physicians to take no care of his son's health, but to suffer him to proceed in his own way, and thus speedily bring his life to a termination. Such a method proved as effectual, and it may be added, was almost as criminal as a direct act of poisoning, with which by some writers Philip has been charged; but their accounts of the manner in which it was effected are so various as to deprive the story of all credit, and indeed it was treated by the Tuscan envoy as an idle rumour.¹⁷ It was the prevailing opinion at the time, that Don Carlos was put to death in pursuance of a sentence of the Inquisition; a judgment founded apparently on Philip's announcement to the Papal nuncio after the arrest of his son "that he had preferred the honour of God, the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and the welfare of his subjects and dominions, to his own flesh and blood, and in obedience to the Divine will had sacrificed his only son."¹⁸

Don Carlos died in July 1568, and, in less than three months after, the Queen of Spain, Elizabeth of France, expired from the effects of premature childbirth. The infant survived but a little while. The rumours of the day ascribed to Elizabeth and Don

¹⁷ See on this subject Prescott's *Hist. of Philip II.*, vol. ii. B. iv. ch. 6 and 7; cf. Letter cited by M. Charrière, *Négocia-*

tions du Levant, t. iii. p. 20 sq.

¹⁸ Letter of the Nuncio ap. Laderchii, *Annal. Eccles.* t. xxiii. p. 145.

Carlos a mutual and guilty passion, and attributed the death of both to the jealousy of Philip; nay, even the Prince of Orange in a grave state paper has not scrupled to charge the King of Spain with the murder of his wife, in order to make room for his marriage with Anne of Austria.¹⁹ But modern researches have dissipated this charge. Philip appears to have always treated Elizabeth with affection, while she herself was devoted to her husband, and absorbed by the fanaticism with which she was surrounded. It is one of the penalties incurred by a character like Philip's to become the constant object of calumny and suspicion.

The intolerance and bigotry of the Spanish King increased with his years, and only gathered new strength from opposition; and the unfortunate Moors of Spain were destined to expiate the symptoms of revolt displayed by Philip's subjects in the Netherlands. We have already related the cruelty with which Ferdinand the Catholic and Cardinal Ximenes pursued the Moors. The persecution was continued under Charles V., but with not quite so much violence; for many years a sort of toleration was observed; not only in some towns, as Albaycin, the Moorish quarter of Granada, but even whole districts, as in the Alpujarras and their valleys, the Moors were suffered to retain their names and dialect, their manners and costumes. Some of them had pretended to become converts to Christianity, and these were called *Marranos*, the rest retained the name of Moriscoes. In 1564 and 1565 Philip II., stimulated by his clergy, and especially by Don Pedro Guerrero Archbishop of Granada, and Cardinal Spinosa, Vice-Grand Inquisitor, who, from his influence over Philip, was long called the "King of Spain,"²⁰ issued some severe ordinances against the Moorish customs; and these were followed up in the subsequent year by another of such absurd atrocity, that even Philip himself hesitated for a while to adopt it, till the priests forced it upon him by alarming his conscience.²¹ By a statute of November 17th 1566, the Moriscoes were forbidden, on pain of death, to retain their ancient customs, and even to speak their mother-tongue; their music, their dances, and their baths were suppressed; they were not to fasten their doors; their wives were to throw aside their veils; their very names were to be changed for Castilian; in short, every distinctive trace was abolished, and they were to be entirely extirpated as a nation.

¹⁹ "Celuy donc qui a épousé sa nièce ose me reprocher mon mariage! Celuy, lequel pour parvenir à un tel mariage a cruellement meurtri sa femme, fille et sœur des Rois de France!" *Apolo- gique of the Prince of Orange in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 389. Cf. Watson, Hist. of*

Philip II. vol. iii. App. p. 364.

²⁰ Strada, *Bell. Belg.* lib. vi. t. i. p. 203.

²¹ See especially the *Letter of Otadin, professor of theology at Alcalá to Philip, in Circourt, Hist. des Maures d'Espagne, t. ii. p. 278 sq.*

The Marquis of Mondejar, Viceroy of Granada, hesitated to publish this cruel and impolitic law; but Don Pedro de Deza, president of the Chancery of Granada, caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, January 1st 1567. Astonished and afflicted, the Moors hastened to lay their petitions and remonstrances at the feet of Philip. They might as well have spoken to the winds. Despair then drove them secretly to organise a revolt.²² Applications were made to the Sultan and to the Moors of Algiers for assistance; money was secretly raised, and great quantities of arms and provisions were collected in a large cave, or grotto, in the mountains.

Meanwhile the severity of the law was enhanced by the regulations of Don Pedro de Deza. Spaniards were forbidden to hold any intercourse with a Mahometan, and by an edict published in January 1568 the Moriscoes were directed to send in the names of all their children from the age of three to fifteen years, in order that they might be sent to Spanish schools. In April the Moorish inhabitants of the Alpujarras flew to arms; and in the following September, in conjunction with their fellow-countrymen at Albaycin, they elected for their chief Don Fernando Muley of Valor and Cordova, a young man twenty-two years of age, descended from the Ommiyahd chalihs, to whom they gave the title of Muley Abdallah Nahmed ben Ommiyah, King of Granada and Andalusia.²³ In the winter the Moors made an unsuccessful attempt upon Granada, while the Spanish infantry penetrated into the Alpujarras and perpetrated the most inhuman cruelties. An internecine war ensued which lasted two years. Muley having made himself hated and despised by his tyranny and sensuality, the Moriscoes formed a conspiracy against him. He was betrayed in his sleep and murdered by the treachery of his beautiful wife, Zahara; and the conspirators then chose Ben Abu for their leader (October 1569). Philip had appointed his brother, Don John of Austria, a natural son of Charles V., to conduct the war against the Moors; but it was not till towards the close of 1569 that the mistrustful Philip could prevail upon himself to grant his relative full power. Don John then raised the ban and arriere ban of Andalusia, and at the beginning of 1570 brought an army of 24,000 men into the field. Galera was taken after a long siege (February 10th), and Don John disgraced himself by ordering an inhuman massacre. Ben Abu was murdered about the same time, and the Moors lost all hope of a successful resistance. The war became one of extermination;

²² This revolt has been described at great length by Prescott, *Hist. of Philip II.* vol. iii. B. v. ch. i.—viii. Cf. Circourt,

t. ii. ch. 13.

²³ Andalusia, in the Moorish dialect, signified the whole of Spain.

village after village, town after town fell into the hands of the Spaniards and were destroyed; and in 1571 the Moors were completely subdued. Towards the end of that year those who survived were transplanted into Estremadura and other Spanish provinces; though considerable numbers succeeded in escaping to Fez and Algiers.

At this period the arms of Philip II. were also engaged against the Turks, whose fleets had long infested the Mediterranean. During the reign of Henry II. of France, and at the instigation of that monarch, the Sultan sent every year large armaments into the Mediterranean, whose operations however were chiefly confined to supporting the Mahometan pirates on the coast of Africa. In the autumn of 1559 Philip fitted out a fleet against the chief of their pirates, the corsair Draghut. The Pope (then Paul IV.), the Genoese, the Florentines and the Knights of Malta contributed to the expedition, and 200 vessels under the command of Doria, and having on board 14,000 troops, attacked and took the island of Jerbah in March 1560; but it was recovered in the following July by the Turkish admiral Piali, and no permanent success was achieved by this large expedition. The wars between the Spaniards and the Moors on the African coast continued some years; they present an unvarying web of barbarity and slaughter, and we shall not pursue them in detail. In 1564 the Spaniards gained considerable advantages. In the following year, Sultan Solymán resolved to direct all his forces against the Knights Hospitallers of St. John at Malta, who were the chief support of the Christian power in the Mediterranean. We have already mentioned how Charles V. gave them that island after they had been driven from Rhodes and were wandering in Italy; a politic, as well as a charitable act, since by the donation of this barren rock, which yielded no revenue, for the feudal tenure of an annual falcon, Charles secured gratuitously an excellent bulwark for his dominions. The Knights greatly improved the island not only by fortifying it, but also, so far as the soil permitted, by its cultivation.

The siege of Malta by the Turks is one of the most memorable feats of arms of the sixteenth century, though its details are interesting only in a military point of view.²⁴ The immediate occasion of it was the capture by the Knights of a Turkish galleon belonging to the chief eunuch of the Sultan's harem. The Grand-Master of the order at that time was Jean Parisot de la Valette, who, when he heard of Solymán's design, made the most vigorous preparations

²⁴ Some new particulars respecting the siege of Malta will be found in the *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, t. ii. p. 804 sqq.

for defence. The useless part of the population was shipped off to Sicily, the fortifications were strengthened and foreign auxiliaries obtained; and in order to breed emulation, the different posts were assigned to the Knights according to their language, or nation. The whole body of the Knights was 700 in number, with a force under them of about 9000 men. The Turkish fleet consisted of 180 galleys commanded by Piali, with a large number of transports having about 30,000 troops on board, including 6000 Janissaries, under the veteran Mustapha. This armament, which appeared off Malta May 18th 1565, was afterwards reinforced by Draghut from Tripoli with thirteen galleys.

The first attack of the Turks was directed against the castle of St. Elmo, commanding the entrance of the harbour. After a bombardment of several weeks, and the repulse of two general assaults, St. Elmo, reduced almost to a heap of ruins, was captured by the Turks, June 23rd. During the siege Draghut received a mortal wound. There still remained to be taken the Borgo, and the castles of St. Angelo and St. Michael. Space will not allow us to detail the many desperate struggles which took place for the possession of the last-named castle, which was defended by La Valette in person; suffice it to say that after a siege of more than two months, the Turks abandoned the attempt in despair, and set sail for Constantinople (September 8th). After their departure the Sicilian viceroy Don Garcia, who was strongly suspected of cowardice, arrived with reinforcements. He subsequently received permission to retire from his government. The merit of the defence belongs entirely to La Valette, who received compliments and presents from every sovereign in Europe, and among them a cardinal's hat from the Pope, which however he declined. He subsequently founded a new capital of Malta, which obtained from him the name of Valetta.

Solyman was furious at this defeat, the most humiliating that he had sustained during his long reign. The capture by Piali in the following year (1566) of the Isle of Chios, the last possession of the Genoese in the Levant, which however offered no resistance, afforded the Sultan some consolation. Chios was then ruled by the family of Justiniani, the last of the Frankish lords who maintained a semblance of independence in these waters, though indeed they paid an annual tribute to the Porte. But before Piali could lay the spoils at his master's feet, Solyman had expired.

The Sultan had been impelled to wipe out the disgrace of Malta by some glorious achievement, and the affairs of Hungary offered the occasion. The truce of eight years concluded between

Ferdinand I. and the Porte²⁵ had not yet expired; and though that Emperor had left the stipulated tribute unpaid, yet Maximilian II. after his accession had paid the arrears in February 1565, as well as the pension to the Grand Vizier. The truce was accordingly to have been renewed; but before a fresh treaty could be prepared, Solyman, nettled by his reverses, had determined on a war in Hungary, in support of the cause of his "slave" John Sigismund. The war which Maximilian had waged with that prince had been hitherto successful; he had recovered the places captured by John Sigismund, and had also conquered Tokay, Kóvar, Erdad and Bathor. But he had now to contend with a more redoubtable enemy, and he used all his exertions to collect an adequate force. The Germans unanimously voted him 48,000 men at the Diet of Augsburg, and a considerably larger body was raised in his other dominions. Of this force, one division under Schwendi was cantoned on the Theiss, to hold Transylvania in check, another under the Archduke Charles secured Illyria, while Maximilian himself, with the main body of 80,000 men, encamped near Raab.

Solyman the Magnificent left Constantinople at the head of a vast army with all the pomp of war, May 1st 1566. At Semlin he received John Sigismund with royal honours (June 29th), and declared that he had come to vindicate his cause against the House of Austria. It was Solyman's intention to ascend the course of the Danube, had not a feat of arms of Count Zriny diverted his attention to the little town of Sigeth, the family seat of that nobleman, near Fünfkirchen. In a sally which he made, Zriny had defeated and killed near Siklos a favourite Pasha of the Sultan's, and Solyman to punish him directed against Sigeth his army of 100,000 men and 300 guns. But this siege afforded another instance of the unskilfulness of the Turks in such operations. Zriny made a valorous defence for nearly five weeks, when the place was at last captured; and he himself beheaded on one of his own cannons. But the enterprise cost the Turks 20,000 men, and among them the great Sultan himself, who died September 4th 1566, from the consequences of fatigue and the unwholesome air of the marshes.

Solyman had long been in bad health. Besides the gout, he was subject to attacks of melancholy, and lay sometimes totally unconscious in a swoon or trance.²⁶ Navagero describes him²⁷ at the age of sixty-two as much above the middle height, but meagre

²⁵ See above, p. 168.

²⁶ See the *Despatches* of De Petremol, in the *Négociations*, &c., t. ii. p. 692.

²⁷ *Relazione* of Navagero, in Alberi's

collection, Ser. iii. t. i. p. 72. Cf. Busbequii *Epist.* p. 105. (Ed. Elzev. 1633.)

and of a yellow complexion ; yet there was a wonderful grandeur in his look, accompanied with a gentleness that won all hearts. He was a rigid Mussulman, and insisted on a precise observance of all the precepts of the Koran. He was very temperate in his diet, ate but little meat, and amused himself chiefly with hunting. In his moments of depression, he was accustomed to humble himself before God, and composed spiritual hymns in which he compared his nothingness with the power of the Almighty. He was very scrupulous in keeping his word, he loved justice, and never knowingly did wrong to anybody. In short, allowance being made for his Turkish education and prejudices, he may be very advantageously compared with several Christian princes his contemporaries.

Solyman's infatuated passion for a Russian concubine, the beautiful Roxolana, was a source of political misfortune as well as domestic misery. Assisted by the Grand Vizier Rustan, Roxolana induced the doating Sultan, to whom she had borne several children, to give her his hand in lawful wedlock²⁸, and thus to infringe a maxim of state policy which had been preserved inviolate since the time of Bajazet I. She next, by artful calumnies, turned the heart of Solyman against his eldest son Mustapha, the child of his Sultana, whose qualities resembled his own, and who was the darling of the Turkish nation. Persuaded that Mustapha was intriguing with the Persian Sophi, Solyman hastened to Eregli in Caramania, summoned Mustapha from Diarbekir, and caused him to be strangled in his own presence (1553). Mustapha's son Mahomet, was also put to death, and Selim, the weak and profligate son of Roxolana, was appointed Solyman's successor. But from this hour the Sultan's happiness had fled. He became suspicious and dejected, and no longer confided even in his Janissaries, who loved him as a father. In an empire where everything depended on the personal qualities of the sovereign, the choice of Selim must be regarded as having prepared the way for the decline of the Ottoman power.

The vizier Mohammed Sokolli, kept Solyman's death a secret till Selim II. arrived in the camp before Sigeth. The unruly Janissaries felt little respect for the new Sultan, who was known only by his

²⁸ The account adopted by Ranke (*Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 35), that Roxolana owed her freedom and marriage to the building of a mosque, and the sentence of the Mufti, that she could not thereafter remain the concubine of the Sultan, seems to rest on no sure founda-

tion:—The more probable account seems to be that the Sultana, the mother of Mustapha, stung with jealousy, made a personal attack on Roxolana, whereby she incurred the anger of Solyman, and was sent away in disgrace. See Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 26 Anm.

addiction to wine and women; and they compelled him very considerably to augment the donative which it was now become customary to distribute at the commencement of every new reign. Under these circumstances, the forces of Maximilian gained some advantages over the Turks, and in May 1567 he succeeded in concluding with the Porte another truce of eight years, on the basis that all parties, including John Sigismund, should hold what they actually possessed: an arrangement by which Maximilian lost only Sigeth and Giula, while he acquired a territory of more than 200 miles in extent, from Transylvania to beyond the Theiss. The tribute of 30,000 ducats to the Porte was to be continued; but the Imperial ambassadors at Constantinople were to be on the footing of those of the most favoured nations, and no longer subject to insult and imprisonment.

These conditions, so favourable to the Emperor, are no doubt partly attributable to the French influence in the divan having at this period sunk to a very low ebb. But Selim had other reasons for making and observing this treaty, as well as for the peace which he concluded with the King of Poland. His attention was now directed towards the south, and to the conquest of Cyprus and Arabia, by which his reign is chiefly distinguished.

Cyprus was at this time held by the Venetians, who, during the last thirty years, had fallen very much in power as well as in the estimation of the Porte. In the three wars which they had waged with the Turks since the fall of Constantinople, they had always come off with the loss of part of their possessions, and were also reduced to the condition of tributaries; though, on the other hand, they had acquired Cephalonia and Cyprus, which last was an island of great importance. During the eighty years, however, which they had held it, they had treated the inhabitants with such harshness and oppression that the Cyprians began to regard the very Turks themselves in the light of deliverers.

The story runs that the wine-bibbing Selim was incited to undertake the Cyprian war by his favourite Don Miquez, a Portuguese Jew, whom, after his accession, he had made Duke of Naxos and of the twelve principal Cyclades, and who represented to the Sultan in glowing colours the excellence of the wine of Cyprus. However this may be, Selim, it is certain, assigned no reason for the war but his will.²⁹ On the 1st of July 1570 a Turkish fleet of 360 sail,

²⁹ The principal authorities for the war of Cyprus are Paruta, *Hist. Veneta*, P. ii.; Folietta, *De sacro Fœdere in Selimum*, libri iv. (Genoa 1587); Contarini,

Hist. delle cose successe dal principio della guerra mossa da Selim ai Veneziani, (Venez. 1572). The earlier history of Cyprus is fully related by L. de Masla-

under the command of Piali, appeared off the southernmost point of the island, and landed, without opposition, an army of 50,000 men under Mustapha Pasha. The Venetians having only 3000 soldiers in Cyprus, the defence of the open country was at once abandoned, and all their efforts restricted to defend the towns of Nicosia and Famagosta. Nicosia was taken September 9th, and great part of the inhabitants massacred. Famagosta, defended by Marc Antonio Bragadino, did not capitulate till August 1st 1571. The Turks retired in the winter, during which the town was relieved by the Venetians, who, however, did not strike a single blow in its defence. In spite of the capitulation, Mustapha had the barbarity to cause the valiant Bragadino to be flayed alive and quartered. During this war the Turks also inflicted great damage and disgrace on the Venetians on the coasts of Albania and Dalmatia.

But these proceedings roused the anger of the fiery and enthusiastic Pius V., one of whose darling projects had always been to curb the power and insolence of the Turk. By his exertions an alliance against the Sultan, called the HOLY LEAGUE, was at length concluded between himself, Philip II., the Venetians, and one or two other minor powers. The French offered nothing but their good offices. Before the end of September 1571, the allied fleet, consisting of 77 Spanish, 6 Maltese and 3 Savoyard galleys under Don John of Austria, 12 Papal galleys under Marc Antonio Colonna, and 108 Venetian galleys and 6 galeazzi under Sebastian Veniero, Captain-general at sea, assembled at Messina. The whole armament was under the directions of Don John as commander-in-chief.

At this time Don John was about twenty-four years of age, having probably been born in 1547. He was the son of Charles V. and a German girl, one Barbara Blomberg, of Ratisbon, and probably of lowly condition. Don John is described as having been of great personal beauty, as well as of singularly fascinating manners. His well proportioned and graceful figure was rather above the middle height. His features were regular, his blue eyes full of vivacity and fire, his long light hair flowed back in natural ringlets from his temples, and his upper lip was covered with a thick moustache. He was not only skilled in all the exercises of an accomplished cavalier, but had also shown himself capable of severer studies.³⁰ Such was the commander whom we shall again have occasion to meet in another important situation.

trie, *Hist. de l'Île de Chypre sous le Règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan* (Paris, 1853).

³⁰ Lippomano, *Relatione di Napoli*. MS. ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 168, f.

The Osmanli fleet of 300 sail, under the Capudan-pasha Musinsade Ali, lay in the Gulf of Lepanto. The Christians resolved to attack it; the Turks came out to meet them; and on the 7th October 1571 was fought off the isles of Kurzolari, the memorable battle of Lepanto. The fight lasted till late in the evening. The Turks lost 224 ships and 30,000 men; the Christians only 15 galleys and 8000 men. In this battle, which, though really won by the power of Venice, created the reputation of Don John of Austria, were also present two men who, like him, were afterwards to be governors of the Netherlands: Don Louis de Requesens, Grand Commander of Castile, and Alexander Farnese, the nephew of Don John. A fourth name may be added, subsequently immortalised in literature— that of Cervantes, the author of “Don Quixote,” who was wounded in this battle.³¹

The allies did not follow up their victory, from disputes, apparently, about the division of the spoil. The Morea and Negropont lay at their mercy; but each party retired home. The Turks on the other hand repaired their losses with incredible energy; the allies became further disunited through the death of Pius V.; and in the summer of 1572 an Osmanli fleet of 250 sail again swept the Greek waters. Under these circumstances, the Venetians, assisted by the French ambassador at Constantinople, opened negotiations with the Porte for a peace, which was finally concluded March 7th 1573. Venice surrendered Cyprus to the Turks, and consented to pay a double tribute for Zante, the only return obtained by the Venetians for these sacrifices being the continuance of their commercial privileges in the Levant.

This peace was the last important act of the reign of Sultan Selim II.; who died from the consequences of a debauch December 12th 1574. Towards the end of his reign began the first disputes of the Porte with Russia, which were afterwards destined to assume so colossal an importance; and hence this period may be regarded as forming a sort of epoch in the history of the Turks in Europe.

From the regions of eastern Europe and the struggles between Christian and Mahometan we turn to the extreme west and contests no less fierce among the Christians themselves, stimulated, too, by the same restless Pontiff, Pope Pius V. But while his efforts against the Turks were a European benefit, his policy as

³¹ Von Hammer has given a list of authorities for the battle of Lepanto, B. iii. S. 787. To these may now be added an account by Romegas, one of the commanders of the Maltese contingent. Ex-

trait d'une lettre escripte par le Com-mandeur Romegas à Rome de la grande bataille des deux armées Chrestienne et Turquesque donnée le vii. jour d'Oct. 1571; in the Négociations, &c. t. iii. p. 185 sqq.

head of the Christian Church produced only privy conspiracies, civil wars, assassination and bloodshed. 11

We pass over the purely domestic events of Queen Elizabeth's reign as known to the English reader, reminding him only that at the period at which we are now arrived her formidable rival, the Queen of Scots, was in her custody. In the eyes of the Pope and of the Catholic powers, Mary Stuart was the incarnation of the orthodox principle as regarded the affairs of England, and her imprisonment was looked upon with rage and mortification. Of all these powers, however, Pius V. was the most ardent against the English Queen: but the time was not yet ripe for an open enterprise against her; for the hands of Philip II., the only monarch who could be expected to undertake it, were at this time sufficiently filled with the affairs of his own rebellious subjects in the Netherlands. There remained the course of exciting against Elizabeth domestic treason and rebellion, and into this Pius threw himself with ardour.

The first plot, in 1569, of the Duke of Norfolk, a Protestant, to marry the Queen of Scots, does not appear to have included any traitorous design against Queen Elizabeth, whose sanction to the marriage was to have been sought; though the conduct of Norfolk in procuring the support of so many English nobles, including several Catholics, as well as that of the Kings of France and Spain, seems to have been designed to overawe Elizabeth and compel her consent. But the Catholic nobles who had entered into the scheme, and especially their leaders, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, had formed far more extensive and criminal designs. The aims of this party were to liberate the Queen of Scots by force, to change the established religion, and depose Elizabeth. Their schemes were actively promoted by Pius V., through Dr. Nicholas Morton, who had visited the northern counties of England in the spring of 1569 in the character of apostolical penitentiary.³² Espés, the Spanish ambassador, was also privy to the conspiracy; but though enthusiastic in Mary's cause, he dreaded to incur the responsibility of promoting it, and referred the conspirators to the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands. After the discovery of Norfolk's scheme, and the imprisonment of that nobleman, Northumberland and Westmorland, finding themselves also the objects of suspicion, resolved to fly to arms; and they wrote to Pius V., stating their devotion to the See of Rome,

³² His functions seem to have been to impart to English Catholic priests, from the Pope, the faculties which they could

no longer receive from the bishops. Lingard, vol. iv. p. 205, note.

soliciting pecuniary aid, and the employment of the Pope's influence in procuring military assistance from the Duke of Alva. But the insurrection was premature. Alva had not time to succour the rebels, even had he been so inclined; at the approach of the Queen's forces the insurgents dispersed themselves without striking a blow, and the two traitor earls escaped into Scotland.

Exasperated at the failure of this conspiracy, Pius V. resolved to hurl against Elizabeth a bolt which he had been long preparing. On the 25th of February 1570 he signed and ordered to be published a Bull excommunicating the Queen of England, and deposing her from her throne.³³ Alva sent some copies of the Bull to the Spanish ambassador at London, and one Felton, a gentleman of substance, had the audacity to affix one to the Bishop of London's palace; for which act he paid the penalty of his life. Rome still claimed the use of such weapons, though now nearly obsolete, as her legitimate prerogative; but Pius meditated also to employ against Elizabeth the surer but hardly canonical method of assassination.³⁴

The Bull proved of no effect—a mere *brutum fulmen*. Elizabeth, however, was naturally annoyed at it, and requested, through the Emperor Maximilian, its revocation; but Pius refused.³⁵ A fresh and more extensive conspiracy was concocted in 1571, in which the chief agents were the Bishop of Ross, the Spanish ambassador, and one Ridolfi, a Florentine merchant, whose extensive commerce served to screen his movements from suspicion. The scheme of the marriage between Mary and Norfolk was renewed, and the Duke, who, though dismissed from the Tower, was still in custody in his own house, found means to communicate with the Queen of Scots, through one of his gentlemen and the Bishop of Ross. Ridolfi, being furnished with credentials from Mary and Norfolk, proceeded into the Netherlands, and endeavoured to persuade Alva to send an army of 8000 men and

³³ The Bull is in Laderchii, *Ann. Eccl.* t. xxiv. p. 218, and in Camden, *Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 245 (ed. 1625). Pius also sent the defeated rebels 12,000 crowns. Gabutius, *Vita Pii V.* p. 106 (ed. 1605).

³⁴ Of this we are assured by his biographer Catena:—"Pensando Pio di soccorrere la reina di Scotia, di restituir la religione in Inghilterra, e di levare a un tempo la sentina di tanti mali (Elizabetha)," p. 113. The meaning of *levare* here is illustrated by the Latin of another biographer, Gabutius: "Et illam malorum omnium sentinam seu, ut appellabat ipse, flagitiorum servam, de medio

tollere." *Vita Pii V.* c. ix. p. 102.

³⁵ Dr. Lingard (vol. vi. p. 224) seems to regard as a logical triumph the dilemma put by Pius in reply: Did Elizabeth deem the sentence valid or invalid? If valid, why did she not seek a reconciliation with the Holy See? If invalid, why did she wish it to be revoked? A good specimen of papist sophistry; the real grievance being, that though Elizabeth herself regarded it as invalid, many of her subjects, besides foreign enemies, were of a contrary opinion, and resolved to act accordingly.

25 guns, with a store of extra muskets and ammunition, either to Harwich or Portsmouth, where Norfolk would join with a force of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse. Alva, however, who was at that time advocating a marriage between Queen Mary and Don John of Austria, conceived a contempt for Ridolfi as a weak prating creature, and dismissed him with an evasive answer, in which the affair was referred to the King of Spain. Ridolfi next went to Rome, and had an interview with Pius V. The Pope entered warmly into the scheme, furnished Ridolfi with money and letters of recommendation to Philip II., urging that monarch to embark in the plot, and stating that he himself was ready to forward it by selling the plate of the churches, and even his own garments. The plan was to seize and murder Elizabeth when proceeding to one of her residences in the country, in the month of August or September. Philip did not need much persuasion. The affair was to his taste. It involved a conspiracy and a murder, and being recommended by the Pope, he adopted it as the cause of God. He instructed Alva secretly to pursue the scheme, subject, however, to the Duke's final judgment; and appointed Vitelli, a distinguished Spanish officer, who had been employed in England in a diplomatic capacity, to command the expedition.³⁶ Alva proposed to the Spanish Court his own son instead of Vitelli, but this was refused.³⁷ Queen Elizabeth, however, received information of the plot from some unknown personage abroad³⁸; Norfolk's agents being arrested and tortured, confessed their master's guilt; the Duke was again committed to the Tower, and a closer guard was placed over the Queen of Scots. The trial, condemnation, and execution of Norfolk, we pass over as belonging to English history. Philip II. still clung to the scheme, even after it was exploded, and in December 1571 Alva sent two Italian assassins into England to take, by poison or otherwise, the life of Queen Elizabeth, besides planning other attempts of the like kind.³⁹

That the French Government was concerned in Norfolk's plot, even so late as September 1571, when La Mothe Fénélon supplied him with money, appears from Fénélon's correspondence, as well as from the confession of Barker, one of the agents in the plot.⁴⁰

³⁶ Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.*, No. 1038, t. ii. p. 185.

³⁷ Catena, *Vita di Pio V.* p. 117.

³⁸ Turner (*Mod. Hist. of Eng.* vol. iv. p. 231), conjectures from a passage in Melvil's *Memoirs* that the information came from Catherine de' Medici, who, besides her hatred of Mary, had a politi-

cal interest in preventing the union of the crowns of England and Scotland.

³⁹ *Corresp. de Charles LX. et Mondoucet*, in the *Comm. Roy. de l'Hist.* (Belgium) ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii.

⁴⁰ See Fénélon. *Corresp. Diplom.* t. iv. p. 226; Murdin, p. 91.

The French share in the scheme was, however, totally unconnected with Spain, and does not appear to have gone further than the liberation of the Queen of Scots by means of her marriage with Norfolk; in order that the ancient relations between France and Scotland might be maintained, by the restoration of Mary to the throne of the latter country.⁴¹ The French Court was indeed at this time negotiating a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, while Philip II. was doing all in his power to prevent it. Although engaged in secret plots against the English Queen, Philip sought, in his public negotiations, to gain her favour and alliance; he even consented that she should retain the money consigned to the Duke of Alva, which she had impounded, and to make compensation for the English merchandise which had been seized at Antwerp in retaliation⁴²; and he endeavoured to influence her mind against the match, through her own courtiers and ladies, to whom he gave presents and gratuities.⁴³ But his surest card was the Duke of Anjou himself. That prince was by no means desirous of the match. It had been chiefly concocted by Charles IX., who, jealous of the military reputation acquired by his brother in the civil wars, would have been glad to get rid of him at any price. When the marriage treaty had been nearly arranged, it ultimately went off on Anjou's insisting on a clause, or at least a written promise, that he should be secured in the free and public exercise of his religion.⁴⁴

Nevertheless the alliance of England was still courted by France. It was necessary to the altered policy adopted, in appearance at least, by the French Court, since the peace of St. Germain, and which we must now proceed to explain.

After that peace, La Rochelle, one of the four cautionary towns granted to the Hugonots, had become their head-quarters and, as it were, metropolis. A mutual distrust continued to prevail between the parties, and in spite of the peace, massacres of the Protestants were perpetrated early in 1571 by the Catholic population at Rouen, Orange and Dieppe. Nevertheless, much negotiation took place between the Court and the Hugonots at La Rochelle, where the leaders of that party were gathered round Jeanne d'Albret and the Admiral Coligni. Charles IX. as well as his mother seems at this time to have regarded the Spanish Court with suspicion and dislike. Walsingham, the English ambassador,

⁴¹ See Turner, *Mod. Hist. of Eng.* vol. v. p. 256.

⁴² See the next chapter.

⁴³ Fénelon, t. iv. p. 220.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 258, t. vii. p. 252.

writes, June 25th 1571: "There rise daily new causes of unkindness between the two princes (Charles and Philip). Spain seemeth to set the King here very light, which engendereth in him a great desire of revenge." And in August he says: "The Queen-mother is very much incensed against Spain, being thoroughly persuaded that her daughter was poisoned."⁴⁵ Hence the French Court was for a while disposed to conciliate the Hugonots; and, except in the matter of the seals, favoured all their views. The Protestants naturally wished to see L'Hôpital restored to the chancellorship, which, however, Catherine bestowed on René Birago, an Italian, and creature of her own. On the other hand the Hugonots were authorised to hold a synod of the reformed churches at La Rochelle, to preside over which Beza came from Geneva; Charles IX. backed the application of Coligni and Louis of Nassau to the Duke of Florence for a secret loan in support of the insurrection in the Netherlands; and the hand of Queen Elizabeth, a heretic sovereign, excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, was, as we have said, solicited for Henry of Anjou. The Court also seemed to show its sincerity by entertaining the project of a marriage between young Henry of Navarre, the head of the Hugonot party, and the King's third sister, Margaret; which indeed had been contemplated from their infancy, before the civil wars had yet broken out. Both were now about eighteen years of age, and Margaret had already begun her career of gallantry. Her heart was engaged to the young Duke Henry of Guise, to whom it is said she had even surrendered her person. In 1570, a marriage between them had nearly been arranged; but the King, as well as his mother and Anjou, denounced the audacious pretensions of Guise; and Charles ordered his brother, the bastard of Angoulême, grand-prior of the Order of Malta in France, to make away with him while on a hunting party. The bastard failed from cowardice, not conscience, and Guise eluded the impending danger by marrying Catherine of Clèves.

In July 1571 Count Louis of Nassau, who was at La Rochelle with the Protestants, with whom he had fought after his retirement from the Netherlands⁴⁶, repaired to Paris, and had a secret interview with Charles IX. and his mother, and the Montmorencis, in which he held out to the King the possession of Flanders, and the inheritance of the House of Burgundy, as the price of his assistance against Spain. Charles was struck with the tempting offer, but replied that it was too late to do anything this year against Spain.

⁴⁵ Walsingham's *Letters*, in Digges, *Compl. Ambassador*, p. 111, 122.

⁴⁶ See the next chapter.

These negotiations transpired. Alava, the Spanish ambassador at the Court of France, threatened war; Catherine protested to Philip II. that Alava's information was false; and the Spanish King, who wished to avoid a rupture with France, superseded him.⁴⁷ The French Court then made advances to Coligni, who, always slow to form resolutions, long distrusted their professions. Jeanne d'Albret was not disinclined to the proposed marriage for her son; but with the view that immediately after its consummation he and his wife should retire from court. Jeanne trembled for Henry's morals as well as his religion. At that period the Court of France was indeed a sink of iniquity and corruption, nothing less than an open brothel, the scene of murder, fornication, adultery, and incest.⁴⁸ Charles IX. and his brother Anjou, of opposite tempers, distinguished themselves by opposite crimes. Impetuous, and to appearance frank, though capable of the deepest dissimulation, Charles IX. possessed some brilliant qualities. He was expert in all the exercises of a cavalier, understood music, had a good voice, spoke well, and was even a tolerable poet. In November 1570 he had espoused, at Mézières, Elizabeth, the second daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and, considering the manners of the day, appears to have been tolerably faithful to his nuptial vow. He had little sense of religion, and swore and blasphemed like a trooper. He was fond of violent bodily exercises, of which his constitution seemed to stand in need, and his chief recreation was hunting, which he followed with a sort of fury, killing numberless horses and dogs. When engaged in this sport he displayed a frantic love of blood; he would tear out with his own hand the viscera of the wounded animals, and delighted in cutting the throats of the asses and mules which he met with on his road.⁴⁹ Henry of Anjou, on the other hand, though cruel, was effeminate, and shunned all active sports. Sunk at once in the basest superstition, and the most unbridled licentiousness, he is said to have entertained an incestuous passion for his sister Margaret.⁵⁰ The lawless disorder in which the court was plunged at this period may be illustrated by a single anecdote. In the spring of 1572, the King and the Duke of Anjou, brotherly only in their orgies,

⁴⁷ Beza, *Réville Matin*, p. 33.

⁴⁸ See Jeanne d'Albret's letter to her son from Blois, March 8th 1572, where among other things she says: "Ce ne sont pas les hommes ici qui prient les femmes, ce sont les femmes qui prient les hommes; si vous y étiez vous n'en échapperiez jamais sans une grande grâce de

Dieu." Le Laboureur, *Add. à Castelnau*, t. i. p. 860 (ed. Brussels, 1731).

⁴⁹ Papyre Masson, *Vie de Charles IX.* in the *Archives Curieuses*, t. viii. p. 342 (1^{re} Sér.).

⁵⁰ Gomberville, *Mém. de Nevers*, t. i. p. 90.

having dined with Nantouillet, the *Prévôt des Marchands*⁵¹; at Paris, directed their people when the banquet was finished, to pack up and carry away all the silver plate, and other property to the value of 50,000 francs; and when Nantouillet took some steps in the Parliament of Paris to recover his property, Charles told the President of that assembly that he had better be quiet, as the robbery had been committed by persons above the law!⁵²

The marriage treaty between Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois was finally arranged in April 1572. Jeanne d'Albret, however, was not destined to see its consummation. She expired at Paris on the 10th of the following June, after a short illness of five days. Some grave historians have attributed her death to poison, but it appears to have been occasioned by disease of the lungs. Her son Henry now assumed the title of King of Navarre.

Coligni had been induced to come to court in September 1571, while Jeanne d'Albret had still thought it prudent to stop at La Rochelle, and negotiate the marriage from within its walls. Many changes had now taken place in the domestic life of Coligni. While at La Rochelle, being a widower, he had contracted a new marriage with Jacqueline d'Entremont, a great Savoyard lady, and heiress; who, fascinated with the Admiral's character, and determined, as she said, to be the Marcia of France, had proceeded to La Rochelle with the design of espousing him, in spite of the threats of the Duke of Savoy to confiscate all her estates. The Châtillons seem to have possessed an aptitude to inspire such passions. Dandelot had married a lady of Lorraine under very similar circumstances, and had carried her off from Nanci under the very eyes of the Guises, who, however, seized upon her estates. But the gallant colonel of the French infantry had died in 1569; and the Admiral's other brother, the ex-Cardinal Odet had expired in England this very year, beloved and esteemed by all for his amiable qualities and his love of learning. Both were thought to have been poisoned. These circumstances were not calculated to inspire the Admiral with confidence; but at length at the instance of Marshal Montmorenci, and having received the royal permission to surround himself with a guard of fifty gentlemen, Coligni accepted the invitation of the court, in the hope of frustrating the faction of the Guises, and bringing about a war with their patron and protector, the King of Spain.

⁵¹ Answering to the office of *Préfet* at present.

⁵² L'Estoile, p. 28. While detained at court, Henry of Navarre, it must be

owned, sometimes participated in these shameful disorders. He was regarded by his brothers-in-law as a *bon diable*, and altogether insignificant.

The Admiral's reception at Blois was of the warmest kind. Charles IX. presented him with 100,000 livres as a wedding gift, interceded with Emmanuel Philibert in favour of his wife, granted him for a year the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical revenues of his brother, the deceased Cardinal, and loaded with favours his son-in-law Teligni, and the gentlemen of his suite: but, more than by all these liberalities, Coligni was attached by the confidence apparently reposed in him by the King. From this time till his death, the Admiral seemed to be the principal counsellor of the French crown, and in this capacity he developed the views of a true patriot and enlightened statesman, by endeavouring to unite the arms prepared for civil war in striking a blow against the power of Spain, by organising the French marine, and founding a colonial empire. Schemes of colonisation, which involved an attack upon the Spanish possessions, had long occupied the mind of Coligni. In 1555 he had endeavoured to found a colony in Brazil; in 1562 and 1564 he had sent expeditions to Florida, a region hitherto unoccupied by Europeans; and only recently, while at Rochelle, he had despatched a small squadron to reconnoitre the Antilles, and to concert the means of an attack upon those islands. But, of all his views, those which regarded the Netherlands were the most important and the most feasible: namely, to extend the frontiers of France to the mouth of the Scheldt, by reuniting the Walloon and Flemish provinces to the crown, and to make Brabant, Holland, and Zealand independent of the Spanish King under the protectorate of the Nassaus. Never before had France had so favourable an opportunity for accomplishing that darling project as in the spring of 1572, after Briel had been seized by the insurgents, and the towns of Zealand and Holland were revolting, one after another, from the Spanish crown.⁵³

The Admiral's views were supported by the party called the *Politiques*, which steered between the court and the Hugonots. Its leaders were the Duke of Alençon and the Montmorenci family, whose chief members were the Marshal Duke de Montmorenci, the Marshal Duke de Damville, and the Seigneurs de Meru and de Thoré. The French Court entertained at this time some ambitious schemes; it was seeking to establish a sort of protectorate over the Protestant princes of Germany; it was turning its views towards the crown of Poland, and even towards that of the empire on the death of Maximilian; and Charles had a lingering notion of asserting the claims of his ancestors to Milan and Naples. That monarch possessed considerable ardour and imagination, and it

⁵³ See next chapter.

seems probable enough that he was occasionally dazzled by the Admiral's views; an assumption which may serve to explain some of the anomalies observable in Charles's conduct at this period. In April 1572 the French agent in Flanders told the Duke of Alva, that, unless he abrogated the obnoxious taxes which he had imposed, his master would break with Spain⁵⁴; and the negotiations with Elizabeth had been continued, whose friendship was necessary to France in case of such a rupture. Catherine's fourth son, the Duke of Alençon, though only sixteen years of age, was substituted for the Duke of Anjou as a suitor to the English Queen; and a treaty for an offensive and defensive alliance between France and England was signed April 22nd 1572.⁵⁵ Even the Turks, the ancient enemies of Spain, were exhorting Charles to take advantage of the troubles in the Netherlands and to seize upon those provinces⁵⁶; for the French Court, instead of joining the HOLY LEAGUE against Selim, as they were earnestly pressed to do by the Pope, had sent an ambassador to the Porte. Count Louis of Nassau had had secret interviews at Blamont with the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon, and had received 100,000 livres as an earnest of the intentions of France; and on Louis's arrival in Picardy early in May, he found several thousand French Hugonots assembling for his assistance, not merely by permission of Charles IX., but even paid with his money. But this was the extent of the French policy in this direction, which, even if it had been sincere up to this time, now took an opposite turn. The movements of Genlis, the leader of the Hugonots who were to assist Nassau, were betrayed to the Duke of Alva by some person at the French Court; and the unfortunate men were cut to pieces.

The policy even of the Queen-mother at this important crisis seems to have been variable and uncertain. Like all cunning yet irresolute persons, she was always providing some loophole for escape; she would have two strings to her bow, and while she was negotiating with the Protestants, she had not broken with the Guises. It having been discovered from an intercepted letter of the Countess of Northumberland, that towards the close of 1571 the Duke of Guise had spent two months with Alva in the Netherlands, Sir T. Smith mentioned this fact to Catherine in March 1572; observing that it appeared, from the letter of the Countess, that the House of Guise would punctually follow all the directions

⁵⁴ Letter of Morillon to Granvella, April 15th 1572, ap. Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 474, note.

⁵⁵ Camden, B. ii. p. 307 (ed. 1625);

Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 211.

⁵⁶ Charrière, *Négociations*, &c. t. iii. p. 332.

of Spain : whereupon Catherine falsely denied that Guise had been with Alva, and added that they (the Court) certainly knew where Guise was, since they either heard from him or sent to him every four days.⁵⁷

Pope Pius V. sent his nephew Cardinal Alessandrino into France, to break off, if possible, the marriage between Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois ; and, though the legate did not succeed, he received from the French Court assurances which he considered satisfactory, and which he promised to communicate by word of mouth on his return to Rome.⁵⁸ Aldobrandino, afterwards Pope Clement VIII., who was in the suite of Alessandrino as auditor, took down the King's words ; which were : " Monsieur le Cardinal, what you tell me is all very good, and I thank you and the Pope for it. If I had any other method of taking vengeance on my enemies, I would not make this marriage ; but really this is the only means I have."⁵⁹ It was some relief to the French Court, that Pius V. died during the course of the negotiations (May 1st 1572). They found less difficulty with his successor, Cardinal Buoncompagno, who assumed the title of Gregory XIII. The son of a Bolognese jurist, Buoncompagno, from his secular education and cheerful temper, resembled the fourth, rather than the fifth, Pius ; and, indeed, he employed the ministers of the former Pontiff. Before entering the Church Gregory XIII. had had a son born out of wedlock, whom he now made Commandant of St. Angelo and Gonfalonier of Rome. Gregory's very lack of monasticism, however, threw him into the hands of the Jesuits, whom Pius V., a Dominican, had kept at arm's length. Gregory bought and cleared a whole quarter of Rome to erect for that order the immense *Gesu*, or Jesuit's College, containing twenty lecture-rooms, and as many cells as there are days in the year. This institution, called the "Seminary of all Nations," was opened with twenty-five discourses in twenty-five different tongues. The Jesuits worked upon Gregory by means of his desire to improve Catholic education, and his affection for his son, whom they proposed to make King of Ireland ; and we shall see in the sequel that this Pope became the willing instrument of all their machinations.

After the death of Pius V., the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was of a cowardly disposition, and dreaded the menacing aspect of affairs in France, went to Rome to attend the conclave, and to be

⁵⁷ The letter is in Murdin, p. 193.

⁵⁸ "Con alcuni particolari che io porto de'quali ragguagliero n. Sre. a bocca, posso dire di non partirmi affatto mal expedito." — *Lettere*, &c., del Sr. Cl. Ales-

sandrino, March 6th 1572, MS. in Corsini Library, ap. Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. i. S. 325.

⁵⁹ *Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat*, t. ii. p. 100 (ed. Paris 1698).

out of harm's way. After his departure, the Dukes of Guise and Aumale reappeared at court, where they were favourably received, and were induced to sign a formulary of reconciliation with Coligni, upon his renewing the declaration he had before made, that he had not participated in the murder of Guise's father. The Admiral seemed to enjoy the whole confidence of the King, and in return for the marks of affection lavished on him by Charles, agreed that the cautionary towns made over to the Hugonots should be surrendered some months before the stipulated time. Fortunately for that party, however, this arrangement was not carried into effect, and they had thus the means of renewing the war after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. On the defeat and capture of Genlis (July 19th), in his attempt to relieve Mons, at the head of a body of Hugonots, the whole aspect of affairs seemed to change at the French Court⁶⁰; and after an interview with his mother at Montpipeau, early in August, Charles IX. appears to have abandoned his anti-Spanish policy.⁶¹ He retained, however, or pretended to retain, his friendship for Coligni; and on the Admiral's return from a visit to Châtillon, seemed still bent on open war with Spain; he even instructed La Mothe Fénelon, his ambassador at London, to urge Elizabeth to declare herself openly against that country, and to assist, by a diversion in Zealand, the attempt of the Prince of Orange to relieve Mons.⁶²

The marriage of Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois, which, from the horrible massacre by which it was followed, has been called *les noces vermeilles*, or blood-red wedding, was now about to take place. From the relationship between the parties a Papal dispensation was required, which was refused by Pope Gregory XIII., except on four conditions: namely, that the King of Navarre should, in the presence of Charles IX., make a secret profession of the Catholic faith; that the dispensation should be solicited by Henry himself; that he should restore to the clergy of Navarre their possessions and benefices; and that he should espouse Margaret with all the customary rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. Such conditions were equivalent to a

⁶⁰ In the baggage of Genlis the Spaniards found a letter of Charles IX. to Count Louis, dated April 27th 1572, in which he said that he would use all the means he had to rescue the Netherlands from the oppression under which they groaned. Alva's letter to Cayas, July 19th 1572, in Gachard, *Corr. Philippe II.*, t. ii. p. 269.

⁶¹ "Touching their proceedings in Flan-

ders matters, the King here, through the persuasion of his mother, advised thereto by such as incline to Spain, is dissuaded from overt dealing in that cause, who before was very resolute." Walsingham's *Letter*, August 10th, in Digges, p. 231; Cf. *Mémoires de Tavannes*, t. iii. p. 292.

⁶² *Letter of Charles X. in Corr. de la Mothe Fénelon*, t. vii. p. 31.

refusal, and Charles IX. wrote to his ambassador at Rome, instructing him to press the Pope to yield; to urge, among other reasons, that the marriage was *for the interests of religion*; and if the Pope should prove inexorable, the ambassador was to signify to him his master's determination to proceed.⁶³ As Gregory would not yield, Charles induced the Cardinal of Bourbon, a poor weak creature, to perform the marriage, by representing to him that a dispensation would arrive by the next courier; and Monday, August 18th, was fixed for the ceremony. On the previous Sunday all the pulpits of Paris resounded with incendiary sermons. The marriage was celebrated on a scaffold erected before the grand entrance to the cathedral of Notre Dame, according to a formulary that had been agreed upon; after which the bride and the Catholic part of the court heard mass in the cathedral, while the bridegroom retired into the *cour de l'évêché*. It is said that Margaret refused to pronounce her consent, and that Charles IX. compelled her to give seeming token of it by forcibly bowing her head.

On the very day of the marriage Charles IX. wrote to Mandelot, the governor of Lyon, ordering him not to permit any one unprovided with a royal passport to proceed into Italy within six days from that date. The only probable motive that can be assigned for such an order is, that the Court did not wish the Pope to hear of the marriage till he should receive at the same time other news which might console him for so flagrant a contempt of his authority. The first four days of the week were devoted to fêtes in honour of the marriage. On the second day, Maurevert was lying in wait for Coligni with a loaded blunderbuss at the house of M. de Pille de Villemur, a former tutor of the Duke of Guise, situated in the cloister of the convent of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. Catherine and the Duke of Anjou had arranged the murder with the Guises; they communicated with the Duchess of Nemours, widow of Francis the murdered Duke of Guise, and declared that they committed to her hands the vengeance she had so long desired to wreak on Coligni, the supposed assassin of her husband. At this news the young Duke Henry of Guise was furious with joy, and pressed his mother to shoot the Admiral with her own hand⁶⁴; but Maurevert was chosen for the deed, a practised assassin, who had once before attempted the Admiral's life. On Friday, August 22nd, as Coligni was slowly walking home from the Louvre, and

⁶³ This important letter was first published by M. L. Paris, in the *Cabinet Historique*, 9^{me} livraison, September 1856.

⁶⁴ Letter of the Nuncio Salviati, ap. Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. App. H.

employed in reading a *requête*, Maurevert fired at him from a grated window of the house in which he was posted. Two balls took effect, one of them carrying away the fore-finger of the Admiral's right hand, the other entering his left shoulder. Coligni pointed with his mutilated hand to the house whence the shot was fired; but though it was immediately searched, the assassin had escaped by a back door.

Charles IX. when he heard of this attempt ordered an inquiry to be made into the matter, and caused the Admiral to be surrounded with Protestants, in order, as he pretended, to his security. In the afternoon, at the request of Coligni, Charles paid him a visit, accompanied by his mother and the Duke of Anjou. The Admiral, if the anonymous authority on which the anecdote is related may be trusted, spoke to the King earnestly and apart, advising him not to let his mother and brother have so much control over him; till Catherine, suspicious of what was passing, drew Charles away.⁶⁵ From this moment the fate of Coligni, it is said, was sealed. The King however seemed so determined to punish the attempt on the Admiral's life, that the Dukes of Guise and Aumale requested and obtained permission to leave Paris; but they did not avail themselves of it. Large troops of Hugonots armed with cuirasses passed and repassed before their hotel, whose clamours for justice sounded very like threats.

No time was to be lost. On the afternoon of Saturday, August 23rd, Catherine and the Duke of Anjou sent for their trusty counsellors, the Italians, Gondi, Count de Retz, the Chancellor Birago, Louis de Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, together with Marshal de Tavannes. These six, so runs the tale, having determined on the massacre of the Hugonots, proceeded together to the Louvre to work on the King's fears and extort his consent to it. A story was invented of a great Protestant conspiracy. It was stated that the Admiral's friends had resolved to avenge the attempt on his life by seizing the King and royal family in the Louvre, and putting to death the Duke of Guise and other Catholic leaders; that Coligni had sent for 6000 German cavalry, and 10,000 foot from Switzerland. The only foundation for these charges seems to have been Coligni's having said to the Queen in one of the discussions in the council: "Madam, the King now shuns a war which promises him advantage; God forbid that another break out which he may not be able to avoid." Catherine chose to interpret these

⁶⁵ *Discours du Roi Henri III.* in the *Mémoires d'Etat* de Villeroy, t. ii. p. 68. This *Discours* professes to have been dic-

tated to a "personnage que je ne puis nommer." Cf. Mathieu, *Hist. de France*, ch. 9; Tavannes, *Mémoires*, ch. 27.

words as a threat, though they do not appear to have been so meant.⁶⁶ Catherine also urged upon the King that the Catholics on their side were rising; that Paris was already armed; the King must choose one of two parties, or fall between them. To these alarming representations, it is said, was added an appeal to filial and fraternal tenderness. The Hugonots were demanding vengeance on the Guises; but Charles could not sacrifice them without also sacrificing his mother and his brother; for Catherine avowed it was she and Anjou who had instigated the attempt on Coligni, though only with the view of preserving the King himself. Charles is related to have resisted the proposal for more than an hour, till Catherine and Anjou, fearing to be discovered, asked leave to retire from court.⁶⁷

It is said that Catherine at first only demanded the life of the Admiral and five or six others—*les têtes de saumon*, as Alva called them; but that the King in the ungovernable intensity of his alarm insisted on a general slaughter. In the evening of that accursed day the court sent for the Dukes of Guise, Aumale, and Montpensier, and the bastard of Angoulême, and distributed among them the direction of the massacre. To Guise, as the capital enemy of Coligni, was assigned the quarter of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, in which the Admiral resided. A few heads were excepted from the general doom, among which the chief were the young King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé; also the Montmorencis, whom Guise wished to include as his ancient enemies, and whose orthodoxy was suspected, as being allied with the Châtillons. But though three of the brothers were at court, Marshal Montmorenci, the head of the family was absent, and it was feared that he would be driven by the murder of his brothers to take a desperate vengeance. Davila⁶⁸ blames this exception, as having destroyed the fruits of a measure which he regarded as a masterpiece of audacity and wisdom.

At midnight, or rather in the early morning of Sunday August 24th, St. Bartholomew's Day, Catherine descended to the King's apartment in the Louvre, where the Duke of Anjou had already assembled Guise, Nevers, Birago, Tavannes and De Retz. Everything had been prepared for the massacre. The regiment of guards, recalled to Paris by the advice of Coligni himself, was posted along the river and around the house of the Admiral; the ex-Provost Marcel had assembled at the Hôtel de Ville the most

⁶⁶ Ranke, *Fr. Gesch.* B. i. S. 320.

⁶⁸ Lib. v. t. ii. p. 122 (ed. Milan,

⁶⁷ *Relat. di Cavalli*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* 1807).

S. 330.

fanatical leaders of the Catholic brotherhoods, who were stimulated by the priests and monks. At the sound of the bell of the Palais de Justice, which was to toll the knell of the Hugonots at three in the morning, all "good Catholics" were to begin the work of blood. They would recognise one another by a white handkerchief round the left arm, and a white cross in their hats. It was well known that a strong fanatical party might be relied on; as a plan had been long agitated among the Catholic *confréries* or associations to put themselves under trusty leaders, to extirpate the Hugonots, and make the King feel his error in giving them his confidence.⁶⁹ While expecting the fatal signal, fear seized that royal party, the rulers of a great nation assembled like midnight assassins to imbrue their hands in the blood of some of their worthiest subjects. At the last hour the King seemed to repent the step he had taken; Catherine, herself pale and trembling, was exhorting him to take courage, when suddenly the report of a pistol broke the silence of the night. It wanted more than an hour to three o'clock, but Cathérine sent a hasty message to sound the bell of the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, which was the nearest, and which was answered by that of the Palais. At this signal the streets were suddenly filled with soldiers, lights appeared at all the windows, from almost every door issued armed men wearing the appointed badges and shouting furiously, *Vive Dieu et le Roi!* The dull and solemn reverberation of the bells was succeeded by an indescribable tumult,—the shouts of murder and the cries of despair. The "Paris Matins" had begun.

We leave the details of that bloody night and fix our eyes on a single scene—the death of Coligni. The Admiral was awake, attended by his surgeon, the celebrated Ambrose Paré, and a Calvinist minister named Merlin. At the first noise he thought it was some riot excited by the Guises; but when he heard the soldiers breaking into his house, and the reports of their arquebuses levelled against his servants, the truth stared him in the face. He rose from his bed, bade Merlin pray for him, and recommended his soul to God. At this moment, Cornaton, one of his household, entered his apartment, exclaiming, "Monseigneur, it is God who calls us!" "I have long been prepared for death," replied the Admiral; "you and the rest had better fly." All obeyed except a German, who refused to quit him. Merlin and Cornaton escaped, but most of his people were massacred in attempting to save themselves by the roof of the house. Mean-

• Nazzaret, *Umori di Francia*, MS. ap. Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. i. S. 307.

while, Cosseins, a captain of the guard, broke open the chamber door, and rushed in, followed by a German named Besme, and Sarlabous, a Gascon captain and renegade Hugonot. "Arn't you the Admiral?" cried Besme. "I am," replied Coligni; "you should respect, young man, my years and my infirmities: but do your pleasure, you will not much curtail my life." As he uttered these words Besme plunged a javelin into his breast⁷⁰, and the others fell upon him and pierced him with innumerable wounds. The Duke of Guise, who was in the court-yard with his uncle d'Aumale and the bastard of Angoulême, now called out, "Besme, have you finished?" "Yes!" "Then fling him out of window; let us see him!" The body of the murdered admiral fell heavily on the pavement. The bastard of Henry II. wiped the blood from the face, and recognising the features of Coligni, gave the venerable head a kick. The example was imitated by Guise. The head was then cut off by an Italian servant of the Duke of Nevers, to be sent to the Cardinal of Lorraine at Rome⁷¹, and the mutilated trunk was dragged by the populace through the streets.

It is said that as soon as it got light the King placed himself at a window of the Louvre, and shot with a large arquebuse at everybody he could descry in the Faubourg St. Germain, but without effect, as the piece would not carry so far; while at the same time he kept crying, "Kill! kill!" Such a hunting party he had never had before.

In Paris the massacre lasted two days and nights. Many seized the occasion to get rid of their private enemies. Among the victims of this description was the illustrious Ramus, or La Ramée, the zealous réformer of the University of Paris. Ramus was sought out and delivered to paid assassins by Charpentier, a colleague whom he had often convicted of ignorance, and who had bought a chair in the College of France to lecture on the Greek mathematicians, though he openly avowed that he knew neither Greek nor mathematics.⁷²

The bloody example of Paris was followed, in consequence of secret verbal orders from the court⁷³, by many provincial towns,

⁷⁰ The Guises rewarded Besme by marrying him to a natural daughter of the Cardinal of Lorraine. Amelot de la Houssaye, *Mém. Historiques*, &c., t. ii. p. 104 (ed. 1722).

⁷¹ Letter of Charles IX. to Mandelot, No. xviii. ap. Schlosser, B. xiii. S. 60.

⁷² As the system of Copernicus was then beginning to be understood, the

mathematics were regarded by bigots as a dangerous study. Charpentier used to say, "Les mathématiques sont une science grossière, une boue, une fange, où un porc seul (comme Ramus) peut aimer à se vautrer."—Michelet, *Guerres de Rel.* p. 458; Cf. Ranke, *Franc. Gesch.* B. i. S. 322.

⁷³ See correspondence of Charles and

beginning with Meaux, August 25th, and ending with Bordeaux, October 3rd. Thus, as Michelet remarks, the St. Bartholomew was not a *day* but a *season*. The towns where most Protestants were murdered were Lyon, Rouen, Bordeaux, Castres, Toulouse, Meaux, Orleans, Angers, and Bourges. Lyon numbered 800 victims. The massacres were conducted in that systematic method which seems possible in no country but France. It became a matter of business. Suitors at law killed their adversaries; candidates for places made vacancies by murdering the occupants; heirs secured possession by means of a bullet or two inches of steel. The offices of murdered Protestants were sold at the Louvre. The hangmen behaved admirably: they refused to act, saying that their vocation was only to kill in pursuance of justice; and the soldiers also at Lyon and elsewhere declared that they would use their arms only in open warfare. The whole number of victims has been very variously estimated at from 20,000 to 100,000; the lowest number is probably nearest the truth. They belonged chiefly to the higher and richer classes of society.

Charles IX. went to the Hotel de Ville to see Coligni burnt in effigy; he also paid a visit to Montfaucon, where the real mutilated body was exhibited; and with an excess of brutality, the Admiral's two youthful sons were dragged to the same disgusting spectacle.⁷⁴

Whether the St. Bartholomew was premeditated, or whether it was a sudden act forced upon the French Court by the ill-success of the attempt on Coligni's life, is still a disputed point. Recent historians, and especially those of France, seem, for the most part, disinclined to aggravate the guilt of a deed, already in itself so repulsive, by ascribing it to premeditation; and, indeed, the long train of cold-blooded and complicated treachery necessary to carry it out, is, to our modern notions, almost incredible. But, in order to gain the proper point of view, we must in imagination carry ourselves three centuries back, to a period when the work of Machiavel formed the text-book of princes; when any crime was deemed venial that served a policy supposed to be salutary; when

Mandelot, ap. Schlosser, *loc. cit.*, and in Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. App. E. Cf. Thuanus, lib. lii. "They protest," says Walsingham of these massacres, "all this to be doné against their will, though it be evidently known that it is done by their commandment." — *Letter to Burleigh*, Oct. 8th, Digges, p. 269.

⁷⁴ Michelet, *Guerres de Rel.* p. 479. The remark attributed to Charles, when he saw the putrid body — "Le corps d'un ennemi mort sent toujours bon," is probably, as Voltaire observes (*Essai sur les Mœurs*, ch. clxxi.), a literary invention, borrowed from a saying attributed to the Emperor Vitellius (*Optime olera occisum hostem, et melius civem*. Suet. *Vitell.* x.).

assassination was a method practised by the greatest sovereigns, and sanctioned, nay, even sometimes employed, by the reputed vicar himself of Christ upon earth. From this point of view we shall adduce only a few of the principal considerations which have led us to think that the monstrous crime which disfigures the annals of the sixteenth century was the result of the most artful dissimulation.

Those who maintain that the massacre was a sudden, unpremeditated act, rely chiefly on the evidence of three contemporary writers, and on the improbability which, as they affirm, attends the contrary hypothesis. The three witnesses are, Tavannes and Margaret of Valois, in their Memoirs, and the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III., in a paper which he is said to have dictated to some unknown person at Cracow, when he was King of Poland; and the substance of their testimony is, that the massacre was first resolved on, by the court, as a measure of self-defence, after Coligni had been wounded.

Waiving the objections, that the Memoirs of Tavannes are not the work of the marshal, but were written many years after by his son, who, at the time of the St. Bartholomew, was only seventeen years of age; that Margaret, by her own confession, knew nothing of the deed before its perpetration, and afterwards, of course, only so much as the actors in it chose to tell her; and that the authenticity of the paper ascribed to the Duke of Anjou is viewed with the gravest doubt by the best historical critics; we allege simply the character of the witnesses as a ground for rejecting their evidence. It comes from the very conclave itself by which the massacre was ordered. Could such witnesses cover with infamy the King, their relative, or their master, nay, themselves also as his counsellors and advisers, by acknowledging that the massacre was only the last act of a series of the basest dissimulation and treachery? Could they belie the version published by the court itself of the origin of the massacre? These considerations alone might induce us to pause before accepting a story which runs counter to the statements of every other contemporary historian, Catholic as well as Protestant, who must have known, yet rejected, the account put forth by the court. But further, we shall oppose to the story of these courtiers evidence just as direct and infinitely less liable to suspicion, as coming from persons who had no interest in concealing the truth.

Salviati, who was at that time the Papal nuncio in France, was also told, and appears to have believed, the statement circulated by the court; that, had the Admiral been killed outright, the massacre

would never have taken place.⁷⁵ It appears, however, from Salviati's correspondence, that the Court of Rome were better informed in the matter than their nuncio, and refused to believe this account; in adopting which, indeed, Salviati, on his own showing, must have been not a little credulous. He had heard with his own ears statements which might have led him to a very different conclusion; for in his letter written on the day of the massacre he remarks, that the putting to death of the Admiral and so many other brave men, *agreed with what the court had told him formerly at Blois*, when treating about the marriage of Henry of Navarre.⁷⁶

Charles IX., as we have already related⁷⁷, had also led the legate Alessandrino to expect the same result; and Alessandrino, with more sagacity than Salviati, connected the massacre with the promise; for when the tidings of it arrived at Rome, he exclaimed, "God be thanked! the King of France has kept his word."⁷⁸ Now this anecdote rests on the most unexceptionable authority. It is told by the Cardinal d'Ossat, a man of the highest character, in an official despatch to the French minister, written when he was at Rome negotiating for the divorce of Henry IV., and consequently not with the remotest view of supporting or refuting any speculative historical question whatever, but strictly as a matter of business. He heard it from the lips of no less a personage than Pope Clement VIII., who had been auditor of the legate Alessandrino in France, had written down the French King's words with his own hand, and stated that the paper might still be found among those of the legate. Clement did not merely relate this anecdote to Cardinal d'Ossat, he also mentioned it in full Consistory, as one of the grounds for forming a judgment in the matter of Henry's divorce. Yet, strange to say! Clement's testimony on this occasion has been impugned by a Roman Catholic priest, who has accused him, in one of the most sacred functions of his office, of having made this statement without having satisfied himself of its accuracy.⁷⁹ There is, however, ample confirmation, were it needed,

⁷⁵ "E se moriva subito (l'Amiraglio) non si ammazzava altri, e non essendo morto, e dubitando lei (la Regente) di qualche gran male, ristringendosi con il re, deliberarono di buttare la vergogna di banda, e di farlo ammazzare, insieme con li altri."

—Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. App. K. The evidence of Salviati was first disinterred by M. de Châteaubriand, when the library of the Vatican was in Paris. He communicated his extracts to Sir J. Mackintosh, who published them in the appendix to his third volume.

⁷⁶ "Adesso che hanno fatto morire l'Amiraglio, con tanti altri huomini di valore, conforme a ragionamenti altre volte havuto con esso meco, essendo a Blès, e trattando del parentado di Navarra," &c.—*Ibid.* App. G."

⁷⁷ Above, p. 205.

⁷⁸ "Ajouta S. S. que lorsque la nouvelle de la Barthélemi vint à Rome, le dit Cardinal Alexandrin dit, 'Loué soit Dieu, le roi de France m'a tenu promesse.'"
—*Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat*, loc. cit.

⁷⁹ Dr. Lingard, *Vindication*, p. 59.

of the soundness of Clement's memory on this occasion. Catena, who had been secretary of Alessandrino during his legateship, gives the words of Charles IX. almost literally as the auditor, but with a still more precise addition. The King, he says, subjoined, "I wish either to punish these villains and felons, and have them cut to pieces, or to reign no longer."⁸⁰ The anecdote is also confirmed by Capilupi, a gentleman belonging to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who published an account of the circumstances attending the massacre only a few weeks after its perpetration, under the title of *Lo Stratagemma*, which was translated into French, and is published in the *Archives Curieuses*.

This evidence seems irresistible. It may be objected, indeed, that it all comes from Rome, and that the cardinals and prelates had agreed to be in one story; yet it may be further confirmed from quite another source. St. Goard, the French ambassador at Madrid, in a letter to Charles IX. in which he gives an account of the manner in which Philip II. received the news of the massacre, says, that he was loud in the praise "*of so long a dissimulation.*" St. Goard, it appears, had often assured the Spanish King of the plot that was hatching in France against the Hugonots; but Philip was incredulous; and St. Goard now called upon him never henceforth to doubt any thing that the ambassador of Charles might tell him.⁸¹

To any candid mind, however, the evidence of Cardinal d'Ossat alone is amply sufficient, nor is it controverted by M. Martin, one of the most recent historians of France, although he is a strenuous advocate against premeditation; but he seeks to evade it by suggesting that Charles IX., who he thinks would at that time rather have deceived the Pope than Coligni, made use of a *double entendre*, and by "enemies" meant, not the Hugonots, but the Spaniards. This ground, however, is completely cut away by the despatch of Salviati, who distinctly mentions that Charles alluded to the Hugonots. To believe, moreover, that Charles was sincere in his professions of friendship to the Hugonots, demands a very

⁸⁰ "Rendete certo Pio, me non per altro effetto volere concludere questo matrimonio col Navara, che per prender vendetta de' nemici di Dio, e per gastigar tanti rebelli, si come il fine dimostrerà." . . . Et soggiugnendo, 'O io voglio punir questi malvagi et felloni, facendogli tagliar tutti a pezzi, o non esser Rè.'" — *Vita di Pio V.* p. 197 (ed. Roma, 1587).

⁸¹ "Premièrement louant la résolution prise et la longue dissimulation de si grande entreprise, n'estant tout le monde

ensemble capable de la pouvoir comprendre, l'aient mise si à propos, et contre toutes apparences et espérances." And further on: "Que si par le passé il (Philippe) avait pensé que je traitasse avec peu de vérité, que de cette heure il était obligé d'en faire pénitence, et me donner pour l'advenir telle foy et crédit, qu'il ne falloit revoquer en doute chose que je disse de la part de votre Majesté." — Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives de la Maison de Nassau*, Suppl. t. ix. p. 126*.

large share of credulity, even in reasoning from constructive, or circumstantial, evidence; and this leads us to the second part of the case, or that of probability.

What are the facts? If Charles was sincere in his policy of conquering the Spaniards through the Hugonots, he abandoned it at the moment when it promised to be successful. But he had never heartily embraced it. The French soldiers whom he permitted to go into the Netherlands in support of the cause, were all Hugonots; they were betrayed to Alva by secret information from the French Court, and cut to pieces; thus in reality forming part of the massacre. The preparations at sea show, perhaps, even still more strongly the *animus* of the French Court. The fleet, whose destination was pretended to be Flushing, was commanded by the most virulent enemies of the Reformation; among them was De la Garde, notorious by the massacres of Merindol and Cabrières; insomuch, that the magistrates of La Rochelle wrote to Coligni to communicate their suspicions that the fleet was destined against that town instead of Flushing!⁸²

The chief arguments against premeditation, drawn from a constructive probability, are: that it is incredible the King should have professed for so long a time a false friendship for Coligni, or that the Admiral should have been deceived by it; that it is impossible but Anjou and Tavannes should have been acquainted with Charles's hypocrisy; that Charles's visit to the wounded Admiral was inconsistent with guilt, and that he thereby exposed himself to imminent danger from the Hugonots; that Catherine's jealousy of the Admiral's influence with the King, shows that the latter must have been in earnest; that if a general massacre had been meditated, it was absurd to attack Coligni first, which would only serve to put the Hugonots on their guard, and perhaps occasion their flight from Paris; and that there appears to be no reason why the attempt upon him should have been so long deferred.⁸³

To these objections it may be replied: that the length of Charles IX.'s hypocrisy depended on his powers of dissimulation, which, according to the evidence of a contemporary writer⁸⁴, were very considerable; and the insincerity of his character is shown by the falsehoods which he told after the massacre. That Coligni should have been deceived by his professions, shows only that he was of a nobler and more open nature than the King; in fact, however, he was not altogether without suspicion; but he preferred

⁸² See Martin, t. ix. p. 304, note.

⁸³ See Lingard, *Vindication*, p. 14 sqq.

⁸⁴ Papÿre Masson, in his *Vie de Charles*

IX, printed in the *Archives Curieuses*, t. vii.

the interests of his country to his own life, and he declared, that "he would rather that his corpse should be dragged through the streets of Paris, than that the civil war should be renewed."⁸⁵ If Anjou and Tavannes were acquainted with Charles's hypocrisy, it was not for them to tell it. We have already touched on this point; but, in fact, Charles himself, as we have said, seems to have been occasionally carried away with the Admiral's magnificent plans, though in the long run, the treacherous part of his character prevailed. That the King should have visited the wounded Admiral does not prove him innocent, or the same fact would also prove Catherine and Anjou innocent, who accompanied him; and who, by Dr. Lingard's showing, were the authors of Coligni's assassination; nor was there any danger from the Hugonots, who believed the assassin to have been hired not by the Court, but by the Guises. Catherine's jealousy of the Admiral has doubtless been exaggerated in order to make out a plausible story; and here again it might be justified by the circumstance that Charles occasionally wavered in his plans. The last two allegations, that it was absurd to attack the Admiral first, and to defer the attack so long, lead to a view of the subject not hitherto developed, and which we shall here briefly state.

A grand clue to the *dénouement* of the plot is afforded by the part played in it by the Guises, who were to be the instruments — we might rather say the *tools* — of the Court; for, after they had been used, they were to be thrown aside and denounced, and the first of the King's falsehoods in endeavouring to evade the responsibility of the massacre was to lay it to them. Guise and his brother d'Aumale came to Paris towards the end of May or beginning of June, when the marriage of Henry and Margaret was about to take place, and experienced a most flattering reception. They were no doubt as ready then to assassinate the Admiral as they were two months later; but this did not suit the views of the Court. It was premature. The death of Henry's mother, Jeanne d'Albret, on the 10th of June, caused his marriage to be postponed for several weeks, and the Court had good reasons for connecting the assassination with the marriage: all the Hugonots of note would of course come to Paris on the occasion, and would be thrown off their guard by the accomplishment of an event which

⁸⁵ Thuanus, lib. lii. ap. Martin, t. ix. p. 304. Martin adds: "Coligni ne fermait donc pas entièrement les yeux sur le danger; mais les caresses du roi lui avaient inspiré une affection et une confiance qui percent le cœur. Il semblait

au vieux soldat que l'heureux naturel de Charles IX surmontait peu à peu les vices reçus du dehors, que le sang de France parlait plus haut que les leçons des Birague et des Gondi!"

seemed to afford indisputable proof of the King's sincerity, as well as by the fêtes which followed the auspicious union. Two months more of irksome dissimulation for the Court, of vengeance deferred for the Lorraine princes! Meanwhile Charles kept up their spirits, and entertained them, says the Spanish ambassador, writing to his Court on the 14th of June, "with some *equivocal* conversations which put them in good hopes."⁸⁶ At length, one by one, the weary days of expectation disappear; the marriage is celebrated on the 18th of August, and next morning Maurevert, posted with his arquebuse in a house belonging to the Guises, is lying in wait for the Admiral! Is any further proof needed that the time of the assassination was determined by the time of the marriage?

We may now answer the question why the attempt on Coligni was so long deferred? It was because all the Hugonots should be assembled together; because they might probably be irritated by the murder to some act of violence, and thus afford a pretext for their massacre; and because there would be an opportunity of transferring the blame of it from the Court to the Guises.

A further proof of the connection between the marriage and the massacre is afforded by Charles IX. insisting that the marriage should be celebrated at Paris.⁸⁷ Jeanne d'Albret was very anxious that it should be performed in Béarn; and if the object of the union had been merely to cement a friendship between the Court and the Hugonots, it mattered not where the ceremony took place. But in Béarn the massacre could not have been perpetrated.⁸⁸

The news of the St. Bartholomew resounded throughout Europe like a clap of thunder, but the sensations it awakened were widely different. In all Protestant countries there was a silence

⁸⁶ "Le roi et les princes faisaient beaucoup plus d'accueil au Duc de Guise qu'à l'Amiral, et le roi tenait aux Lorrains *d's propos équivoques* qui leur donnaient bonne espérance."—*Dépêche* de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne du 14 Juin. *Papiers de Simancas*, B. xxxiv. p. 30, ap. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ix. p. 296.

⁸⁷ *Mém. de l'Etat de France*, t. i. fol. 152, ap. Martin, t. ix. p. 294.

⁸⁸ The consentient opinion of all historians, that the St. Bartholomew was a premeditated crime, was first questioned by the Abbé de Caveyrac, in 1758, in a Dissertation appended to a Defence which he published of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Abbé's theory, however, seems to have met with little attention till it was revived by Dr. Lingard in a note at the end of the fifth volume of his *Hist. of England*. A cri-

tique on Dr. Lingard's statements, published by Dr. Allen in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. lxxxvii., produced a *Vindication* from the historian, and a *Reply* from the reviewer. These pieces, with the account of the St. Bartholomew in Sir J. Mackintosh's *Hist. of England*, vol. iii., and the notes appended to it, pretty nearly exhaust the subject, with the exception of such fresh light as may have been thrown upon it from the *Archives* of Simancas and other new sources, from which a few notices have been adduced in the preceding examination. All the circumstances antecedent to the massacre have been carefully collected by Professor Soldan of Giessen, in a work which has been translated into French by M. Schmidt, under the title of *La France et la St. Barthélemy*.

of horror and indignation, while in those of the Catholic faith, the event was hailed with exultation and gladness. Pope Gregory XIII., urged on by Cardinal Alessandrino and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who wrote from Rome a letter full of joy and thanks, celebrated the massacre as one of the most signal triumphs ever gained by the Church. The guns were fired from the castle of St. Angelo, bonfires were lighted in all the streets of Rome, a solemn procession was made to the church of St. Louis, and a medal was ordered to be struck with the head of Gregory, and having on the reverse the exterminating angel slaying the Hugonots, with the legend *Hugonotorum Strages*. Gregory also caused a picture of the massacre to be painted in fresco in the Hall of Kings in the Vatican. The celebrated Muretus afterwards addressed to Gregory a bombastic panegyric on that execrable day, in which he adverts to the Pontiff having gone on foot to return thanks to God and St. Louis.⁸⁹ The King of Spain was still more delighted than the Pope. When St. Goard, the French envoy at Madrid waited on him with the news of the massacre, Philip laughed for the first time in his life, sarcastically remarking that Charles well deserved his title of "Most Christian," and that there was no King to compare with him for valour or prudence.⁹⁰ Not only was the bigotry of Philip gratified; he also saw that Charles had committed in his favour a great political blunder. On the other hand, a fast was ordered at Geneva, which was afterwards annually observed on the 24th of August. The virtuous Emperor Maximilian II. shed tears over the crime of his son-in-law, and lamented it in a touching letter to Lazarus Schwendi.⁹¹ Fénelon, the French ambassador at London, as he passed through the ranks of courtiers and ladies, all clothed in deep mourning, to communicate the dreadful event to Queen Elizabeth, was received with a dead silence, more cutting than the bitterest reproaches; and the Queen herself conveyed to him with all that dignity which she so well knew how to assume her sentiments of abhorrence for his master's deed. Political considerations, however, obliged her to moderate her indignation and resentment; being fearful that the Reformation was entirely suppressed in France, and that Charles IX. might now be induced to

⁸⁹ A sentence may suffice as a sample, "Qua quidem nocte stellas equidem ipsas luxisset solito nitidius arbitror, et flumen Sequanam majores undas volvisse, quo citius illa impurorum hominum cadavera evolveret et exoneraret in mare!"

⁹⁰ "Il se prist à rire, et avec démonstration d'un extrême plaisir et contentement,

il me commença à louer votre Majesté du titre de très Chrétien, me disant qu'il n'y avoit Roy qui se peult faire son compaignon, ne en valeur, ne en prudence." — Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, &c. loc. cit.

⁹¹ In Goldasti, *Const. Imperiales*, t. ii. p. 383 (ed. 1609).

unite his arms with those of the Spanish King. The effect of so unexpected a blow was above all terrible in the Netherlands, where an exactly contrary policy had been expected from the French Court. The weapons fell from the hands of the Flemish patriots; the army of the Prince of Orange was dissolved, and the news was soon followed by the surrender of Mons. But in order to lay these things before the reader it will be necessary to take a review of the insurrectionary movement which had some years been going on in the Netherlands.

CHAPTER VII.

THE revolt of the Netherlands and the establishment of the Dutch Republic, the first-fruits of that spirit of civil and religious liberty which the Reformation had engendered, form an episode of exceeding interest. Fortitude the most enduring, courage the most heroic, struggling for rational freedom against the narrowest and most obstinate bigotry enforced by bloody and ferocious tyrants, and at length emerging victorious from the strife — such are the materials from which history draws her brightest and most cheering as well as her most instructive pages.

Before entering on the narrative of these momentous events, let us briefly recapitulate the situation of the Netherlands.

The seventeen provinces comprehended under that name¹, although, as we have said, they had been annexed by Charles V. to the German empire, never formed any very integral portion of the German body politic; from which they were still further disunited by the passing of the imperial sceptre to a younger branch of the House of Austria. Of these provinces, the four which adjoined the French border, and in which a French dialect was spoken, were called Walloon; in the other provinces a dialect, more or less resembling German, prevailed, that of the midland ones being Flemish, that of the northern, Dutch. They differed still more in their laws and customs than in language. Each province was an independent state, having its own constitution, which secured more liberty to those who lived under it, than was then commonly enjoyed in most other parts of Europe. Brabant, in particular, possessed singular political rights; so that it was not uncommon for women to come from other provinces to lie in there, in order to secure these privileges to their offspring²; and, on the accession of a new sovereign, at what was called his *Blyde Inkomst*, or *Joyeuse Entrée*, when

¹ They consisted of 4 duchies: Brabant, Limburg, Luxembourg, and Guelderland;—7 counties: Artois, Hainault, Flanders, Namur, Zutphen, Holland, and Zealand;—6 Seigniories or lordships:

Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overysse, Groningen;—and the Margraviate of Antwerp.

² Strada, *De Bello Belg.* lib. ii. p. 35 (ed. 1640).

the states took an oath of allegiance, they stipulated the right of withdrawing it in case the prince should violate their constitution. The only institutions which supplied any links of union among the different provinces were the States-General, or assembly of deputies sent from each, and the Supreme Tribunal established at Mechlin, having an appellate jurisdiction over them all. The States-General³, however, had no legislative authority, nor power to impose taxes, and were but rarely convened. Hence, Charles V. himself, with all his power as sovereign of the Netherlands, was only the head of a republican confederation. He had, however, made some innovations. He named and paid the judges composing the Mechlin tribunal; he sometimes nominated the provincial judges; he interfered in the election of magistrates. But the circumstance of his having been born in Flanders, the predilection which he always manifested for his native land, and the favours which he heaped on Flemings at the expense of his Spanish subjects, had rendered him popular in the Low Countries in spite of his encroachments and oppressions.

In the middle of the 16th century the Netherlands enjoyed a greater share of prosperity than any other European state. At that time the seventeen provinces contained more than 350 cities and 6300 towns, besides innumerable villages. Commerce, agriculture and manufactures flourished; and though the trade of Ghent, from causes already mentioned, had somewhat fallen off, the deficiency had been more than made good by the rise of Antwerp, whose share through Spain and Portugal in the commerce of the Indies, had rendered it one of the richest cities in Europe, whilst Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other towns were by the same means rapidly increasing. Hence the Netherlands formed the chief treasury both of Charles V. and Philip II. Charles drew from them in a few years twenty-four million ducats⁴; yet through the ill policy of Philip, they soon became unable to supply his necessities. Nor were the people of the Netherlands thriving only in a material sense. They were also well educated, and it was rare to find even a peasant who could not read and write.⁵

Among such a people the doctrines of the Reformation found easy entrance; and were soon extensively adopted. The Lutheran tenets were naturally the first to find acceptance, and they con-

³ The members of the States-General were not representatives chosen by the people, but deputies, or ambassadors, from certain provinces. The different provinces had also their own States, which were variously composed.

⁴ *Relatione di Soriano*, ap. Prescott, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 310.

⁵ Guicciardini, *Descrittione de' Paesi Bassi*, p. 41 (ed. 1581). Guicciardini resided more than forty years in the Netherlands.

tinued to predominate in the provinces bordering upon Germany, while Holland and Zealand abounded with Anabaptists. But Calvinism rapidly penetrated into the Walloon provinces, and its disciples soon outnumbered both the other sects put together. The state of religion in the Netherlands had early attracted the notice of Charles V., and between the years 1520 and 1550 he published no fewer than eleven "Placards," or edicts, for the suppression of the reformed faith. The last, which appeared in 1550, and which has been already described⁶, formed the groundwork of Philip II.'s subsequent proceedings. Charles V. had also attempted to introduce the Spanish inquisition into Flanders, and obtained a bull from his old preceptor, Pope Adrian VI., appointing an inquisitor-general; but the people rose and compelled the new and unwelcome functionary to fly for his life. The scheme was then altered. By another bull four inquisitors were appointed, belonging to the secular clergy, whose powers, which, however, during twenty years were ill defined, were in some degree placed under control of the law; and in 1546 it was decreed that no sentence pronounced by an inquisitor should be carried into execution, except with the sanction of a member of the Provincial Council. Hence the Flemish tribunal was far less terrible than the Spanish. Nevertheless many thousand persons are said to have perished in the Netherlands, during the reign of Charles, for their religious opinions; in spite of which that sovereign, in the last year of his reign, confessed that the evil went on increasing.⁷

Such briefly was the condition of the Netherlands when they passed under the dominion of Philip II. of Spain in the manner already related.⁸ The predilections of that monarch soon called

⁶ See above, p. 80.

⁷ Letter of Charles, Brussels, Jan. 27th 1555; in Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.* Rapport, &c., t. i. p. cxxii. The number of Protestant victims is variously computed at 30,000 (Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 18) and 50,000 (Watson, *Philip II.* vol. ii. p. 101). Grotius even estimates them at 100,000. *Annales*, lib. i. p. 17 (ed. 1658).

⁸ The chief sources for the history of the Netherlands, and their revolt under Philip II. are: Guicciardini, *Belgiæ, sive Inferioris Germaniæ, Descriptio*; Strada, *De Bello Belgico*; Bentivoglio, *Della Guerra di Fiandra*; Grotius, *Annales et Historiæ de Rebus Belgicis*; Basnage, *Annales des Provinces Unies, avec la Description historique de leur Gouvernement*; Meteren, *Hist. des Pays Bas* (1315—1612) traduit du Flamand

(La Haye, 1618); Brandt, *Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries* (from the Dutch, London, 1720); Aubéri, *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. des Provinces Unies*; Petit, *Chronique d' Hollande*; Van der Vynckt, *Hist. des Troubles des Pays Bas* (extending from 1495 to the Peace of Westphalia, 1648; written in indifferent French, but with good judgment and information); Hopper, *Recueil et Mémoires des Troubles des Pays Bas du Roi*; Schiller, *Gesch. des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande* (interesting, but of little authority); Prescott, *Hist. of Philip II.*; Motley, *the Rise of the Dutch Republic*. Recently published original documents relating to the subject are: *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, and *Corr. de Philip II.*, edited by M. Gachard, who was employed by the Belgic Government to consult the ar-

him back to his Spanish dominions. By birth, language, and manners, he was entirely a Spaniard, and was always regarded as a foreigner by the Flemings; nor had his stay among them removed the unfavourable impression produced at his first visit. His cold and haughty manners ill accorded with the temper of the Netherlanders, and instead of meeting the hearty, joyous greetings of the people, he shut himself up in his carriage and seemed anxious to avoid their gaze.

A scene that occurred before Philip's departure already gave token of future troubles. In an assembly of the States-General at Ghent, loud complaints were uttered of religious persecution and the presence of Spanish troops. Philip's first care after his accession had been directed to religion. He confirmed Charles's "Placard" of 1550; making, however, by the advice of the Bishop of Arras, no alteration in the original edict, in order to shelter himself under the popularity attaching to his father's name. He had also matured a scheme for a complete revolution in the Belgian hierarchy, which was put in execution a year or two later. At present popular indignation was chiefly directed against the Spanish troops, who, though not more than 3000 or 4000 in number, had committed the most scandalous excesses. A paper signed by William Prince of Orange, Lamoral Count Egmont, and many other leading nobles, complaining of the pillage, insults, and other disorders daily perpetrated by the Spanish soldiery, was presented to the King before the adjournment of the States-General in the name of that body. Philip was furious at hearing remonstrances to which he was so totally unaccustomed. He abruptly quitted the hall, and turning round at the door, inquired, "whether he also, as a Spaniard, was expected to leave the country?" His suspicions had already been excited against Orange and Egmont by a letter of the prince's which had fallen into his hands. William, when a hostage at the court of France for the execution of the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, had accidentally learnt more than was convenient of Philip's future policy, Henry II., who took him for a staunch Catholic, having communicated to him the secret determination of himself and the Spanish King to extirpate heresy; but, although the prince at that time belonged to the Roman communion, nobody could be further re-

chives of Simancas: *Archives de la Maison d'Orange Nassau*, published by M. Groen van Prinsterer (both these editors have endeavoured to place the conduct of Philip II. in the most favourable light); *Corr. de Marguerite d'Au-*

triche, published by Baron Reiffenberg for the *Soc. des Bibliophiles de Belgique*.

Sources accessible only to those who read Dutch or Flemish have not been mentioned.

moved from bigotry, or entertain a more sincere dislike of all religious persecution.

Notwithstanding his suspicions, Philip found it impossible to neglect men of so much power and influence as Orange and Egmont, and he was obliged to leave them in possession of their governments, those of William being Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and West Friesland, while Egmont had Flanders and Artois. The King also found it politic to concede, on the subject of the Spanish troops; but he would not yield a jot with regard to religion, declaring that he would rather not reign at all than rule over heretics. When on the point of embarking at Flushing for Spain (August 20th 1559), he could not help again manifesting his anger at the constraint which had been put upon him; and turning abruptly to the Prince of Orange, he accused him of having organised the opposition. William in reply having attributed it to the States in general, Philip seized his wrist, and shaking it violently, exclaimed in Spanish, “No, no! not the States, but thou, thou, thou!”⁹ An ominous separation! Orange took care not to trust himself on board the Spanish fleet.

Before his departure Philip II. had appointed his sister Margaret to be Regent of the Netherlands, a natural daughter of Charles V. by a Flemish lady, and wife of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma. Thus the Low Countries were administered almost consecutively by three princesses of the House of Austria, and by all with distinguished ability. Margaret was now thirty-seven years of age. From her masculine understanding Strada¹⁰ characterises her as a man in petticoats; yet she was not destitute of the gentler qualities of her sex. Philip had received her with great state on her arrival at Brussels in June 1559, and early in August presented her to the States-General as the future Regent. She was assisted in the government by three ancient councils,—the Council of Finance, the Privy Council for Justice and Home Affairs, and the Council of State for Foreign Affairs. The Prince of Orange and Count Egmont were included in the last, together with Granvella and some members of the other councils. Besides these, Margaret had also another smaller council, or cabinet, consisting of only three members, and called the *Consulta*: these were, Count Barlaumont, President of the Council of Finance; Viglius, President of the Privy Council; and Granvella, Bishop of Arras.

⁹ “No los Estados, mas vos, vos, vos!”
—Aubéri, *Mém.* t. i. p. 11, ed. London, 1754. A speech the more bitter, because

vos in Spanish, like *toi* in French, implies contempt.

¹⁰ *De Bell. Belg.* lib. i. t. i. p. 30 (ed. 1640).

Barlaimont was a Flemish noble of the first class, of great integrity and loyalty; Viglius was an eminent jurist, a good writer, and sagacious statesman, of dogged tenacity, and not over-scrupulous honesty. Granvella we have already had occasion to describe as the minister of Charles V., who recommended him to Philip. His qualities were congenial with those of that monarch, his manners were polished, he was a good courtier, and the Flemings detested him equally with his sovereign. His post of prime-minister was an additional cause of hatred with the Flemish nobles, who thought that it should have been filled by one of their own body.

Philip had engaged that the Spanish troops should be withdrawn from the Netherlands in four months; yet they still remained, though there was no foreign war to require their presence, which could, therefore, only be ascribed to a design to enforce the King's arbitrary acts; and Orange and Egmont resigned their employments, alleging that they dared not hold them because the government had become so unpopular. Granvella perceived his danger, and pressed Philip to withdraw the troops for fear of an insurrection. The King demurred on the plea that he could not pay up their arrears; an allegation hardly to be credited considering their small number, although the royal exchequer was undoubtedly low. At length some members of the council became security for the arrears and the troops sailed in January, 1561, nearly a twelvemonth after the stipulated time.

In the same year the discontent was increased by the introduction into the Council of a plan for the erection of several new bishoprics: which, though it had been some years in agitation, had as far as possible been kept secret.

Hitherto the whole of the Netherlands had contained only four bishoprics; namely, those of Utrecht, Arras, Tournay, and Cambrai, the first of which acknowledged the Archbishop of Cologne as its metropolitan, while the last three were in the diocese of Rheims. The extent of these bishoprics was necessarily enormous and inconvenient, Utrecht alone comprising 300 towns and 1100 churches. Charles V. had contemplated erecting six new bishoprics, but effected nothing; and Philip II., soon after his accession, obtained the sanction of Pope Paul IV. for the erection of three metropolitan sees—namely, Utrecht, Mechlin, and Cambrai, in which were to be comprehended the following bishoprics; in Utrecht the sees of Haarlem, Middelburg, Lieuwarden, Groningen, and Deventer; in Mechlin, the principal, the bishoprics of Antwerp, Bois le Duc, Rurmonde, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres; in Cambrai, those of

Tournai, Arras, St. Omer, and Namur. The bull authorising the establishment of these sees had arrived just when Philip was on the point of quitting the Netherlands; but it had not been thought expedient to prosecute the scheme till the period just mentioned.

So wholesale a revolution in the Flemish hierarchy excited the suspicion and discontent of Catholics as well as Protestants. The latter were naturally hostile to a scheme which threw so much fresh ecclesiastical power into the hands of the Pope and the King; for the new bishops were to be named by Philip, but subject to the approbation of the Roman See: and as the King's persecutions in Spain were well known, the whole scheme was regarded only as a prelude to the introduction of the Spanish inquisition. The Catholics were also alarmed at the thoughts of that formidable tribunal, and the nobles of that confession had additional reasons for discontent with the scheme. The nomination of so many bishops by the crown would diminish the power of their order; while, as the ancient abbeys were either to be suppressed, or to be deprived of great part of their revenues in order to furnish out the incomes of the new prelates, the nobility would thus lose a source of provision for their younger sons. The whole odium of the measure fell on Granvella, who was to be Archbishop of Mechlin and primate of the Netherlands, and who had early in this year, through the intercession of the Regent Margaret, received from Paul IV. a cardinal's hat.

The clouds were gradually gathering, yet it was some time before the storm burst. The measures of the King and his minister were firmly but quietly opposed. Philip having called upon the Flemings to assist the Catholic party in France with troops, the Prince of Orange invited the Knights of the Golden Fleece to assemble at his palace (May 1562), when the majority agreed that the minister must be resisted. Only a pecuniary aid was sent to France. Soon afterwards we find Orange and Egmont complaining to the King that they had no share in the government, although they were held responsible for its measures by the people. The great nobles began to absent themselves entirely from the council, and indeed from all public business, and to treat the minister and his measures with sarcasm and ridicule. Granvella grew alarmed, and talked of resigning. In March 1563 the nobles formed themselves into a league, in which they were supported by the people. Great part even of the Walloon population, inflamed by the French Hugonot preachers, sympathised with their brethren in France; for churches on the model of that of Geneva had been established in the Netherlands

in 1561, and a formal confession of the Calvinistic tenets subscribed. The union of the Protestants with the local authorities had given them a political standing.¹¹ Large assemblies met and chanted the psalms of Marot, and at Valenciennes two Calvinist ministers condemned to be burnt were rescued from the stake by the people. Philip, who did not understand the genius of the Flemings, and wished to render them as submissive as his subjects in Spain and Italy, urged his ministers to use the most vigorous measures; without reflecting that the Netherlanders were protected by laws which the Regent and her cabinet naturally demurred to violate.

In the opposition organised against the government, three men stood out pre-eminent, William, Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and Count Horn; and as they played a leading part in the troubles which ensued, it will here be proper to give some account of them.

The family of Nassau, from which William, Prince of Orange, was descended, emerged into distinction in the middle of the eleventh century, and it subsequently became divided into two branches, the elder of which, in the thirteenth century, gave an emperor, Adolph of Nassau, to Germany, besides several electors and princes. The younger, but more distinguished branch, besides the petty sovereignty of Nassau Dillenburg, also acquired large possessions in the Netherlands; and the ancestors of William, as Dukes of Gelderland, had enjoyed sovereign rights in the provinces long before the accession of the House of Burgundy. Engelbert II., who had distinguished himself in the time of the Emperor Maximilian I. and Charles the Bold of Burgundy, having died without issue, the family possessions were ultimately divided between his two great nephews, Henry and William. The German possessions fell to the share of the latter, who turned Protestant; while Henry, the elder brother, inherited the domains and titles in Luxemburg, Brabant, Flanders, and Holland, and became the confidential friend of the Emperor Charles V. In 1515 Henry married Claude de Chalons, sister of Prince Philibert of Orange; to which title his son, René de Nassau-Chalons, succeeded. René died of wounds received at the siege of St. Dizier in 1544, and, having no legitimate children, left his titles and estates to his cousin, William of Nassau, son of his father's brother William.

The prince who thus acquired the title of Orange¹², besides large possessions in the Netherlands, was born at Dillenburg

¹¹ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 18 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

¹² The principality of Orange was re-

stored to him by the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis.

in Nassau, April 25th 1533. Both his parents were Lutherans, but he himself was bred up at Brussels in the Catholic faith, in the family of the Regent Queen Mary of Hungary, and under the tuition of a brother of Granvella. Charles V., in whose household he became a page at the age of fifteen, soon discerned his abilities, and at the siege of Marienburg gave him the command of the Imperial army over the heads of veteran generals. Charles afterwards employed the prince with great success in several diplomatic missions, and manifested the confidence which he reposed in him by making William, as already related, the agent of his abdication of the Imperial crown.

While the light hair and complexion of Philip II. gave him the appearance of a Fleming, the Prince of Orange, on the contrary, looked like a Spaniard. His complexion, hair, and beard were dark; his brown eyes were full and expressive; his head was small, the forehead capacious, and as he advanced in life furrowed with the lines of care and thought; the other features were well chiselled. In figure he was above the middle height, and well-proportioned though somewhat spare. In temper he was cheerful and convivial. The surname which he acquired of "the Silent," was not derived from any morose taciturnity, but from his knowing how to conceal what it was not prudent to tell. He was said to be an assiduous reader of Machiavelli.

William married in early life a daughter of Count Buren, who soon died, leaving him a son Philip, and a daughter Mary, afterwards married to Count Hohenlohe. He next addressed himself to Anne, daughter of the Elector Maurice of Saxony,—a match highly disagreeable to the Court of Brussels, by which it was warmly opposed. Long negotiations ensued, in which the Prince is said not always to have observed a perfect candour; but at length all obstacles were overcome, and the marriage was celebrated at Leipsic in August 1561. Anne, however, was not remarkable for chastity, and after thirteen years' cohabitation, the prince was obliged to dismiss her.

Lamoral, Count Egmont, was descended from the Dukes of Gelderland. In right of his mother he also inherited the principality of Gaveren, or Waveren, near Ghent, but he always preferred the title of Egmont. Of a handsome person and attractive manners, of generous impulses but no great ability, Egmont was the *beau idéal* of a dashing cavalry officer; and his victories at Gravelines and St. Quentin were the result rather of a brilliant valour than of military genius. Philip de Montmorenci, Count Horn, belonged to a branch of the French family of that name

which had established itself in the Low Countries. He had been Governor of Gelderland and Zutphen, and Admiral of the Netherlands, but, like Egmont, he was not distinguished by ability. These two nobles are but the "fortis Gyas fortisque Cloanthus" of the Prince of Orange.

In March 1563 Orange, Egmont, and Horn addressed a letter to Philip, in the name of the Coalition, in which they represented to him that, in consequence of the odium incurred by Granvella, his affairs in the Netherlands could never be successfully conducted by that minister; and they prayed for his dismissal. After considerable delay, the Spanish King answered this application on the 6th of June. He observed that the nobles had not alleged any specific grievance against Granvella, and that he was not accustomed to dismiss his ministers on mere vague and general charges; he hoped soon to visit the Netherlands in person; meanwhile he should like to see one of the nobles in Spain, and discuss the matter with him. To this communication Orange and his confederates replied (July 29th) in a firm and dignified tone, to which the ears of Philip were but little accustomed. They observed that it was not their intention to turn accusers; the state of the country, the discontent and disorders which prevailed, were sufficient evidence of the minister's incapacity; that they did not solicit his condemnation, but simply his removal; nor did they esteem him so highly as to undertake a journey to Spain on his account. And they begged the King, since he reposed so little confidence in their opinions, that he would be pleased to dispense with their further attendance in the council, where under these circumstances they could not be present without a loss of dignity. The Regent Margaret, who was much alarmed at the state of affairs, seconded the application for the cardinal's dismissal. Philip, whose favourite maxim was "that he and time were a match for any two others,"¹⁸ resorted to his usual artifice of procrastination. The Duke of Alva, whom he consulted, advised him on no account to dismiss Granvella, but to divide the nobles, by gaining over some of them, till he could punish the others. The cardinal, meanwhile, displayed surprising fortitude, and clung to office amid a perfect storm of disapprobation. At length, after the lapse of more than half a year, the Coalition received an answer, in February 1564, intimating that the King would deliberate further on the matter. Moved, however, by another and still more

¹⁸ "Que lui et le temps en valaient deux autres."—Van der Vynckt, *Troubles des Pays Bas*, t. ii. p. 199.

pressing application on the part of Margaret, Philip had already written a short letter of dismissal to the cardinal, to be used in case of need; and such was the dissatisfaction manifested by the nobles at the King's answer, that Granvella found it prudent to make a virtual resignation under the pretext of paying a visit to his aged mother in Franche Comté. In March 1564 he retired to his estate near Besançon, where he amused himself with art and literature, of which he was a liberal patron; but he still kept up an active correspondence with the King, and it was not long before he re-entered Philip's service.

The news of the cardinal's departure was received with joy and exultation, which found a vent in lampoons and caricatures. The aristocracy discarded their splendid liveries, and adopted universally a plain, dark grey, while the *aiguillette* on the shoulder was replaced by a head and fool's cap; the head bore a striking resemblance to the cardinal's, and the cap was red. When Margaret at length persuaded them to lay aside this badge, they substituted for it a sheaf of arrows, the origin of the device afterwards assumed by the Seven United Provinces. In times of public disturbance trifles like these are not to be despised. They serve as the rallying ensigns of faction, display its strength, and promote its organisation.

After the removal of Granvella, the Belgian government was divided. The Regent Margaret inclined towards the nobles, and her correspondence at this period testifies great disgust at the cardinal. On the other hand, the policy of the ex-minister was still pursued by Barlaumont and Viglius, the two remaining members of the *Consulta*. Hence the measures of the government became feeble, Calvinism spread; Hugonot ministers and refugees came in great numbers from France and made many proselytes; the proceedings of the inquisition occasioned serious riots at Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels; while the disordered state of the finances and the increase of the public debt aggravated the popular discontent.

It was in such a state of things that Philip wrote to Margaret instructing her immediately to proclaim and enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent (August 1564). He was constantly urging the Regent to measures of severity; and so well was he served by his spies, that he would sometimes denounce particular individuals by describing their personal habits and appearance with an accuracy that would have done credit to a minister of police. As the pressure was becoming unendurable, it was determined to adopt a former suggestion of the King's, and to despatch Count Egmont to Madrid to state the grievances of the nation and to urge Philip

to visit the Netherlands in person. The mission was regarded as a task of no small danger. Egmont's friends had secret forebodings of Spanish dungeons and assassins; and they signed with their blood an agreement that if any harm should come to him, they would take ample vengeance on the authors of it. Their fears, however, were on this occasion groundless. Philip adopted the more politic method of conciliation; treated Egmont with the most flattering attention; made him a present of 100,000 crowns, and bestowed upon him several offices in the Netherlands. The count's head, which was none of the strongest, was completely turned. On his way home he wrote to the King from Valladolid that "he was the best satisfied man in all the world;"¹⁴ and he brought back to his countrymen a most favourable account of the disposition of the Spanish court. Yet he had scarcely returned when letters from the King arrived, in which, although Egmont's behaviour at Madrid was noticed in the most flattering terms, Philip declared that if he had a hundred thousand lives he would rather lose them all than permit any change in religion; and he recommended a commission to be formed of three bishops and a number of jurists to "instruct" the people in their spiritual concerns; advising at the same time some other method of execution in the case of heretics.¹⁵ These recommendations were faithfully carried out. Condemned heretics were executed in their dungeons at midnight, by fastening their heads between their knees and suffocating them in tubs of water.¹⁶ The spy system was worked with redoubled activity. Even looks and gestures were noted.

The striking contrast between Egmont's report and the actual state of things could not escape observation. The people accused the count of having sold himself; the Prince of Orange reproached him to his face with forgetting the views of his confederates and the best interests of the country, though he had remembered himself and accepted the King's bounty.¹⁷ William, however, saw that Egmont was only a dupe; the people held him to be a traitor. Either imputation was sufficiently mortifying to a man of Egmont's temper. He now saw through Philip's artifices, declared that they were intended to ruin him with his countrymen, and announced his intention of throwing up all his offices.

In October 1565 Philip indited, at his country retreat in the wood of Segovia, the letter which may be said to have decided the

¹⁴ Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. i. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 151.

p. 349.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 347.

¹⁶ Meteren, t. ii. p. 30 d.; Brandt, *Hist.*

¹⁷ Letter of Morillon to Granvella, June 22nd 1565 (*Papiers d'Etat*, t. ix. p. 344).

fate of the Netherlands. It was his will that the inquisitors should proceed as heretofore, and as they were entitled to do both by divine and human law; the edicts must all be enforced, both his father's and his own. This letter filled the government with the most gloomy apprehensions. Viglius was for concealing it till the King could be again consulted, but the Prince of Orange, supported by Egmont and Horn, prevailed on the Regent to publish it immediately. It was the wish of Orange to hasten on the catastrophe. "Now," he exclaimed, "we shall see the beginning of a remarkable tragedy!" All hope of toleration vanished with the publication of the royal despatches, which were regarded as a declaration of war. The press teemed with pamphlets and lampoons; secret meetings were held; resistance was hinted at; Orange and Egmont were called on to stand forth and defend their country.

The time was not yet come for the Prince of Orange to take the lead of an organised resistance; but he was preparing himself for such an event, and he foresaw and favoured its inevitable occurrence. His motives have often been the subject of discussion. His panegyrists have held him up as the model of a disinterested patriot, while his enemies have charged him with being actuated by selfishness, hypocrisy, and ambition. The motives of men are usually inscrutable to human eyes; their nature is often mixed, so that the subject of them himself may not be always conscious of the predominating influence. William, as a Belgian noble, would naturally resent the neglect displayed towards his order, while as the firm and consistent friend of civil and religious liberty he viewed with abhorrence the bigoted and tyrannical conduct of the Spanish sovereign. To these grievances, which he shared in common with his countrymen, were added others of a more personal kind. Having enjoyed so much of the confidence of the Emperor Charles V., Orange might naturally have expected a large share in the counsels of his son; instead of which Philip entrusted the direction of affairs to the Bishop of Arras, a foreigner, and the prince's enemy. On Philip's departure for Spain, Orange wished the regency of the Netherlands to be given to Christina, Duchess of Lorraine, a niece of Charles V., whose daughter he hoped to marry, and thus to obtain an influence in the government; but Granvella and the Duke of Alva, who thought that Margaret was a much better Spaniard than Christina, not only defeated the prince's object; but also procured that he should be disappointed of his intended bride. Thus his patriotism felt the additional stimulus of private wrongs; but it would never have obtained a field for its

exercise, had not the conduct of the Spanish government been, revolting to the whole mass of the Flemish population.

Towards the close of the year 1565, the symptoms of popular disaffection became so alarming that Margaret begged the King would allow her to resign the government; but Philip answered the application only with a cool expression of regret that his despatch from Segovia should have occasioned so much offence. It was universally believed in the Netherlands that at the meeting between Alva and Catherine de' Medici at Bayonne, in June, an arrangement had been made with France for crushing their liberties. Numbers of the Flemings emigrated; 30,000 of them established themselves in England, whither they brought their capital and their skill. Egmont had escorted from Spain Margaret's son, the young Prince Alexander Farnesè, whose marriage with the Princess Donna Maria of Portugal was celebrated at Brussels, Nov. 11th 1565. On that day, Francis Junius, a young Calvinistic divine, a native of Bourges in France, and pastor of the Hugonot congregation which assembled in secret at Antwerp, preached a sermon at Culenborg House at Brussels, before a party of Flemish nobles, of whom many had been educated at Geneva. After the sermon was concluded, they entered into an agreement to resist the oppressions of the government, by forming a regular league, in which Philip de Marnix, Lord of Ste. Aldegonde, played a prominent part. Ste. Aldegonde, the intimate friend of the Prince of Orange, was a man of the most varied accomplishments. He was at once a scholar and a poet, a brave soldier and an able diplomatist, and had devoted so much study to theology, that it was said he could argue victoriously with a bench of bishops. Other leaders were Henry, Viscount Brederode, remarkable chiefly for his ancient descent, which he traced through five centuries from the Counts of Holland, otherwise a spendthrift, vapouring character; and Count Louis of Nassau, a younger brother of the Prince of Orange. In a meeting held at Brèda, in Jan'y. 1566, the league promulgated their views in a paper called the COMPROMISE¹⁸, attributed to the hand of Ste. Aldegonde. The document contained a severe denunciation of the inquisition as an illegal, pernicious, and iniquitous tribunal; the subscribers swore to defend one another against any attack that might be made upon them; and declared, at the same time, that they did not mean to throw off their allegiance to the King, but, on the contrary, to maintain peace, and to

¹⁸ The document is in the *Archives de la Maison d'Orange Nassau*, t. ii. init. Cf. Watson, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 254.

prevent, as far as it lay in their power, all sedition, tumult, and rebellion. In the course of two months, the Compromise was signed by about 2000 persons, including many Catholics; but only a few of the great nobles could be prevailed on to subscribe it. The original document bore only the signatures of Brederode, Charles de Mansfeld, and Louis of Nassau. The league had been formed without the knowledge of the Prince of Orange, who expressed his disapprobation when he heard of it, and recommended that no violent measures should be adopted. Nevertheless he, as well as most of the members of the Council of State, sympathised with the objects of the movement. William, as Governor of Holland and Zealand, in a remarkable letter¹⁹ which he addressed from Breda to the Regent, January 24th 1566, refused to enforce the obnoxious laws; and several other governors declared that they would not see their countrymen burnt by thousands.

Margaret did not hear of the league till the spring of 1566, when she took some vigorous steps to resist it, by strengthening the garrisons of fortresses, calling out the *compagnies d'ordonnance*, &c. She had, however, formed a correct idea of the importance of the movement; she perceived that no middle course would answer, that it must either be put down at once with a high hand, or the malcontents appeased by ample concessions; and in her despatches to her brother she clearly indicated her preference for conciliation.

The Prince of Orange at first kept aloof from the league, and at this period Egmont, who was of a more impulsive temper, seemed to act the leading part; but the nation relied solely upon William. The latter gave at least a tacit sanction to the league in the spring of 1566, by joining the members of it in a petition to the Regent which he had himself revised. It had been resolved that the petition should be presented by a numerous deputation; and on the evening of the 3rd April, two hundred members of the league, armed and mounted, and headed by William's brother, Count Louis of Nassau, and by Brederode, entered Brussels. On the following day, Brederode read to them a letter which he had just received from Spain announcing the burning by the inquisition of Morone, a well-known Flemish nobleman. This news caused great exasperation. On the 5th of April the confederates went in solemn procession to Culenborg House to present their petition, which was couched in respectful terms.²⁰ Margaret received them graciously; and when on the following day they came in still greater force to

¹⁹ *Corr. de Guillaume le Taciturne*, t. ii. p. 109.

²⁰ It is in the *Archives de la Maison d'Orange Nassau*, t. ii. p. 80 sqq.

receive her answer, she referred them to the decision of Philip; assuring them at the same time that she would use her influence in favour of their prayer.

At a banquet which took place a little afterwards, and at which three hundred of the confederates were present, Bröderode related to the guests how the petition had been received.²¹ The Regent, he said, appeared at first a little disconcerted, till Barlaimont, in order to reassure her, told her that the petitioners were nothing but a parcel of *Gueux* (beggars). "My friends," continued Bröderode, "have no objection to the name; they are ready to become beggars in the service of their country." This sally was applauded with loud cries of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" amidst which Bröderode left the apartment. He soon returned with a wallet and a wooden bowl, such as were used by the Flemish mendicants; both were sent round the table, and each guest pledged his confederates with redoubled shouts of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" Orange, Egmont, and Horn, who were accidentally passing at the time, attracted by the noise, entered the hall, and are said to have joined in the cheers: an incident afterwards employed against Egmont and Horn at their trial. The term *Gueux* remained ever after the appellation of the Flemish malcontents. A medal was struck in gold and silver, called the "Gueux penny," having on the obverse the King's head with the legend *Fidèles au Roi*, and on the reverse two hands grasping a beggar's wallet, with the further inscription — "*jusques à la besace.*" The confederates quietly left Brussels, April 10th, firing a grand salute with their pistols outside the gate. The greater part of them proceeded to Antwerp, where they were enthusiastically received. The result of the petition was that the government caused a document to be drawn up, in fifty-three articles, which they called a "*Moderatie*," or "Moderation," because it professed to be a mitigation of the existing law respecting heresy; although all the alleviation consisted in substituting the halter for the faggot. The people, by a pun which holds good in Flemish, called it the "Murderation."²²

It was about this time that the missionaries, or ministers, began to appear in West Flanders. These men preached at first in the woods and forests at night, but gaining courage after a while, they began gradually to appear in the open plains, in the villages, and even in the suburbs of towns. A platform was erected for the preacher, round which gathered the women and

²¹ For an account of this scene, see especially Vandervynckt, *Troubles des Pays*

Bas, liv. ii. ch. 7 (t. i. p. 192, ed. 1836).

²² Motley, *Dutch Repub.* vol. i. p. 527.

children; the men stood outside, generally armed; the outer ground was kept by patrols on horseback, while barricades of waggons were thrown across the roads to prevent the approach of the military. Besides religious topics, the missionaries frequently touched with pathos and eloquence on the misfortunes of the country, mingled occasionally with violent abuse of the inquisition, the Pope, and the clergy; and the meeting was usually concluded by the singing of psalms, either in French or Flemish. At Antwerp, these assemblies sometimes consisted of 20,000 or 30,000 persons, among whom were some of the wealthiest citizens²³; and they excited so much alarm, that the Prince of Orange, at the request both of the Regent and of the magistrates of Antwerp, proceeded to that city, and used his best endeavours to allay the tumults. Even at Brussels, the seat of government, the singing of psalms and shouts of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" might be heard at night, and many of the leading citizens wore the insignia of the league. The Regent offered 700 crowns for every preacher that was brought in, whether dead or alive; notwithstanding which, and the daily executions, the preachings still proceeded.

As the year 1566 wore on, affairs assumed a still more alarming aspect. Louis of Nassau, with the connivance of his brother William, had begun to subsidise a considerable German force. The leaders of the movement were loud in their demands that the States-General should be convened; and Margaret, whose situation had become embarrassing, urged her brother Philip either to consent to this measure or to come in person into the Netherlands. In such a juncture, Charles V. would have hastened to the scene of action; Philip II. preferred to write his decision from the wood of Segovia (July). He consented to the abolition of the inquisition in the Netherlands; but its place was to be supplied by investing the bishops with inquisitorial powers. He left it to Margaret to devise some scheme for the modification of the edicts; which, however, when thus amended, were to be submitted for his approval. He conferred on the Regent power to pardon all persons except those already condemned; but he absolutely forbade the assembling of the States-General; and at the same time he remitted money to Margaret for the purpose of levying German mercenaries. Yet he was not sincere even in the trifling concessions which he deemed it prudent to make. At the very moment of writing them, he protested before a notary, in the presence of the Duke of Alva and two other persons, that they had been

²³ Motley, *Dutch Repub.* vol. i. p. 537.

wrung from him by force, and that consequently he did not feel himself bound to ratify any pardon granted by the Regent.²⁴ The Catholic zeal of Philip had received a fresh impulse from the accession of Pius V., to which pontiff he was singularly devoted. Pius wrote both to Philip and Margaret, exhorting them not to give way, and offering men and money to assist them in washing out heresy in the blood of the heretic.

Meanwhile the anti-Catholic movement was spreading in the Netherlands. The churches in and about St. Omer, Ypres and other places were broken into, and the images and ornaments destroyed or defaced; like scenes took place in the cathedral of Antwerp, where the statue of the Virgin was seized and rolled in the dust. The disturbances spread into Holland, Utrecht, Friesland; everywhere in short except a few places in the southern provinces; in less than a fortnight 400 churches were sacked in Flanders alone. The authority of the Regent preserved order in Brussels; yet such was her alarm that she thought of flying to Mons, a thoroughly Catholic town. The Council remonstrated against such a step; Egmont threatened; the magistrates of Brussels shut the gates. Being thus a sort of prisoner, Margaret was forced to make concessions. On the 23rd of August she signed an instrument by which she engaged that no members of the league should be molested on account of their past conduct, and consented that the Reformers, provided they were unarmed and did not molest the Catholics, should hold their religious assemblies, until the King and the States-General should determine otherwise: while the confederates on their part took an oath that they would assist her in suppressing all disturbances. Margaret, however, was highly mortified by this proceeding, and she wrote to her brother urging him to come in person and subdue the country.

Until these disturbances, the Regent had acted with the party of the Prince of Orange; but she now returned to the conservative party in the Council, which she had abandoned two years before, and took as her chief counsellors Viglius, Barlaumont, Arschot and Count Mansfeldt. The Orange party bore the estrangement of the Regent with great coolness, with the exception of Egmont, a staunch Catholic and conservative, although his generous temper led him to sympathise with his oppressed fellow-countrymen. The Prince of Orange, Count Horn and Hoogstraten proceeded into their respective governments and made arrangements by which the malcontents were to retain some of the churches which they

²⁴ Gaehard, *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. i. pp. cxxxiii. and 443 sqq. Cf. Reiffenberg, *Corr. de Marguerite*, pp. 96—105.

had seized, and to give up others; while Egmont on the other hand proceeded with severity against the rioters in his provinces of Flanders and Artois. Order seemed for awhile to be restored, and the league fell into abeyance.

These divisions among the leaders of the opposition necessarily strengthened the Regent's hands. In fact the confederacy was composed not only of Lutherans and Calvinists, hostile to one another, but also of Catholics hostile to both. Before the close of 1566 the Prince of Orange, whose religion always sat easily upon him, seems to have returned to the Lutheran faith, in which as a child he had been bred up, but which at the early age of eleven, through his education at the Imperial court, he had changed for Catholicism. Margaret began to restrict the concessions which she had made. She told the governors of provinces that the license which she had granted for preaching must be construed literally, and that she would not suffer under it the exercise of other Protestant rites, as baptism, the burial service, &c. Thus interpreted, the license was nothing but a mockery. The Regent was also raising German levies and Walloon regiments. From these proceedings, as well as from the secret advices which he received from Madrid, the Prince of Orange foresaw that religion and liberty must soon be asserted by the sword; for William's spies are said to have peered into the very letters which Philip II. had locked in his desk at night; nay even into the memorandums which he put into his pocket on going to bed. Among his agents was Van den Esse, the King's secretary.²⁵ He knew that Philip's anger was chiefly directed against the great nobles. Montigny, brother of Count Horn, who had been deputed to Madrid and detained by Philip, also supplied intelligence, and informed his brother that he must be prepared either to fight or fly. Open war was evidently at hand. Margaret's troops had laid siege to Valenciennes, a town noted for heresy. On the other hand Count Louis of Nassau and Brederode were busy in organising resistance. The royalists under Count Megen made an attempt on Bois le Duc, which failed, but they succeeded in taking Utrecht. In March 1567 a bloody battle was fought near Antwerp, between the insurgents, led by Marnix, lord of Toulouse, and the royalists under Launoy, in which 1500 of the *Gueux* fell, and 300 more were afterwards massacred in cold blood. During this fight, the Prince of Orange, who was at Antwerp, having caused the gates to be shut in order to prevent the citizens from joining Toulouse, a

²⁵ Pontus Payen, MS.; ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. i. p. 502.

great riot ensued. William was received with shouts of execration and epithets of the Pope's servant, antichrist, &c. A clothier levelled at him an arquebuse, which was fortunately pushed aside by another hand; yet the prince continued calmly to address the mob, and such was the influence of his character that he at length persuaded them to cry with him, *Vive le Roi!* Valenciennes surrendered soon after (April 2nd); Maestricht, Ghent, Ypres, Oudenarde, and many other towns consented to admit garrisons; Megen and D'Aremberg restored the royal authority in Gelderland, Groningen, and Friesland; and in the course of a few weeks, except at Antwerp and some places in Holland, all resistance was subdued.

Margaret now proposed to the chief nobles an oath of implicit obedience to the King. Most of them complied; but Brederode, Horn, and Hoogstraaten declined it, and resigned their governments and commands. Orange, also, in spite of the wheedling of the Regent, most positively refused to swear, alleging that such an oath would imply a foregone breach of it; but he saw his danger, and determined to leave the country, although Margaret employed every effort to detain him. A last attempt was made through Count Egmont, who had taken the oath, and who had an interview with William at Willbroek. Each strove, but without success, to win over the other to his views, and they now parted for ever, though with mutual esteem and kindness; William ominously predicting that the Spaniards would use the Count as a bridge to pass into the Netherlands. It should, however, be remembered that the situation of the two men was different. Egmont's possessions lay entirely in Flanders, and his whole hope was consequently bound up with that country, while the Prince had large estates abroad. To one of these, Dillenburg in Nassau, the place of his birth, William now retired, carrying with him his younger son, Maurice; his heir, Count Buren, was studying at Louvain. Many other nobles followed the Prince's example, and fled into Germany; among them his brother Louis, Count Hoogstraaten, and others. William in his retirement applied himself to the study of the Lutheran religion, for which purpose he procured the services of an eminent divine.

The royal authority seemed to be now completely re-established in the Netherlands. Antwerp submitted and received a large garrison; Margaret entered that city in great state, and attended a *Te Deum* in the cathedral, as if a victory had been achieved over some foreign enemy. The churches of the Reformers were pulled down and their schools closed; and four of the ringleaders in the

late riots were executed. The Regent published, May 24th, a severe and bloody edict, ordaining that all Protestants who had preached in public, as well as all who had aided and abetted them, all printers of heretical tracts, &c., should be punished with death and confiscation of their property; while lighter penalties were imposed for minor offences, so that hardly a single Protestant could escape some of its provisions.²⁶ Yet Philip II. ordered Margaret to recall this edict, as too lenient;—it did not proscribe private worship!

Holland was the only province that still remained refractory. Brederode, from his head-quarters at Viana, endeavoured to stir up the citizens of Amsterdam to revolt, but, finding his party subdued, escaped into Westphalia, where in the summer of 1568 he died of a fever, brought on, it is said, by disappointment and hard drinking. After Brederode's departure, Amsterdam submitted to the Regent; but numbers of the citizens availed themselves of the permission to leave the city, and their example was imitated by the inhabitants of many other towns in Holland and the Netherlands. France, Germany, and especially England, afforded a refuge to these fugitives. The stream of emigration had already set in towards the last-named country. It was computed in 1566 that there were 30,000 Netherlanders settled in Sandwich, Norwich, and other places assigned to them by Queen Elizabeth; and from a return of the population of London in the following year, it appeared that the Flemings domiciled there equalled all the other foreigners put together. Thus England was enriched, through the impolitic conduct of Philip II., with foreign capital and skill; each Flemish manufacturer was compelled to employ at least one English apprentice; the produce of the loom became an article of export instead of import; and the Protestant cause flourished in its strongest hold through the very means adopted abroad for its repression.²⁷ A chief motive for the fear and flight of the reformers was the rumoured approach of the Duke of Alva with his Spaniards. Those who remained were exposed to *dragonnades*, and wherever they assembled in numbers were ridden down by the military. Crowds of wandering exiles filled the roads, along the sides of which gibbets were erected *in terrorem*.

It may admit of a question whether the disturbances would have

²⁶ See the Edict in Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe*, t. i. p. 550.

²⁷ Letter of the counsellor Assonleville to Cardinal Granvella, Jan. 15th 1566, in *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. i. p. 392.

The Prince of Orange estimated that up to this period 50,000 persons had been put to death in the Netherlands in conformity with the edicts. Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, &c. t. ii. p. 22.

revived in the Netherlands but for the entry of the Duke of Alva and his troops. Margaret had succeeded in quelling them; she was tolerably popular, at least among the Catholic part of the population; and she naturally felt indignant that when she had done the work, another should come to enjoy the profit and reputation. Philip talked of going in person into Flanders; he even directed Margaret to prepare a squadron to convey him to Zealand; and when he sent Alva instead, it was only, as he said, to prepare the way for himself. But though fond of sedentary toil, Philip had an aversion to long journeys, and it is probable that he never really contemplated undertaking this. It was Pope Pius V. who had advised Philip, when he was still hesitating, to take up arms against the Flemings. "He who negotiates without arms," he observed, "must submit to receive laws; with arms, he can dictate them."²⁸ Alva took leave of his sovereign in April 1567, and proceeded to Carthage, where a fleet under Andrew Doria was awaiting him and his army. His commission of Captain-General was here delivered; the instructions contained in which were so minute that he complained of them as betraying a want of confidence. Charles V. had never so hampered him; but such was Philip's character. The commission, however, which was dated March 1st, invested Alva with the civil as well as military command in the Netherlands, and was therefore, in fact, a virtual dismissal of Margaret.²⁹ Landing at Savona, Alva began his march with a picked body of Spanish veterans, 10,000 in number, all superbly equipped; and he was also accompanied by many noble volunteers. His forces marched in three divisions, each a day behind the other, so that the quarters vacated by one division were occupied on the following night by another. Philip, as related in the preceding chapter, had obtained permission for his army to pass through part of France, and he had caused a map to be made of the proposed route through Savoy. Alva led the van over Mont Cenis. In order to facilitate his march he took with him no artillery; but to each company were attached men who carried huge muskets to be fired from rests, such as had hitherto been used only for the defence of fortresses. As Alva's route lay near Geneva, Pope Pius V. exhorted him to clean out that nest of devils and apostates³⁰, and the Genevese put themselves into a posture of defence; but Alva did not attempt the enterprise, declaring that it lay not within his commission. Passing through Burgundy

²⁸ Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. ii. S. 377. *de Philippe II.* t. ii. App. No. 102.
²⁹ Leti, *Vita di Filippo II.* t. i. p. 487.
³⁰ The document is in Gachard, *Corr.*

and Lorraine, he was met at Thionville by Egmont and several of the Flemish nobles. At Egmont's approach, Alva exclaimed loud enough to be heard, "Here comes a great heretic!" but afterwards reassured the disconcerted Count. The Spaniards entered Brussels August 22nd amid the silence of the people; and at the threshold of the palace an altercation took place between Alva's guard and that of the Regent. His reception by Margaret was most chilling.

Alva was now sixty years of age, and with his increasing years had grown only more stern and inflexible — a fitting instrument of Philip's intolerance. One of his first acts was to substitute Spaniards for Walloons in the garrisons of the principal towns, who were indulged in reckless licence. He also caused new fortresses to be constructed. In accordance with his maxim, that the surest method of suppressing all revolutions is to get rid of the leaders, he determined on seizing Counts Egmont and Horn. Egmont, as we have seen, thought that he had nothing to fear; the more wary Horn was induced to come to Brussels by protestations of friendship on the part of Alva and his son Frederick de Toledo. On the 9th of September the two nobles were invited to a banquet at the Grand-Prior's; and before it commenced they received a message from Alva that he wished to see them after dinner at Jassy House, his residence, in order to consult them respecting some plans for the fortification of Antwerp. During the repast, the Grand-Prior earnestly whispered to Egmont to fly the country on his swiftest horse; but Noircarmes and others dissuaded him from a flight which would have the appearance of guilt. Accompanied by Horn, he therefore repaired to Jassy House, where the Council was assembled. When it broke up, Alva strolled with Egmont through some of the adjoining apartments, till at length they entered a small room filled with soldiers, when Davila, captain of the Duke's guard, approached Egmont, demanded his sword, and told him that he was a prisoner. The Count, as he yielded his sword with dignity, only remarked, in allusion to Gravelines and St. Quentin, that it had more than once done the King good service. Horn was entrapped in a similar manner in another part of the palace by Alva's son Frederick. It will be remembered that Alva had employed much the same artifice in order to seize the Landgrave Philip at Halle. The prisoners were carried to Ghent, the command of which place had been given to Ulloa, one of Alva's most trusty captains.

The arrest of Egmont and Horn does not appear to have been ordered by Philip II., who, when the Regent complained of it,

denied that it had been done by his command³¹, although, by furnishing Alva with blank warrants, Philip had given him an absolute discretion. In the letter in which Alva announced what he had done, he also counselled the Spanish Court to arrest Horn's brother, Montigny, who was still at Madrid. The seizure of Egmont and Horn occasioned no attempt at resistance or insurrection; but it was the signal for increased emigration; which, however, a few weeks later, was prohibited on pain of death and confiscation.

Alva next proceeded to organise that terrible tribunal which, instead of its official title of the "Council of Tumults," obtained from the people the name of the "Council of Blood." It consisted of twelve judges, among whom were Barlaimont and Noircarmes; but the soul of it were two Spanish lawyers, Del Rio and especially Juan de Vargas, a man of infamous character; and to these men was assigned the prosecution of Egmont and Horn. This court, though established by Alva's sole and verbal appointment, possessed a power as arbitrary as that of the Inquisition; it sat in Alva's own palace, who at first presided over it in person; its jurisdiction, within the limits assigned to it, was supreme, and its award final. Its proceedings were so contrary to all law and justice, that Barlaimont, Noircarmes, and some of the more respectable members soon withdrew, and the whole business fell into the hands of the two Spaniards, with Blasere and Hessels, two Flemings, who equalled them in atrocity. The manner of its proceedings may be learnt from a single anecdote. On one occasion it was found that a man summoned for trial had been executed before he was arraigned; and it further appeared from his papers that he was entirely innocent. "Never mind," cried Vargas; "so much the better for him when he is arraigned in the next world!"³² Hessels would often fall asleep during the trials, and when awakened to pronounce judgment would rub his eyes and exclaim, *Ad patibulum! ad patibulum!* (to the gallows! to the gallows!)³³

The Prince of Orange and the nobles with him were summoned by the Council to appear at Brussels and answer the charges brought against them within six weeks, under pain of confiscation and perpetual banishment; and a long list of accusations against them was proclaimed by the public crier at Brussels and Breda. William answered by denying the authority of the tribunal. By the advice

³¹ *Dispaccio di Cavalli*, Sept. 16th, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 61 (Mrs. Austin's translation).

³² Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 145.

³³ Aubéri, *Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande*, p. 44. This Hessels was afterwards summarily hanged without trial by Ryhove, when that demagogue had possession of Ghent (1678).

of Cardinal Granvella, who was now employed at Rome in the service of Philip, William's son, Count Buren, was seized at Louvain, and sent to Madrid, where, by the blandishments of the Court, he was entirely alienated from the Protestant cause; and being detained twenty-nine years in Spain, became almost a Spaniard in his habits and disposition.

The plans of finance, or rather the schemes for extorting money, devised by Alva and his master, were on a par with their administration of justice. The great instruments were confiscation and terror. Alva wrote to Philip he would have every man feel that his house might fall about his ears. Margaret, finding that she had become a mere cipher in the presence of Alva, obtained the King's permission to retire from the government before the end of the year; and Alva was now made Regent and Governor-General, with all the powers she had formerly possessed. Philip would not allow his sister to assemble the States-General in order to take a formal farewell; and she therefore took her leave in letters addressed to the principal cities. She retired first to Parma and afterwards to Naples. Her resignation caused general regret, and several of the provinces voted her large donations.

Margaret's government, though far from spotless, came out in strong relief when contrasted with that of Alva. After her departure began a complete reign of terror. On the 16th of February 1568, a sentence of the Holy Office condemned *all* the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death! excepting only from the universal doom a few persons specially named. A royal proclamation, dated ten days later, confirmed this decree, and ordered it to be carried into immediate execution, without distinction of age, sex, or condition.³⁴ Philip had now compassed the wish of the Roman tyrant, that all his subjects had but one neck! Such a sentence, in its literal sense, was of course only an atrocious and impotent absurdity; yet it was by no means entirely a dead letter. On Ash Wednesday alone 500 citizens were dragged from their beds, all of whom received sentence of death. Alva, in a letter to Philip, coolly estimates at 800 heads the executions to take place after Passion-week.³⁵ The higher criminals were beheaded, the lower ones hanged; obstinate heretics were burnt. Death was often aggravated by torture; and in order to avoid disturbance, the tongue of each prisoner was fastened with an iron ring and seared with a red-hot iron. There were also sentences of banishment and confiscation by wholesale; if one alone were comprehended thirty-five citizens

³⁴ See Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 158, and the authorities there cited.

³⁵ *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. ii. p. 23.

of Amsterdam. These penalties, as we have said, were made a temporary source of revenue, but by drying up the fountain-head; for trade decayed, and the towns became depopulated; at Ghent half the houses were abandoned. The people in the interior, who could not escape so easily as those in the border provinces, banding together in large bodies, took refuge in the forests, where they committed all sorts of excesses, and became nothing more nor less than banditti: whence they obtained the name of *Gueux Sauvages*, or Wild Beggars.

The mild and enlightened Emperor Maximilian II. addressed to Philip II. an autograph letter (March 2nd 1568), in his own name and that of the German electors, in behalf of the oppressed Flemings, interceding also for Egmont and Horn; and he even reminded the Spanish monarch that the Netherlands formed part of the German Empire, and were entitled to be protected by the humane laws of the Imperial constitution. Philip replied by vaunting his regard for justice, which had prevented him from putting an end to the disturbances in a single day; he asserted that all the world would at last approve his conduct, and declared that he would not act differently, though he should risk the loss of the provinces, and though the sky should fall upon his head!³⁶ So besotted was he at once with bigotry, and with his notions of the divine right of kings!

Meanwhile the Prince of Orange was making every exertion to raise an army to repress, if possible, these tyrannies by force. He applied for assistance to the English government, the German Princes, the French Hugonots; he raised money by contributions from the Netherlands, from the nobles attached to him, and by pawning his own plate and jewels; and by the end of April he had collected a considerable force, which would have been still larger but for the bigotry of the zealous German Lutherans, whose divines openly preached that the Hugonots and Calvinists of France and the Netherlands were rebels and sacramentaries, and that it would be doing God good service to abolish and ruin them.³⁷ Orange had planned a campaign to consist of an attack in three divisions. A French adventurer named Cocqueville was to lead a body of Hugonots into Artois; Count Hoogstraaten, accompanied by other nobles, was to penetrate into Brabant; the Prince's brothers, Louis and Adolphus, were to attack Groningen; while William himself, fixing his head-quarters with a reserve force near Clèves, was to join any division that might stand in need of support.

³⁶ See Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. ii. p. 27.

³⁷ See Groen van Prinsterer, *Arch. de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, t. iii. p. 334.

When on the point of thus openly taking up arms against his sovereign, Orange, in reply to the sentence of condemnation which had been passed upon him, published in the summer of 1568 a paper or manifesto, which he called his "justification."³⁸ The chief purport of it was to repudiate the jurisdiction of the infamous Council of Blood; and it concluded with an eloquent burst of indignation against Philip, who had forgotten the Prince's services and those of his ancestors, and had robbed him of his honour and his son, both dearer to him than life, while at the same time the King had degraded himself by breaking all his royal oaths and obligations. William also announced in this paper his change of religion.

Two of the attacks projected by Orange completely failed. Hoogstraaten's division was beaten by Davila about the end of April, and the remnant of it joined the reserve at Clèves; Cocqueville's force of about 2500 men was cut to pieces at St. Valéri, July 18th, by Marshal de Cossé, governor of Picardy, scarce 300 men escaping. Louis of Nassau was more successful in Groningen against Count D'Aremberg and a body of Spanish veterans. Louis had taken up a strong position near Winschoten. His rear was covered by the convent of Heyligerlee and a thick wood; in front the ground sloped down to an extensive morass; his left was protected by a hill, and on his right he had planted his cavalry, under his brother Adolphus. D'Aremberg was loth to attack so strong a position, till, nettled by the taunts of the Spaniards, who accused him of treachery, he gave the order to advance. The Spaniards had soon occasion to repent their rashness. They had scarcely emerged from the morass, fatigued and in disorder, when Louis' cavalry charged them in flank and put them completely to the rout. D'Aremberg himself fell and 1600 of his men; besides which the royalists lost nine guns, their military stores, and a considerable sum of money. On the other side, Count Adolphus was slain. Such was the BATTLE OF HEYLIGERLEE, fought May 23rd 1568. Count Meyer, however, succeeded on the following day in throwing himself into the town of Groningen and saving that place.³⁹

The victory of Heyligerlee proved the death-warrant of Counts Egmont and Horn. Although those noblemen had been imprisoned nearly nine months, their trial was not yet finished, and Alva now determined to bring it to a close. In his correspondence with Philip, Alva observed that this disaster to the royal arms had thrown the people into a ferment; it was necessary therefore to show

³⁸ Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 180 sq.

³⁹ Alva's correspondence respecting this invasion is in Gachard, t. iii.

that he did not fear them, and to crush all hope that the prisoners could be liberated by a fresh insurrection; and he adverted to the error of Charles V., who, by retaining the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse in custody instead of putting them to death, gave occasion to a new conspiracy, by which he was ignominiously driven from Germany, and almost deprived of the Imperial crown.⁴⁰ As a prelude to the proceedings against Egmont and Horn, nineteen members of the Union, chiefly men of rank, and including both Catholics and Protestants, were condemned to death, and were executed, June 1st, in the great square before the Hôtel de Ville at Brussels. The Catholics were beheaded, the Protestants burnt. Other executions followed during the next two days.

Egmont and Horn, who had been treated with great rigour in their dungeon at Ghent, and hardly allowed the necessaries of life, were now told that the time allowed for their defence had expired, and that no further evidence could be heard. Both prisoners being Knights of the Golden Fleece had claimed to be tried by the statutes of the order; while Egmont, as a Brabanter, further appealed to the protection of the *Joyeuse Entrée*, and Horn, as a count of the Holy Roman Empire, demanded to be judged by his peers, the electors and princes of Germany. But precedents and constitutional forms were of no account in the eyes either of Alva or of his master. Alva declared that he represented Philip not as head of the order but as sovereign of the land, and refused to receive any more petitions on the subject; while the King of Spain violated without scruple the oath which he had sworn to the *Joyeuse Entrée*. The wives of both prisoners made great exertions in their favour, but in vain, although Egmont's consort was sister to the Duke of Bavaria. Egmont's indictment consisted of ninety-nine articles, of which the principal were, plotting to expel the King of Spain from the Netherlands; conspiring against the life and character of Cardinal Granvella, demanding the removal of that minister and inventing the foolscap livery; requiring that the three Councils should be reduced to one; demanding the assembly of the States-General; declaring that the edicts were too rigorous, and that he would not assist in burning 40,000 or 50,000 men; making arrangements with the Prince of Orange and others for the levying of troops; permitting at his table the cry of *Vivent les Gueux!* and many other charges of a similar description.⁴¹ The accusations against Count Horn were of much the same kind. Casembrot, Lord of Beckerzel, Egmont's secretary, who had been condemned to death for signing the "Compromise," was tortured

⁴⁰ *Dispaccio di Cavalli*, July 3rd 1568, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 62.

⁴¹ See the *Procès d'Egmont*, ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 177.

in the most barbarous manner to make him accuse his master; and when nothing to justify the Count's condemnation could be extorted from the secretary, Alva directed that he should be torn asunder by horses.

On the 2nd of June the Council of Troubles pronounced Egmont and Horn guilty, and they were sentenced to death by that illegal and arbitrary tribunal. On the same day a body of 3000 soldiers was despatched to Ghent to escort the prisoners to Brussels, which city they entered on the 4th, and were conducted to the Brodhuys in the market-place. Alva sent for the Bishop of Ypres, and told him to prepare the two noblemen for the fate they were to suffer on the following day; and when the Bishop, who was a personal friend of Egmont's, fell at Alva's feet and implored him to grant a somewhat longer time for preparation, the Duke sternly rebuked him, telling him that he had not been summoned to obstruct the course of justice, but to discharge towards the prisoners the duties of his holy office.

At the news of his unexpected fate Egmont was at first struck with astonishment and dismay; but soon recovering himself, prepared, with the assistance of the good Bishop, to meet his death with calmness and resignation. He then addressed a letter to his wife, and another⁴² to Philip in which he protested that he had done nothing against the King, and besought him to have pity on his wife and children. He was beheaded in the great square on the morning of the 5th of June, and met his death with constancy. Horn's execution followed on the same scaffold about noon. He also died with fortitude, though he displayed more violence and indignation than Egmont at his unmerited fate. He was outshone by Egmont, who, though far from being a great man, was a showy personage, brave, sparkling, popular, but weak and vacillating. Horn, who was of more quiet, retiring manners, passed for morose; yet he also was but a commonplace character, and has been rendered conspicuous only by his tragic fate.

More than two years after, Horn's brother, the Baron Montigny, who, though a prisoner in Spain, had been tried and condemned by the Council of Blood at Brussels, was privily executed by order of Philip II. in the fortress of Simancas. He and the Marquis of Bergen had been despatched in 1566 to Madrid — rather against their will, as both had shown an inclination to the popular cause — to lay before Philip the critical state of the Netherlands, and to demand an alteration of policy. They never returned. Bergen

⁴² Strada, t. i. p. 235.

appears to have died a natural death, hastened on by fear and anxiety: Montigny was executed by the *garotte*, Oct. 16th 1570. It was given out that he also had died from natural causes; but the true story has at length come out from Philip's own letters preserved in the archives of Simancas.⁴³

Since his victory at Heyligerlee, Count Louis of Nassau had been forced to remain inactive, for want of funds to pay his troops; and Alva, after the execution of Egmont and Horn, resolved to march against him in person. Louis having thus opposed to him the most consummate general of the age, at the head of 15,000 veterans, while his own army, though superior in number, was composed of raw recruits, deemed it prudent to evacuate Groningen and East Friesland; and he took up a fortified position at Jemgum between Emden and Leer. It would have been difficult to select a worse position. He had shut himself up, as in a *cul-de-sac*, in a small peninsula, formed by the river Ems and the Gulf of Dollart, so that in case of a reverse retreat was impossible. Here he was attacked by Alva on the 20th and 21st July; his whole army was dispersed or killed, and he himself escaped with difficulty by stripping and swimming across the Ems. His men had basely fled, before the action began, and Louis was obliged to fire with his own hand the guns which defended the road leading to the position. After this victory, Alva marched against Orange, who had at length appeared on the banks of the Meuse and the Scheldt with so considerable a German force that Alva did not venture to attack him; but knowing that he had no money wherewith to pay his troops, resolved to wear him out by delay. The plan succeeded: the Prince's army could not be kept together, and he and his brother Louis retired into Germany, whence they afterwards proceeded, with about 1200 horse, to assist the Hugonots in France. They were present at the battles of La Charité, Roche la Ville, and Poitiers; but William returned to Nassau in September 1569, leaving his brother Louis in France.

The campaign being thus concluded, Alva made his triumphant entry into Brussels; and he soon after gave a signal proof of his vanity and arrogance by causing a bronze statue of himself to be erected at Antwerp, which represented him trampling upon a monster bearing emblems typifying the Petition, the Compromise, and the ensuing insurrection. An inscription on the pedestal contained a long encomium on the Duke, who was described as having extinguished heresy and rebellion, and restored the Netherlands to

⁴³ See Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. ii. p. 168 sq.

peace and justice. Alva also caused several medals to be struck, equally offensive by their vanity and presumption.

The next year or two was passed in comparative tranquillity, although Alva still continued his cruelties and oppressions. Having dried up by his impolitic government the usual sources of revenue, he naturally found himself in great want of money, and he was forced to have recourse to an assembly of the States-General, in order to obtain supplies; but he experienced nothing but unwillingness and opposition. His extortionate system of taxation, as it reached everybody, procured for the Spanish government more universal hatred even than the religious persecutions, and alienated Catholics as well as Protestants. Regardless of the essential difference between the two countries, Alva endeavoured to apply the Spanish system of finance to the Netherlands, and in March 1569 issued decrees for a tax of the one hundredth penny, or one per cent., on all property real and personal; of the twentieth penny, or five per cent., on every transfer of real estate; and of the tenth penny, or ten per cent., on every article sold. This last tax, which was similar to that called the *Alcavala* in Spain, naturally occasioned the utmost anger and consternation in a commercial country like the Netherlands. It seems to have been Alva's ill success as a financier that first led Philip to withdraw from him his confidence; and the increasing disorders in the Netherlands at length determined the Spanish King to supersede him.

In the civil disorganisation produced by bad government had risen up, besides the *Gueux Sauvages* already mentioned, a host of formidable pirates called *Gueux de la Mer*, or Beggars of the Sea. These rovers, to whom the Prince of Orange had granted letters of marque, were accustomed, without any very scrupulous regard to international law, to seize all the prizes they could lay their hands on, which they sold in English ports. These practices had occasioned disputes between the Spanish government in the Netherlands and that of Queen Elizabeth; between which there already existed a bad feeling, occasioned by Elizabeth having temporarily laid an embargo on some vessels having money on board for the Flemish government; an act which Alva had retaliated (January 1569) by not only seizing all English property in the Netherlands, but also by arresting every Englishman he could lay hands on. Alva, however, advised Philip not openly to resent the injuries of Elizabeth till he had subdued his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, and for the next three or four years it was difficult to say whether Spain and England were at peace or war. Elizabeth

assisted the patriots in the Netherlands with money, while Philip fomented sedition and conspiracy in England. The aggressions of the water *Gueux*, however, became at length so daring, and the remonstrances of the Spanish government so loud, that, in March 1572, Elizabeth found herself obliged to issue an order forbidding her subjects to supply the Dutch pirates with provisions. This event may be said incidentally to have occasioned the foundation of the Dutch Republic. De la Marck, one of the chief leaders of the water *Gueux*, finding himself obliged to leave England, sailed with twenty-four vessels to Voorne, the northernmost island of Zealand, and succeeded in seizing Briel, its capital, which, with its fortified harbour, now became the stronghold of these pirates. Hence the revolt gradually spread to other towns and provinces. The isle of Walcheren, and then Enkhuizen, the key of the Zuyder Zee, threw off the Spanish yoke; and their example was soon followed by Oudewater, Dort, Haarlem, Leyden, Gorcum, Gouda, Medenblik, Alkmaar, and other places, as well as by many towns in Utrecht, Guelderland, and Overysse. The Prince of Orange summoned deputies from the nobles and twelve principal cities of Holland to meet at Dort, July 15th 1572. Amsterdam and Rotterdam, being still in possession of the Spaniards, could not comply with this requisition, but deputies from eight of the cities appeared, and the States thus constituted declared that they recognised William as Philip's lawful Stadholder in Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, and that they would use their influence with the other provinces to procure his appointment as Protector of all the Netherlands during the King's absence. The revolt was assisted by the talents of Ste. Aldegonde, whose ode of *Wilhelmus van Nassouwe*, the Dutch Marseillaise, has remained the national air. At the same time he published his *Byenkorf* (Beehive), a satire on the Romish Church, in the manner of Ulrich von Hutten.

In these alarming circumstances, Philip thought it prudent to try a change of policy. The bow, drawn too tightly, had snapped in his hands, and he was therefore disposed for a while to relax his coercive policy. He was further embarrassed at this period by an empty exchequer and by the attitude assumed by the French Court, which, as we have related in the preceding chapter, seemed heartily to have embraced the cause of the Flemish Calvinists. The mere sojourn of Coligni at Paris, and the expectations which resulted from it, gave an immense moral force to the patriot party in Belgium. Louis of Nassau, with the aid of a body of French Hugonots headed by La Noue, had succeeded in seizing Valen-

ciennes and Mons (May 1572); a diversion which had disabled Alva from immediately attending to the revolt in Holland. While Alva was employed in besieging Louis in Mons, the Prince of Orange appeared on the Meuse with an army levied in Germany, captured Ruremonde and Louvain, obtained possession of Mechlin through the mediation of the Lord of Dorp, and advanced to the relief of Mons by Dendermonde and Oudenarde, which he took. Abandoned by his master, oppressed by the difficulties which surrounded him, Alva had completely lost his head and taken to consulting the necromancers.⁴⁴ The capture of John Hengest, Lord of Genlis, and a body of Hugonots with whom he was marching to the relief of Mons (July 19th), who, as we have already related, were betrayed by the French Court, somewhat improved the prospects of Alva.

It was September ere Orange arrived before Mons, and his hopes of assistance from France had now been completely frustrated by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the change of policy on the part of the French Court. While he lay encamped at Hermigny, near Mons, William was nearly seized in his tent on the night of September 11th by a *camisade* of the Spaniards. His guards had fallen asleep; but he was alarmed by a little spaniel which always passed the night on his bed. He had barely time to escape. His master of the horse, his two secretaries, and some of his servants were cut down, his tents burnt, and 600 of his men killed, while the Spaniards suffered a loss of only sixty. As William was ill provided with funds for the payment of his troops, who had already begun to murmur, his only resource was an immediate action, which, however, Alva carefully avoided; and the Prince was at length compelled to retreat⁴⁵ by Nivelles, Mechlin, and Orsoy. On crossing the Rhine he disbanded his troops, who had shown symptoms of open mutiny. After his departure, his brother Louis obtained an honourable capitulation from Alva (September 20th), who had begun to despair of reducing Mons, and agreed that all the soldiers and volunteers who had borne arms during the siege should be dismissed with the honours of war. La Noue and his band of Hugonots retired into France. La Noue was received with distinction by Charles IX., and afterwards employed by him in nego-

⁴⁴ "Le duc d'Albe est désespéré. On a mandé son fils. Son secrétaire n'ose pas rester seul avec lui; à chaque nouvelle on dirait qu'il va rendre l'âme. Ce qui me déplaît, c'est qu'il écoute les devins, la nécromancie."—*Letter of Morillon*, ap. Michelet, *Guerres de Nél.* p. 408.

⁴⁵ He was followed by an assassin, one Heist, a German, hired by the Duke of Alva, who, however, found no opportunity to take his life. *Letter of Mondoucet to Charles IX.*, ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 399.

ciating with the Hugonots in La Rochelle; but the soldiers who came with him appear to have been put to death.⁴⁶ With a horrible perfidy, Charles IX., after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had instructed Mondoucet, his envoy in the Netherlands, to urge upon Alva the necessity of putting to the sword, as rebels to the crown of France, all the French prisoners whom he had made, or might capture in Mons, although they had been despatched into the Netherlands with Charles's sanction. "If he tells you," said Charles, "that this is tacitly requiring him to put to death all the French prisoners now in hand (Genlis and his companions), as well as to cut to pieces every man in Mons, you will say to him that this is exactly what ought to be done, and that he will be guilty of a great wrong to Christianity if he does otherwise."⁴⁷ Yet at the same time he instructed Mondoucet to maintain the closest but most secret intelligence with the Prince of Orange, taking care that Alva should know nothing of it. To the slaughter of the French Philip of course cordially agreed, and in a letter to Alva added this postscript with his own hand: "I desire that if you have not already rid the world of them, you will do it immediately, and inform me thereof, for I see no reason why it should be deferred."⁴⁸ Genlis and his companions accordingly fell victims; though Alva, finding Mons a tougher morsel than he had thought, was obliged to dismiss the garrison. The commonly received opinion that Alva faithfully observed the capitulation, seems to be erroneous.⁴⁹ Many of the volunteers who had lingered behind were put to death; a Commission of Tumults, like that at Brussels, was erected by Noircarmes, and for nearly a year executions went on by beheading, hanging, or burning alive. The fall of Mons involved that of the other towns of Brabant and Flanders, and put an end to the temporary revolution of the southern provinces. Alva determined to make an example of Mechlin, where neither man, woman, nor child was spared.

Orange ultimately retired into Holland, where the revolt had been completely successful. We have already adverted to some symptoms of a milder policy on the part of Philip. He contemplated superseding Alva by the Duke of Medina Celi, which nobleman had been despatched with a fleet to reduce the Beggars of the Sea on the coasts of Flanders. But the Duke's fleet, consisting of fifty large ships, was useless in those shallow waters; the rebels, who

⁴⁶ "To gratify the King of Spain, those 800 that came from Mons were put to the sword."—Walsingham, Oct. 8th, in Digges, p. 269.

⁴⁷ Letter to Mondoucet, discovered by Emile Gachet in the library at Rheims,

ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 395.

⁴⁸ Letter of Philip, 18th Sept. 1572, published by M. Gachard in *Particularités inédites sur la Saint-Barthélemi*, *Ibid.* p. 391.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 403.

had three times the number of small vessels, completely worsted him, and he was glad to save a remnant of his fleet in Sluys. He saw how difficult under present circumstances would be the government of the Netherlands, and he declined to relieve Alva from the responsibilities which he had himself created, though he assisted that commander with his presence at Mons. During William's absence, the revolt in Holland had been conducted by his deputy Stadholder, Sonoy; while in Gelderland, Friesland, and Utrecht, it was organised by Count von Bay, who had married a sister of the Prince's. When Orange appeared in Holland he was formally recognised as Stadholder, and a council of state was assigned him to conduct the government. He soon afterwards obtained possession of Gertruydenberg.

Soon after the capture of Mons, Alva returned to Brussels and left the conduct of the war to his son, Frederick de Toledo. Zutphen and Naarden successively yielded to Frederick's arms, and became the scenes of the most detestable violence. Alva ordered his son not to leave a single man alive in Zutphen, and to burn down all the houses,—commands which were almost literally obeyed. The treatment of Naarden was still more revolting. The town had capitulated, and Don Julian Romero, an officer of Don Frederick's, had pledged his word that the lives and property of the inhabitants should be respected. Romero then entered the town with some 500 musketeers, for whom the citizens provided a sumptuous feast; and he summoned the inhabitants to assemble in the Gast Huis church, then used as a town hall. More than 500 of them had entered the church when a priest suddenly rushing in, bade them prepare for death. Scarcely had the announcement been made when a band of Spanish soldiers entered, and, after discharging a volley into the defenceless crowd, attacked them sword in hand. The church was then fired, and the dead and dying consumed together. But these cruelties only steeled the Hollanders to a more obstinate resistance; nor must it be concealed that in these *plus-quam civilia bella*, where civil hatred was still further embittered by sectarian malignancy, the Dutch sometimes displayed as much savageness as their adversaries. Thus, during the struggle in Zeeland, a surgeon at Veer cut out the heart of a Spanish prisoner, and, fixing it on the prow of a vessel, invited his fellow-townsmen to fix their teeth in it,—an invitation with which many complied.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Motley, *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 366. This barbarous act is perhaps more than paralleled by one of Alva's; who, two or three years after the capture of Briel, caused a

nobleman named Uitenhove, who had assisted in the capture, to be roasted alive at a slow fire. — Brandt, *Hist. of Ref. B.* x. (vol. i. p. 306, ed. 1720).

The war was continued during the winter (1572-73). In December the Spaniards marched to attack a fleet frozen up near Amsterdam. It was defended by a body of Dutch musketeers on skates, who, by the superior skill of their evolutions, drove the enemy back and killed great numbers of them. In consequence of this extraordinary combat, Alva ordered 7000 pairs of skates, and directed his soldiers to be instructed in their use. Siege was then laid to Haarlem, which town, warned by the fate of Zutphen and Naarden, made a defence that astonished all Europe. A corps of 300 respectable women, armed with musket, sword, and dagger, and led by Kenan Hasselaer, a widow lady of distinguished family, about forty-seven years of age, enrolled themselves among its defenders, and partook in some of the most fiercely contested actions. Battles took place upon Haarlem lake, on which the Prince of Orange had more than 100 sail of various kinds; till at length Bossu, whose vessels were larger, though less numerous, entirely defeated the Hollanders, and swept the lake in triumph (May 28th 1573). The siege had lasted seven months, and Frederick de Toledo, who had lost a great part of his army by hunger, cold, and pestilence, was inclined to abandon the enterprise; but he was kept to it by the threats of his father, and on the 12th of July Haarlem surrendered. Don Frederick had written a letter solemnly assuring the besieged that no punishment should be inflicted except on those who deserved it in the opinion of the citizens themselves; yet he was in possession of strict orders from his father to put to death the whole garrison, except the Germans, and also to execute a large number of the inhabitants. Between 2000 and 3000 were slaughtered; 300 were drowned in the lake tied by twos back to back.

The resistance of Haarlem and other places determined Alva to try what might be done by an affectation of clemency; and on the 26th of July he issued a proclamation in which Philip was compared to a hen gathering its chickens under the parental wing. But in the same breath his subjects were admonished not to excite his rage, cruelty, and fury; and they were threatened that if his gracious offers of mercy were neglected, his Majesty would strip bare and utterly depopulate the land, and cause it to be again inhabited by strangers.⁵¹ So ludicrous a specimen of paternal love was not calculated to excite much confidence in the breasts of the Hollanders; and Alkmaar, the next town to which Don Frederick laid siege, though defended only by 800 soldiers and 1300 citizens against 16,000 veterans, also resolved to hold out to the last ex-

⁵¹ Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 460.

tremity. Enraged at this contempt of what he called his clemency at Haarlem, Alva resolved to make Alkmaar an example of his cruelty, and he wrote to Philip that every one in it should be put to the sword.⁵² But the inhabitants made an heroic defence and repulsed the besiegers in many a bloody assault; till at length the superstitious Spaniards, believing that the place was defended by the devil, whom they thought that the Protestants worshipped, refused to mount to the attack, suffering themselves rather to be run through the body by their officers; and Don Frederick, finding from an intercepted letter that the Prince of Orange contemplated cutting the dykes and flooding the country, in order to prevent the place from being surrendered, raised the siege (October 8th) after it had lasted seven weeks.

About this time, William published an "Epistle in the form of supplication to his Royal Majesty of Spain, from the Prince of Orange and States of Holland and Zealand," which produced a profound impression. It demanded that the privileges of the country should be restored, and insisted on the recall of the Duke of Alva, whose atrocities were vigorously described and condemned. Orange, as Stadholder, was now acting as the King's representative in Holland, and gave all his orders in Philip's name. He had recently turned Calvinist, and in October publicly joined the church at Dort. It was reserved for the two greatest princes of the age to alleviate by their apostasy, which however approached more nearly than the orthodoxy of their adversaries the spirit of true Christianity, the evils inflicted on society by a consistent but bloody-minded and intolerant bigotry.

The siege of Alkmaar was one of the last acts under Alva's auspices in the Netherlands, and formed a fitting termination to his career. He had himself solicited to be recalled, and in December 1573 he was superseded by Don Louis de Requesens, Grand Commander of St. Jago. In fact, Philip had found this war of extermination too expensive for his exhausted treasury. Alva boasted on his journey back that he had caused 18,600 Netherlanders to be executed. He was well received by Philip, but soon after his return was imprisoned along with his son, Don Frederick; the latter for having seduced a maid of honour, his father for recommending him not to marry his victim.⁵³ Alva was however subsequently released to undertake the conquest of Portugal, as will be related in another chapter.

Requesens, the new governor, had been vice-admiral to Don John

⁵² *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. ii. p. 402.

⁵³ See the *Apologie* of the Prince of Orange.

of Austria, had distinguished himself at the battle of Lepanto, and had subsequently governed the Milanese with reputation. He was mild and just, and more liberal than the generality of Spaniards, though inferior to Alva in military talent.⁵⁴ He attempted immediately after his arrival in the Netherlands to bring about a peace through the mediation of St. Aldegonde, but Orange was too suspicious to enter into it. Requesens put down robbery and murder; but he was neither able to abrogate the Council of Blood nor to alleviate the oppressive taxes. Philip had selected him as governor of the Netherlands as a pledge of the more conciliatory policy which he had thought it prudent to adopt; yet Requesens' hands were tied up with such injunctions as rendered all conciliation hopeless; and he was instructed to bring forward no measures which had not for their basis the maintenance of the King's absolute authority and the prohibition of all worship except the Roman Catholic.⁵⁵

The *Gueux* of the sea were at this time most troublesome to the Spaniards, as their small vessels enabled them to penetrate up the rivers and canals. A naval action had been fought (October 11th 1573) on the Zuyder Zee between Count Bossu, who had collected a considerable fleet at Amsterdam, and the patriot Admiral Dirkzoon, in which Bossu was completely defeated, and taken prisoner. One of the first acts of Requesens was to send a fleet under Sancho Davila, Julian Romero, and Admiral Glimes to the relief of Middelburg, which had been besieged by the patriots upwards of eighteen months and was now reduced to the last extremity. Orange visited the Zealand fleet under the command of Louis Boissot (January 20th 1574), and an action ensued a few days after, in which the Spaniards were completely beaten. Requesens himself beheld the action from the lofty dyke of Schakerloo, where he stood all day in a drenching rain; and Romero, who had escaped by jumping out of a porthole, swam ashore and landed at the very feet of the Grand-Commander. The Hollanders and Zealanders were now masters of the coast, but the Spaniards still held their ground in the interior of Holland. After raising the siege of Alkmaar, they had invested Leyden and cut off all communication between the Dutch cities.

The efforts of the patriots were less fortunate on land, where they were no match for the Spanish generals and their veteran troops. It had been arranged that Louis of Nassau should march out of

⁵⁴ "Largitor et comis plusquam Hispanis solitum; peritia Albano impar, laudagens tamen bellicæ laudis."—Gro-

tius, *Ann.* p. 60 (ed. 1658).

⁵⁵ *Letter of Philip, March 30th 1574, in Corr. de Guillaume le Taciturne, t. iii.*

Germany with an army of newly-levied recruits and form a junction with his brother William, who was at Bommel on the Waal. Towards the end of February 1574, Louis encamped within four miles of Maestricht, with the design of taking that town; but finding that he could not accomplish this object, and having suffered some losses, he marched down the right bank of the Meuse to join his brother. When, however, he arrived at Mook, a village on the Meuse a few miles south of Nymegen, he found himself intercepted by the Spaniards under Davila, who, having outmarched him on the opposite bank, had crossed the river at a lower point on a bridge of boats, and placed themselves directly in his path. There was now no alternative but to fight, and battle was delivered on the following day on the heath of Mook, when fortune declared against the patriots. The gallant Louis, seeing that the day was lost, put himself at the head of a little band of troopers, and, accompanied by his brother Henry, and Duke Christopher, son of the Elector Palatine Frederick III., made a desperate charge in which they all perished, and were never heard of more. The only effect of Louis' invasion was to cause the Spaniards to raise the siege of Leyden; before which place, however, they afterwards again sat down (May 26th).

The defence of Leyden formed a worthy parallel to that of Haarlem and Alkmaar, and acquired for the garrison and the inhabitants the respect and admiration of all Europe. A modern historian⁵⁶ has aptly observed that this was the heroic age of Protestantism. Never have the virtues which spring from true patriotism and sincere religious conviction been more strikingly developed and displayed. Leyden was defended by John van der Does, Lord of Nordwyck, a gentleman of distinguished family, but still more distinguished by his learning and genius, and his Latin poetry published under the name of Joannes Douza. The garrison of Leyden was small, and it relied for its defence chiefly on the exertions of the inhabitants. The revictualling of the city had been neglected after the raising of the first siege, and at the end of June it became necessary to put the inhabitants on short allowance; yet they held out more than three months longer. Orange, whose head-quarters were at Delft and Rotterdam, had no means of relieving Leyden, except by breaking down the dykes on the Meuse and the Yssel, and thus flooding the country; a step which would involve the destruction of the growing crops, besides other extraordinary expenses; yet he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Dutch

⁵⁶ Ranke.

States to this extreme and desperate measure. On the 3rd of August he superintended in person the rupture of the dykes on the Yssel; at the same time the sluices of Rotterdam and Schiedam were opened; the flood began to pour over the land, while the citizens of Leyden watched with anxious eyes from the tower of Hengist the rising of the waters. A flotilla of 200 flat-bottomed vessels had been provided, stored with provisions, and manned by 2500 veterans under the command of Boissot. But unexpected obstacles arose. Fresh dykes appeared above the water, and had to be cut through amid the resistance of the Spaniards. Twice the waters receded under the influence of the east wind, and left the fleet aground: twice it was floated again, as if by a providential interposition, by violent gales from the north and west, which accumulated on the coast the waters of the ocean. Meanwhile the besieged were suffering all the extremities of famine; the most disgusting garbage was used for food, and caused a pestilence which carried off thousands. In this extremity a number of the citizens surrounded the burgomaster, Adrian van der Werf, demanding with loud threats and clamours that he should either provide them food or surrender the city to the enemy. To these menaces Adrian calmly replied, "I have taken an oath that I will never put myself or my fellow-citizens in the power of the cruel and perfidious Spaniards, and I will rather die than violate it." Then drawing his sword he offered it to the surrounding crowd and bade them plunge it in his bosom, and devour his flesh if such an action could relieve them from their direful necessity. This extraordinary address filled the people with amazement and admiration, and inspired them with a new courage. Their constancy was soon rewarded with deliverance. On the night of the 1st October a fresh gale set in from the north-west; the ocean rushed furiously through the ruined dykes; the fleet had soon two feet of water, and sailed on their onward course amid storm and darkness. They had still to contend with the vessels of the enemy, and a naval battle was fought amid the boughs of orchards and the chimney-stacks of houses. But this was the last attempt at resistance on the part of the Spaniards. Appalled both by the constancy of their adversaries and by the rising flood, which was gradually driving them into a narrower circle, the Spaniards abandoned the two remaining forts of Zoetermoude and Lammen, which still stood between the fleet and the city. From the latter they fled in alarm at the noise of the falling of a large portion of the town walls which had been thrown down by the waters, and which in the darkness they luckily mistook for some operation of their adversaries; otherwise they might easily have entered and captured Leyden. The

fleet of Boissot approached the city on the morning of October 3rd. After the pangs of hunger were relieved the whole population repaired to church to return thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance. On the 4th of October another providential gale from the north-east assisted in clearing off the water from the land. In commemoration of this remarkable defence, and as a reward for the heroism of the citizens, was founded the University of Leyden, as well as a ten days' annual fair, free from all tolls and taxes.⁵⁷ During this siege the *Gueux* had been again successful at sea. On the 30th of May, Boissot defeated between Lilloo and Kalloo a Spanish fleet, took the admiral and three ships, and chased the rest into Antwerp.

The bankrupt state of Philip II.'s exchequer⁵⁸, and the reverses which his arms had sustained, induced him to accept in the following year the proffered mediation of the Emperor Maximilian, which he had before so arrogantly rejected, and a congress was held at Breda from March till June 1575. But the insurgents were suspicious, and Philip was inflexible; he could not be induced to dismiss his Spanish troops, to allow the meeting of the States-General, or to admit the slightest toleration in matters of religion; and the contest was therefore renewed with more fury than ever. The situation of the patriots became very critical when the enemy, by occupying the islands of Duyveland and Schouwen, cut off the communication between Holland and Zealand; especially as all hope of succour from England had expired. Towards the close of the year envoys were despatched to solicit the aid of Elizabeth, and to offer her, under certain conditions, the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand. Requesens sent Champagny to counteract these negotiations, which ended in nothing. The English Queen was afraid of provoking the power of Spain, and could not even be induced to grant the Hollanders a loan. The attitude assumed at that time by the Duke of Alençon in France, also prevented them from entering into any negotiations with that Prince.

In these trying circumstances, William the Silent displayed the greatest firmness and courage. It was now that he is said to have contemplated abandoning Holland and seeking with its inhabitants a home in the New World, having first restored the country to its

⁵⁷ The best description of the siege of Leyden is that of Jan Fruytiers, a contemporary (*Corte Beschryvinghe van der strenghe Belegginghe en wonderbaerlijcke Verlossinge der Stadt Leyden*, Delf, 1577). The next best authority is the historian Bor, who was living at the time at Utrecht. The English reader will find

all he can desire in Mr. Motley's excellent description (*Dutch Rep.* pt. iv. ch. ii.).

⁵⁸ Philip at this time compromised with the public creditors at 58 per cent. See Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, K. iv. § 11.

ancient state of a waste of waters; a thought, however, which he probably never seriously entertained, though he may have given utterance to it in a moment of irritation or despondency. On June 12th 1575, William had married Charlotte de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Montpensier. The Prince's second wife, Anne of Saxony, had turned out a drunken, violent character, and at length an intrigue which she formed with John Rubens, an exiled magistrate of Antwerp, and father of the celebrated painter, justified William in divorcing her. She subsequently became insane. Charlotte de Bourbon had been brought up a Calvinist, but at a later period her father having joined the party of the persecutors, Charlotte took refuge with the Elector Palatine; and it was under these circumstances that she received the addresses of the Prince of Orange.

The unexpected death of Requesens, who expired of a fever, March 5th 1576, after a few days' illness, threw the government into confusion. Philip II. had given Requesens a *carte blanche* to name his successor, but the nature of his illness had prevented him from filling it up. The government therefore devolved to the Council of State, the members of which were at variance with one another; but Philip found himself obliged to intrust it *ad interim* with the administration, till a successor to Requesens could be appointed. Count Mansfeld was made commander-in-chief, but was totally unable to restrain the licentious soldiery. The Spaniards, whose pay was in arrear, had now lost all discipline. After the raising of the siege of Leyden they had beset Utrecht and pillaged and maltreated the inhabitants, till Valdez contrived to furnish their pay. No sooner had Requesens expired than they broke into open mutiny, and acted as if they were entire masters of the country. After wandering about some time and threatening Brussels, they seized and plundered Alost, where they established themselves; and they were soon afterwards joined by the Walloon and German troops. To repress their violence, the Council of State restored to the Netherlanders the arms of which they had been deprived, and called upon them by a proclamation to repress force by force; but these citizen-soldiers were dispersed with great slaughter by the disciplined troops in various rencounters. Ghent, Utrecht, Valenciennes, Maestricht were taken and plundered by the mutineers; and at last the storm fell upon Antwerp, which the Spaniards entered early in November, and sacked during three days. More than 1000 houses were burnt, 8000 citizens are said to have been slain, and enormous sums in ready money were plundered. The whole damage was estimated at 24,000,000 florins.

The horrible excesses committed in this sack procured for it the name of the "Spanish Fury."

The government was at this period conducted in the name of the States of Brabant. On the 5th of September, De Hèze, a young Brabant gentleman who was in secret intelligence with the Prince of Orange, had, at the head of 500 soldiers, entered the palace where the Council of State was assembled, and seized and imprisoned the members. William, taking advantage of the alarm created at Brussels by the sack of Antwerp, persuaded the provisional government to summon the States-General, although such a course was at direct variance with the commands of the King. To this assembly all the provinces except Luxemburg sent deputies. The nobles of the southern provinces, although they viewed the Prince of Orange with suspicion, feeling that there was no security for them so long as the Spanish troops remained in possession of Ghent, sought his assistance in expelling them; which William consented to grant only on condition that an alliance should be effected between the northern and the southern, or Catholic provinces of the Netherlands. This proposal was agreed to, and towards the end of September Orange sent several thousand men from Zealand to Ghent, at whose approach the Spaniards, who had valorously defended themselves for two months under the conduct of the wife of their absent general Mondragon, surrendered, and evacuated the citadel. The proposed alliance was now converted into a formal union by the treaty called the PACIFICATION OF GHENT, signed November 8th 1576; by which it was agreed, without waiting for the sanction of Philip, whose authority however was nominally recognised, to renew the edict of banishment against the Spanish troops, to procure the suspension of the decrees against the Protestant religion, to summon the States-General of the northern and southern provinces, according to the model of the assembly which had received the abdication of Charles V., to provide for the toleration and practice of the Protestant religion in Holland and Zealand, together with other provisions of a similar character. About the same time with the Pacification of Ghent, all Zealand, with the exception of the island of Tholen, was recovered from the Spaniards.

At this point we leave for awhile the affairs of the Netherlands, to return in another chapter to those of France; but we shall first direct our attention to the reign of the Emperor Maximilian II., who expired this year (1576). Under his pacific sway the history of Germany affords but few materials of European importance, and we shall therefore here only briefly advert to some of the more remarkable events of his reign. His wars in Hungary and

with the Turks, the only occurrences not of a domestic nature, have been already related.⁵⁹ The grand feature of Maximilian's reign is his wise moderation in religious matters. To him belongs the honour of being the first European sovereign to adopt toleration not from policy, but as a principle. The Diet assembled at Augsburg in 1566 would have excluded the Calvinists from the religious peace, and recognised only Papists and Lutherans; but when the Elector Palatine, Frederick III., surnamed the Pious, the only Calvinist prince in Germany, protested, Maximilian procured for him a tacit toleration. As King of Bohemia, Maximilian annulled the *Compactata* in the first diet which he held at Prague; in consequence of which step the middling and lower classes of the Bohemians, who were mostly Calixtines, and had hitherto enjoyed their religion only by sufferance, openly professed Lutheranism, whilst other sects also publicly displayed their dissent from the Roman Church. This is the first example of unlimited toleration given by any monarch. In the following year he relaxed the religious despotism in Austria; but he was arrested by political considerations from carrying out these concessions so far as he might otherwise have done, though he did not withdraw those already granted. His Spanish wife, Mary of Castile, a daughter of Charles V., was led by the Jesuits, against whose arts Maximilian himself was proof. The marriage of his eldest daughter Anne to Philip II. of Spain, in November 1570, strengthened the Roman Catholic party in Austria. Maximilian's eldest son Rodolph, through the influence of his mother Mary, and her brother Philip II., was educated in Spain in the strictest principles of the Roman Catholic faith.

The early part of Maximilian's reign was disturbed by a foolish and abortive conspiracy on the part of John Frederick II. of Saxe-Gotha, who ruled, conjointly with his three brothers, the dominions of ducal Saxony. The Duke, who was weak and credulous, was haunted with the idea of recovering the paternal Electorate; and William of Grumbach, a Franconian knight, who had taken refuge at his court after procuring the assassination of the Bishop of Würzburg, by working on this fancy, made him the tool of his plots. A necromancer was employed, who, after many magical rites and incantations, by means of an optical illusion exhibited to John Frederick his own figure, clothed in the Electoral cap and robes. Infatuated with this delusion he was persuaded to consent to the assassination of his cousin the Elector Augustus; after which

⁵⁹ Above, p. 191 sqq.

the knights and nobility were to rise and not only to recover the Electorate, but even place John Frederick on the Imperial throne. These projects being discovered, and the Duke having refused to dismiss Grumbach, both were included in the Imperial ban published by the Diet of Augsburg, 1566. The execution of the sentence was intrusted to the Elector Augustus, who laid siege to Gotha, then a fortified town. After a blockade of three or four months, the garrison revolted for want of pay, seized Grumbach and the leaders of his party, and delivered them and the town to Augustus by capitulation (April 1567). The Elector on entering Gotha caused his cousin to be apprehended and sent to Vienna, where he spent twenty-eight years, the remainder of his life, a prisoner in the castle of the Neustadt. Grumbach and his principal adherents were executed.

Maximilian, after his treaty with the Porte in 1567, continued the war in Hungary; till at length, John Sigismund growing weary of the Turkish insolence, concluded a secret treaty with the Emperor in 1570, by which he agreed to resign the title of King elect of Hungary. It was also arranged that he should marry Maximilian's niece, Anne, daughter of Albert, Duke of Bavaria; but the Bavarian princess was persuaded by the Jesuits to withhold her consent because Sigismund was a Socinian. That prince, however, died in the following year (March 1571), when all his possessions reverted by the treaty to the Emperor, except Transylvania, which, on the death of Sigismund without issue, was to be considered as an elective principality dependent on Hungary. The Transylvanian diet elected Stephen Bathori for their voyvode; and their choice was confirmed both by Maximilian and the Turks.

In the last year of his life, Maximilian, by letters patent (January 1576), confirmed the title of Cosmo de' Medici as Grand Duke of Tuscany, in consideration of Cosmo paying a large sum of money and marrying the Emperor's sister Jane. This affair had excited a strong contest between the Emperor and Rome. Maximilian had annulled the act of Pius V. in erecting the duchy, and in 1572 he had recalled his ambassador from Rome, because Gregory XIII. refused to annul the bull of Pius for that purpose.

Maximilian II., after the deposition of the Duke of Anjou⁶⁰ (Henry III.) in Poland, had become a competitor for the crown of that kingdom, and had obtained the suffrages of the Polish senate; but Stephen Bathori, by consenting to marry Anne Jagellon, sister of the late King Sigismund II., though she was fifty

⁶⁰ See below, p. 277 sqq.

years of age, had been elected by the Palatine and nobles.⁶¹ Maximilian was preparing to contest the crown with Stephen, when he was surprised by death, October 12th 1576, aged forty-nine. One of his last acts was the confirmation of the Turkish truce with Amurath III., the successor of Selim II. Maximilian was one of the most amiable and enlightened princes that ever occupied the Imperial throne.

Both Philip II. and Charles IX. had entered into secret negotiations with the German Princes in 1573, with a view to obtain the Imperial crown after the death of Maximilian; and although Philip had made it the business of his life to extirpate heresy, yet he pledged himself, in case of his being elected, to withdraw the Spaniards from the Netherlands, to recognise the union of those provinces with Germany, and consequently their claim to the benefits conferred upon Protestants by the treaty of Passau, to restore the Prince of Orange, and his "accomplices" to their dignities, &c.⁶¹ So much for Philip's sincere religious conviction, the only plea urged in extenuation of his ruthless bigotry! But Maximilian was succeeded by his son Rodolph II., who had been elected King of the Romans in October 1575, and had previously received the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia.

⁶¹ *Letter of Gaspar de Schomberg to the Duke of Anjou, Paris, Feb. 10, 1573,* in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, &c. t. iv. p. 30.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHEN the massacre had subsided at Paris, the first impulse of the French Court, alarmed at its own deed, was to deny having originated it; and in the instructions sent to the governors of provinces, to the "good towns," and to the ambassadors at Protestant courts, the Guises were designated as the authors of it. It was very far from Catherine's wish to break with the Protestant powers, and thus chain herself to the policy of Rome and Spain. Her first project had been to excite between the Guises and the Hugonot chiefs a strife that should prove fatal to the latter, and in which the King should not appear; and she would willingly have carried out this plan after the massacre had been perpetrated; but it was frustrated by the conduct of Marshal Montmorenci, who, on finding that the King denied all participation in the massacre, was preparing to unite his party of the *Politiques* with the remnant of the Hugonots, in order to take vengeance on the Guises. This step would have placed Catherine between two parties, neither of which adhered to the King; and it therefore became necessary for Charles to avow an act which he had not feared to perpetrate. Fresh letters contradictory of the former ones were despatched stating that the execution was necessary to prevent an accursed conspiracy of the Admiral and his adherents against the royal family¹; and on the 26th of August the King, after having heard a solemn mass, proceeded to hold a *Lit de Justice*, when he declared that all that had occurred on the 24th of August had been done by his command. The Court, however, were heartily ashamed of themselves, and when the legate Orsini, whom the Pope had sent to congratulate them on the occasion, arrived at Paris, he was requested not to talk too much of the "great day,"

¹ In a letter to Mondoucet, his envoy in the Netherlands, Charles says: "To prevent the success of the enterprise planned by the Admiral, I have been obliged to permit the said Guises to rush upon (*courir sus*) him, which they have done; and the said Admiral has been killed, and all his adherents. A very large number of those of the new religion

have also been cut to pieces; and it is probable that the fire thus kindled will spread through all the cities of my kingdom, and that all those belonging to the said religion will be made sure of."—*Corr. de Mondoucet*, in the *Compte Rendu de la Comm. d'Hist.* (Belg.) ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 393.

and the King and Queen-mother absented themselves when he entered the metropolis. On passing through Lyon, Orsini had complimented the citizens on the zeal which they had displayed for the Catholic faith, and publicly absolved all those who had been concerned in the massacre as they knelt before him at the cathedral.

Although the lives of Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been spared, a watch was kept over them, and they were importuned to change their religion. Henry, who had early been bred a Catholic, and whose faith always sat easily upon him, went over. Condé at first displayed more firmness. Charles IX. having sent for him and proposed the choice of three things, the mass, death, or the Bastille, Condé replied by refusing the first alternative and leaving the choice of the other two to the King. He subsequently yielded, however, to the exhortations of the Jesuit Maldonato and of Sureau des Rosiers, an apostate Calvinist minister; and the two "converted" princes wrote to the Pope to receive them back into the fold of the Church (October 3rd). Their conversion was followed by that of many others; but the princes were insincere, and contemplated revoking their compulsory recantation on the first opportunity. Their conduct shows a sad falling off from the earnestness and courage of the early Hugonots. In fact, as M. Michelet well remarks, the French wars of religion terminate with the massacre of St. Bartholomew; the ardour of fanaticism was succeeded by the indifference of scepticism, and the history of the subsequent struggle is only that of political intrigue under religious pretences.

The princes and grandees of the "cause" were now for the most part either dead, or in exile, or turned renegades; but the principles of the Reformation found support in the citizen class, among whom they had engendered a spirit of republican liberty, and a desire to revive the municipal institutions of the middle ages; and though the higher classes in the Protestant towns and districts seemed inclined to submit to the royal ordinances, their selfish and timid egotism was borne down by the enthusiasm of their inferiors. La Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Nîmes were the principal towns in the hands of the Hugonots, who likewise held many fortresses in the Cevennes; but La Charité was soon taken by the royal forces. After the St. Bartholomew, a considerable body of Hugonot soldiers, as well as all the reformed ministers of the surrounding country, had thrown themselves into La Rochelle, which seemed capable of sustaining a long siege; and as the Court at this period, being engaged in can-

vassing for the Polish crown for the Duke of Anjou, were desirous of appearing to treat the Hugonots with moderation and clemency, they employed La Nouë to conciliate the Rochellers and negotiate the terms of their surrender. That commander, who, as already related, had just escaped from Mons, plainly told the King when he accepted the office that he would do nothing detrimental to the liberties of the citizens; and the ambassador finished by taking the command of those with whom he had been sent to treat. The negotiations with the Hugonots continued however till the winter. Meanwhile their towns were agitating the scheme of a federative republic with a sort of Roman dictatorship, and though the plan came to nothing, it served to breed an indomitable spirit of resistance. La Rochelle attracted all eyes. After taking the command, La Nouë had strengthened the fortifications; the mayor, Jacques Henri, had stored the town with provisions, and upwards of fifty Calvinist ministers excited by their discourses the religious enthusiasm of the inhabitants. Biron and Strozzi, the commanders of the royal forces, made their first approaches in December; and in February 1573, the Duke of Anjou came to take the command in chief, accompanied by the Duke of Alençon and all the princes, including the King of Navarre and Condé. These latter, however, are said to have given the citizens information of all that was passing in the royal camp.

La Rochelle was left entirely to its own resources, and received no assistance from England; for Elizabeth found it necessary at this period to keep on good terms with the Court of France. The party of Mary was becoming troublesome in Scotland; they had seized and fortified themselves in the castle of Edinburgh; Elizabeth was fearful that they might obtain the assistance of the French King, and she was obliged to send an army into Scotland to reduce them. With a view to conciliate Charles IX. she consented to become godmother to his infant daughter, and despatched the Earl of Worcester with the present of a gold font to be used at the baptism. The French Hugonots, enraged at what they considered an act of apostasy, intercepted the English squadron, killed some of Worcester's suite, and captured and plundered one of his ships. While Elizabeth was still irritated by this hostile conduct, Charles sent De Retz to London, who in a great measure succeeded in pacifying her respecting the late massacre, and persuaded her to refuse a loan which some envoys from La Rochelle were soliciting. But her ministers would not consent to arrest the ships which the Count of Montgomeri was collecting at Plymouth for the succour of La Rochelle: an expedition, however, which proved almost

abortive; for though Montgomeri succeeded in throwing some provisions into the place, he was prevented by the royal fleet from entering the harbour; and as he was forbidden to return to the English ports, he was obliged to take refuge in the roads of Belle Isle.

The heroic defence of the Rochellers has been minutely described by De Thou. Their town, naturally very strong, the ramparts being surrounded with marshes, was assailable at only one point, so that four thousand men could repel five times their number. The garrison were animated with the most courageous spirit; even women and children took part in the defence. On the other hand Anjou was now deprived of the military talent of Tavannes; a great many of the nobility were slain or wounded in the trenches; and the royal army was decimated by a terrible malady, whose symptoms resembled those of the *cholera morbus*. Under these circumstances the French Court were glad of the pretence of the Duke of Anjou's election to the crown of Poland, in order to renew the negotiations for a peace.

Sigismund Augustus, or Sigismund II., the last king of the House of Jagellon, had died in the preceding year. During a reign of nearly a quarter of a century, Sigismund had ruled the half republican, half monarchical Poland with considerable glory; he had augmented its territory by the acquisition of Livonia, and had reduced the Dukes of Courland to acknowledge the supremacy of the Polish crown. The kingdom, however, was distracted both by the restless turbulence of the nobility and by religious quarrels. The Protestant doctrines, which had been particularly furthered and protected by Prince Radzivill, had made great progress in the Polish dominions; Courland and Livonia were altogether of that persuasion; and although a religious toleration had been agreed on, the Papal nuncios and the numberless priests, who had considerable influence in the Senate, were constantly sowing the seeds of dissension. When Catherine de' Medici learnt that the Poles were at variance respecting the election of a king, she recommended her favourite son the Duke of Anjou, and despatched Schomberg, a German in the service of France, and Montluc, Bishop of Valence, to canvass in his interest. His competitors were a son of the King of Sweden, the Duke of Prussia, a son of the Czar of Muscovy, Stephen Bathori, Voyvode of Transylvania, and, the most formidable of all, the Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian. Montluc, a prelate whose moderation caused him to be suspected of heresy, secured the Protestant party among the Poles by concessions which the French Court was afterwards

obliged to disavow, even engaging among other things that vengeance should be taken on the perpetrators of the St. Bartholomew.² The Turks, the Pope, and the German Lutheran princes, fearful of seeing an Austrian archduke seated on the throne of Poland, united in recommending Anjou; and after an interregnum of ten months the French Prince was elected for their sovereign by 30,000 or 40,000 armed and mounted Polish nobles assembled in the field of Wold, near Warsaw, the place of election (May 9th 1573). They had previously made him sign an agreement prepared by the States that nobody should be punished or persecuted on account of his religious tenets, although the Polish bishoprics and prebends were to remain in the hands of the Catholics. They had also required him to subscribe a capitulation, or *Pacta Conventa*, which, as in most instances of the same kind, augmented the power of the nobles, while it encroached upon that of the crown. The prevailing anarchy was increased by its regulations, by which it was provided that no king should ever be chosen during the lifetime of another, and that even the form and order of election should remain unsettled.

In September, Montluc returned to Paris accompanied by a numerous and splendid deputation of Polish nobles, who had come to escort their new sovereign to his dominions. The Poles, who entered Paris in fifty carriages-and-four, excited the astonishment of the Parisians by their half fantastic, half oriental costume. Their dresses were adorned with costly furs and numerous jewels; their red beards and heads shaved behind after the Tartar fashion gave them a half savage aspect, which was still further increased by their bows, their enormous quivers, and their grotesque crests of wide-spread eagle's wings with which both themselves and their horses were accoutred. But if their outward appearance provoked the wonder of the multitude, the French Court was still more surprised at the variety and extent of their intellectual attainments, which formed so strong a contrast with the ignorance of the young courtiers. The liberal toleration of the Polish government, and the cosmopolitan spirit of the people, assisted by that facility for acquiring foreign languages which distinguishes the Slavonic races, had rendered Poland the centre of the intellectual movement of Europe; and even the disciples of Socinus and Servetus, who met at Geneva only persecution and death, found there a refuge and a home.

The French Court had hastened to conclude a peace with the

² La Popelinière, *Hist. de France*, t. ii. fol. 177.

Hugonots before the arrival of the Polish embassy (June, 24th). From the wording of the treaty, it seemed to be only a capitulation of the three towns La Rochelle, Nîmes, and Montauban, which, indeed, derived the chief advantages from it, and remained as it were three independent republics; but the royal edict³, dated from the Castle of Boulogne in July 1573, extended much further, and secured to the remainder of the Hugonots liberty of conscience and an amnesty for everything that had occurred since the preceding 24th August. The privilege of worship was, however, very much restricted; La Rochelle, though not required to admit the Duke of Anjou or any of his troops, was obliged to recognise the authority of a royal governor; and the three towns engaged to keep envoys at court for two years, as hostages for their fidelity.

The Duke of Anjou lingered as long as he could at Paris. The Polish crown had been procured for him through the love and ambition of his mother Catherine and the hatred and jealousy of Charles IX.: he himself was loth to quit France, as the declining health of his brother promised a speedy vacancy of the crown, and as he was moreover engrossed by a criminal but unsuccessful passion for the wife of Condé, Mary of Clèves, to whom he afterwards addressed from Poland letters written with his own blood. But Charles, with many oaths and blasphemies, insisted on his departure, and told Catherine that either he or his brother must quit the kingdom.

Meanwhile, in spite of the peace, the Hugonots of Languedoc and Guyenne had assembled at Montauban and Nîmes on the anniversary of the St. Bartholomew, and rejecting with disdain the edict of July, they drew up and adopted the scheme of a confederate republic by which those provinces were to be formed into two great governments. Their forces numbered near 20,000 men, and their demands—such was the abortive result of the wicked policy of the Court—were greater than what they had made before the massacre. At the same time the party of the “*Politiques*” or “Peaceable Catholics” had increased, and was more than ever disposed to form an alliance with the Hugonots and with the House of Nassau. France was inundated with revolutionary pamphlets and with works of a deeper kind, such as the *Franco-Gallia* of Hotman, the fundamental principle of which, supported by researches into the early history of France, is an elective monarchy and the sovereignty of the people in their national assemblies. Till the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau, the

³ In La Popelinière, t. ii. fol. 183 sqq.

Franco-Gallia has not been surpassed, for the boldness of its political theories, by any work published in France.⁴

Early in 1574, Poitou and other south-western provinces joined the union with Languedoc and Guyenne. The Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre had intended to escape from court in Lent and put themselves at the head of the movement; but their design was discovered, and they were placed under *surveillance* at Vincennes. Alençon betrayed all his associates in the most cowardly manner. The Prince of Condé escaped into Germany; Marshals Montmorenci and Cossé were arrested, but nothing could be proved against them. A few subordinates were executed. Catherine sent the accomplished assassin Maurevert⁵ to murder La Noue, whom the Poitevins had elected for their leader; but this time he did not succeed; and Catherine also failed in an attempt to poison Marshal Damville. The Marshal was guarded in a singular way, by a tame wolf and a kind of giant who could cleave an ass in twain with his sword. Alençon and Navarre were cited to answer before a commission, when Margaret wrote an excellent defence for her husband, though there was no great love between them. The seizure of the princes did not prevent the insurrection from taking place in the south, which, from the season, obtained the name of the *Prise d'armes du mardi gras*. It was headed by La Noue, who, though with some difficulty, persuaded the Rochellers of the necessity of again taking up arms; and a great part of Poitou, Saintonge, and Languedoc was once more reduced under the power of the Protestants.

Charles IX. expired in the midst of these disturbances, May 30th 1574, at the age of twenty-three. His miserable end inspired even some of his enemies with pity. The short and broken sleep which rarely visited him was troubled by the most hideous visions. The bodies which he had seen floating down the Seine reappeared to him in his dreams; the air seemed filled with cries of woe; and sometimes on awaking he found himself bathed in his own blood, which recalled to him that of his subjects, so abundantly shed by his orders. His only consolation was that he left no son to inherit the crown. Thus perished a monarch whose name will always be associated with one of the greatest political crimes that stain the pages of modern history. He had some brilliant qualities; that love for art which distinguished his grandfather Francis I., a lively imagination, poetical talent, and a taste for music, which

⁴ It has been analysed by Thierry in his *Considérations sur l'Hist. de France*.

⁵ Maurevert himself was at length killed

by the son of a gentleman whom he had assassinated.

afforded him some relief in the torments of his last illness. By his consort, Elizabeth of Austria, Charles IX. left a daughter who died young, and by his mistress, Mary Touchet, an illegitimate son.

Before his death Charles had signed an ordinance appointing his mother Regent till the return from Poland of the Duke of Anjou, who now succeeded to the throne of France with the title of Henry III. Catherine wrote to him to come back without delay, nor was Henry disinclined to follow this advice. He was as little pleased with the Poles as they were with him; yet they kept him a sort of prisoner in his palace, lest by a hasty escape he should expose the kingdom to the confusion and anarchy of an interregnum. He contrived however to evade secretly like a criminal on the 17th of June, carrying off with him crown jewels to the value of 300,000 crowns. He rode twenty leagues almost without drawing bridle till he reached the frontier of Moravia, pursued all the way by the Poles; but although the distracted state of France required all his cares, he made no haste to return to that kingdom. After enjoying himself at Vienna, where the Emperor Maximilian II. used every endeavour to wean him from the fanatical party, and thus assuage the civil wars of France, Henry proceeded to Venice; which city, in spite of its commercial and political decline, was famed, down to the eighteenth century, for its high play, its balls, its operas, and other dissipations. Henry lingered two months in Italy, and at Turin was induced by his favourites, whom the Duke of Savoy had bought, to surrender the few places which France still possessed in Italy, retaining only the marquisate of Saluzzo. He did not arrive at Lyon till September, but even then, although his name still retained some prestige as the reputed victor of Jarnac and Moncontour, instead of attending to the war he spent two months in regulating the etiquette of the Court and other frivolities. His character presents a strange mixture of the most effeminate luxury and the most abject superstition. Proceeding from Lyon to Avignon, he enrolled himself in one of the companies of the Flagellants, an order of fanatics introduced from Italy into that city during the time that it was the residence of the Papal Court. The Flagellants, clothed in a sort of sack, either black, white, or blue, according to the company, and having a cowl with apertures only for the eyes, were accustomed to traverse the streets of an evening by torchlight, singing the *Miserere* and inflicting upon themselves the discipline of the lash. The example of the King was followed by the whole Court, and even Henry of Navarre enrolled himself among the penitents. These mummeries

cost the Cardinal of Lorraine his life. As he followed the procession with bare shoulders and half-naked feet, he was seized by the evening dew, which is extremely dangerous in that climate, and expired on the 26th December. It was not till January 1575 that Henry III. turned his face to the north. On the 13th of February he was crowned at Rheims, the Cardinal of Guise officiating in the place of his deceased brother; and two days after Henry married Louisa of Lorraine, a daughter of the Count de Vaudemont. The Princess of Condé, the object of his former criminal attachment, was now dead, for whom he had worn a most fantastic mourning of his own invention; but this marriage was also one of love. He had seen and admired Louisa when on his way into Poland, and rejected in her favour the offer of one of the daughters of Philip II.

After the death of Charles IX., Catherine de' Medici had made a truce with the Hugonots till the end of August, in order to await the return of Henry III.; and she even consented to give them 70,000 livres to pay their troops. Nevertheless, in July and August 1574 they held a great meeting at Millaud in Rouergue, where, as Henry of Navarre was still detained at court, they chose the Prince of Condé for their leader; and they collected funds to pay an army which Condé, now in Germany, was to raise in that country. Their league was shortly after subscribed by Montmorenci's second son, Marshal Damville, who was governor of Languedoc. When Henry III. was at Turin, the Duke and Duchess of Savoy had invited Damville to their court, and endeavoured to reconcile him with his sovereign; but Catherine and Birago had advised Henry to the contrary; and, on his return into France, Damville hoisted the standard of the confederates at Montpellier, Beaucaire and Lodève. Thus, while the King was sunk in folly and dissipation, all was anarchy in France. The Catholics themselves were divided, part of them following the young Duke Henry of Guise, now aged twenty-four, who, though superior to his father Francis in personal appearance and address, and in the arts that acquire popular favour, was not equal to him in military talent. The Politicians or more moderate Catholics, called also the "Malcontents," of whom the Montmorencis were the chiefs, inclined rather to the Protestants than to the party of the Guises. The members of the different alliances made war or concluded separate peaces with one another; fortresses were attacked and taken, and the authority of the King and of the royal tribunals was only so far respected as they could enforce their

decrees by arms. The centralisation which it had been the aim of Louis XI. to establish was threatened with dissolution. Not only the governors of provinces but even the commandants of towns and castles felt themselves almost independent of the crown, and compelled the King to continue their commands to their sons or nearest relatives⁶; a state of things which lasted down to the reign of Louis XIII. Favoured by this independence of the great nobles the different leagues, of their own authority and without consulting the King, named officers and placemen, raised and administered taxes, directed the proceedings of the law as well as the operations of the military force, and especially all that concerned the exercise of the Protestant religion.

Henry of Navarre and the Duke of Alençon went to meet the King on his return into France at Pont de Voisin, and excused themselves as well as they could from the practices with which they were charged; but, though Henry III. declared that they were free, a watch was still kept upon them. Between the King and his brother Alençon a mutual hate prevailed, which rendered it easy for their followers to use them both in the cabals and intrigues with which the Memoirs of that period are filled; and the mortal nature of their enmity may be judged from the circumstance that the King, being attacked with a disorder in the ear, concluded that he had been poisoned by his brother, and urged the King of Navarre to murder him.⁷ After the accession of Danville to the Protestant cause, the deputies of the Hugonot towns who resided at the court as hostages easily persuaded Alençon to make his escape (September 1575), and he at length joined the Protestant army in Poitou; though he sent a secret message to the Pope that it was not his intention sincerely to embrace their cause. The deputies just mentioned played a singular part. Being commissioned by the King to proceed into Germany and dissuade Condé from the plans he was meditating, they employed themselves in negotiating with the Count Palatine, John Casimir, for an army that should conduct Condé into France. John Casimir insisted upon hard conditions. He would have security for the payment of his troops; he insisted upon being the arbiter of peace and war; and he stipulated that in the event of a reconciliation he should have the government of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The confederates consented to these terms, and Condé assumed the title of lieutenant of the Duke of Alençon.

⁶ See *Relat. of Contarini*, ap. Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. i. S. 370.

⁷ Mathieu, ap. Martin, t. ix. p. 418.

The King abandoned to the Guises the conduct of the war in 1575. After his return Henry sunk lower and lower in a despicable profligacy and imbecility, and his only serious pursuit seemed to be the study of the Latin grammar. He was entirely engrossed by youthful favourites, or *mignons*, of whom there were about a dozen that vied with him in dress and foppery. Four of these, St. Luc, D'O, Arques, and Caumont were remarked gradually to obtain the ascendancy, and were called the four Evangelists. Arques became Duke of Joyeuse and Governor of Normandy and Havre de Grâce; Caumont was made Duke of Epemon and successively governor of Metz, Boulogne, Calais and Provence. By these favourites Henry was entirely governed, and he affected not to obey his mother, although he is said to have been the only person for whom she had ever felt any affection.

As Henry would not return at the summons of the Poles, they passed a decree to depose him July 15th 1575. The French envoy persuaded the Diet to defer the election of another king till December; yet Henry took no steps to second the wish of his mother and procure the election of the Duke of Alençon. The suffrages of the Poles were divided between the Emperor Maximilian and Stephen Bathori, Voyvode of Transylvania; but the latter obtained the preference, on condition of his marrying Anne Jagellon, sister of Sigismund II., the last king of that race; and a civil war was on the point of breaking out which was arrested by the death of Maximilian (1576). Bathori, after returning to the Catholic faith, was then generally recognised as king.

In the autumn of 1575 the German auxiliaries began to enter France. On the 10th of October Guise and his brother Mayenne defeated at Dormans their advanced guard of 4000 or 5000 men under Montmorenci de Thoré, who had embraced the Protestant faith at Geneva. In this encounter Guise received a wound in the cheek, which entitled him like his father to the surname of the *Balafré*. The Court hung undecided between the parties. The King feared the exploits and the popularity of Guise, and dreaded at the same time the triumph of the Protestants. Under these circumstances, Marshals Montmorenci and Cossé were dismissed from custody to mediate a peace, and they succeeded in effecting a truce of seven months—from November 21st 1575 to June 25th 1576—on conditions which excited the anger and jealousy of the ultra-Catholics. The King undertook to provide a large sum for the payment of the Count Palatine's troops; to grant the Hugonots and Politicians six cautionary towns, Angoulême, Niort, La Charité, Bourges, Saumur and Mezières; and to pay the garrisons which

Alençon and Condé might place in them, as well as a Swiss guard for his brother. But the truce was observed by neither party. The commandants of Bourges and Angoulême would not obey the King's orders to surrender those towns to Alençon, who received instead Cognac and St. Jean d'Angéli. In February 1576 Condé and John Casimir, at the head of 18,000 German troops, marched through Champagne and Burgundy, crossed the Loire and Allier, and formed a junction with the allied army under Alençon in the Bourbonnais. At the same time the King of Navarre, on the pretence of a hunting party, contrived to escape from court, and succeeded in reaching his government of Guyenne. It was several months, however, before he returned to the Hugonot confession, nor would he join the generalissimo, Alençon; but he sent deputies to a congress which met at Moulins to consider of the conditions to be prescribed to the King. These amounted to an almost complete surrender of the royal authority; yet a peace was concluded, and on the 14th of May the King in person laid before the Parliament an edict embodying its conditions, the fifth that had been promulgated in the short space of thirteen years. This peace, called LA PAIX DE MONSIEUR^a, was the most advantageous one the Hugonots had yet made. The exercise of their religion was to be freely allowed throughout the kingdom, except at Paris and in the precincts of the court, till a general council should be assembled; mixed chambers (*chambres mi-parties*), or courts composed of an equal number of Catholics and Protestants, were to be instituted in all the Parliaments of France; and the massacre of the St. Bartholomew was disavowed. The interested aims of the Protestant leaders appeared in the advantageous conditions which they secured for themselves. Each strove to turn the King's embarrassment to his own advantage. Alençon obtained as an apanage the provinces of Touraine, Berri and Anjou, with complete jurisdiction both in civil and military affairs, the right of presentation to all royal prebends, and a pension of 100,000 crowns. From this time he assumed the title of Duke of Anjou, formerly borne by his brother. The King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and Marshal Damville were re-established in their offices and governments; John Casimir received a sum of money and the promise of a still larger one, and other leaders were gained by assurances of future favours.

The Court was not sincere, as the ultra-Catholics must have known, in their negotiations with the Hugonots. But Guise and

^a The title of *Monsieur* began in the latter half of the sixteenth century to be given to the king's eldest brother or youngest son.

his party had gained nothing, and the conditions of the peace afforded an excellent theme by which the Jesuits might arouse the fanaticism of the people. The question of the succession to the crown was also a good handle for exciting jealousy and alarm. The King was childless, and as many believed, impotent; his brother, the Duke of Anjou, the next heir, had declared himself the protector of the Protestants; and if he also should die without children the crown devolved to the House of Bourbon, the heads of which, the King of Navarre and Condé, were Hugonots. But what gave the ultra-Catholics the most immediate cause of offence was a secret article in the treaty by which Condé was to have the government of Picardy; and it was principally this that called the LEAGUE into existence. Picardy had again become completely Catholic, and one of its principal nobles, the Baron d'Humières, governor of Roye, Montdidier, and Peronne, was not only a zealous Papist, but had also a personal feud with Condé.

There can be no doubt that the first foundations of the great Catholic League may be traced back to a much earlier period.⁹ Some associations to protect the old religion had been formed as early as 1563 by the guilds and other civic unions, and especially by the spiritual brotherhoods, which attracted the court and the nobility by their religious mummeries, their penances, and church goings, and the populace by the spectacle of their splendid processions. But the League was now first formally organised by the Baron d'Humières with the assistance of the Jesuits. The neighbouring nobility and the principal citizens of the towns of Picardy were convened in secret meetings, and an act of union was framed which was intended to be submitted to the King. A still more important document however, drawn up apparently by the Duke of Guise and his friends, and addressed not only to the leaguers of Picardy but to all the Catholic nobility of the kingdom, must be regarded as the real constituent act of the League. This act, which begins like a formal treaty, "In the name of the Holy Trinity," and concludes with the formula of an oath to be taken by all those who joined the League, professes its object to be to restore the entire word of God, and to uphold the service of the holy Roman Catholic Church; to maintain the King in his authority, but as subordinate to the States-General; to restore the ancient liberties enjoyed under Clovis; and to assert these objects to the death against whomsoever it may be.¹⁰

⁹ Michelet ascribes its real origin to the year 1561, when the King having formed a resolution to sell some church property, the Parisian clergy addressed

themselves to the King of Spain and the Duke of Guise (*La Ligue*, p. 89).

¹⁰ The act is in *La Popelinière*, t. ii. fol. 320; Cayet, *Chronol. Noven.* Introd.

Thus it is plain that the Catholic chiefs had taken a leaf from their adversaries' book, and designed to entice the people by the hope of a political revolution combined with the maintenance of the ancient religion. The League soon acquired numerous adherents. It was eagerly signed by the Parisians, who were followed by the people of Picardy, Poitou and Touraine; and it had already received the signatures of considerable towns and even whole provinces, before the King was aware of its existence, except perhaps in Brittany. The moment had been well chosen, as the States were to assemble at Blois early in the winter. But before they met, a Hugonot publication acquainted the King with his real situation.

The papers of an advocate named David, a man of ill reputation who had died at Lyon on his return from Rome, fell into the hands of the Hugonots, and were immediately published by them. Their contents were of the most extraordinary kind, and contained a plan for exterminating the Hugonots, and seizing and bringing to trial the King's brother. When this had been accomplished, the Duke of Guise, as rightful heir to the crown by descent from Charlemagne, was with the Pope's sanction to shut up the King in a monastery, in like manner as the Duke's ancestor Pépin had formerly treated Childeric. Guise was then to be proclaimed King, and the authority of the Holy See was to be fully restored, through the abolition by the States of the liberties of the Gallican Church.

How far the Duke was connected with the origin of this paper does not appear; he probably merely connived at the plan; but it is certain that the Cardinal de Pellévé, a creature of the Guises, who was then staying at Rome, cordially promoted David's project, spoke of it in the Consistory, and communicated it to Philip II. It is by no means improbable that the Guises had formed an ulterior plan of seizing the crown. They had hoped to enjoy a large share of the government under Henry III., especially as that monarch had chosen his consort from their house; yet they found themselves elbowed out by the King's minions. They were fond of tracing the antiquity of their descent, as superior to that of the reigning dynasty¹¹; yet, even if their pretensions be allowed, it was not the Duke of Guise, but the Duke of Lorraine, of the elder

sub init. One of the best authorities for the history of the League is Simon Goulart, a Protestant minister, whose *Mémoires de la Ligue* were published from 1589 to 1599.

¹¹ In 1580 the genealogist François de Rosières published a book at Paris in which the Guises were derived from Antenor! Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. i. S. 404.

branch of the family, who would have been entitled to the crown of France. Henry III., at first deemed the papers of David to be a Hugonot forgery, till St. Goard, his ambassador in Spain, sent him another copy which had been forwarded to Philip II.

These discoveries tended to increase the alarm of Henry III., who forgetting that it ill becomes a King to declare himself the leader of a party among his subjects, could think of no other means of combating the League than by placing himself at the head of it. The assembly of the States-General was a stormy one. The cowardly act of which the King had been guilty in subscribing the League deprived him of all respect. All that he gained by it was that everything militating against the royal authority should be struck out of the document; which was then laid before the States for their acceptance, and ordered to be signed throughout the kingdom. The new act excluded the Bourbons from the throne by limiting the succession to the House of Valois. Many of the deputies signed it, while others refused. The States forbore to vote the King any supplies, and would not even consent to the alienation of the crown lands; but they insisted on the extirpation of Protestantism.

As the conditions of the peace had not been observed the Hugonots were still in arms, and had been making conquests while the States were sitting. The King of Navarre, who had been declared chief of the counter-league, and Condé his Lieutenant-general, had subdued and occupied many places in Guyenne, Poitou and the neighbouring provinces, while Marshal Damville had done the like in Languedoc. The King had sent deputies from the States to negotiate with them, but without effect. Condé and Damville at once refused to recognise the assembly at Blois. The answer of the King of Navarre was somewhat milder and more politic. "Tell the assembly," said he, "that I constantly pray to God to bring me to a knowledge of the truth, and, if I am in the right way, to maintain me in it; if not, to open my eyes. Inform them that I am prepared not only to renounce error, but also to stake my possessions and my life for the extirpation of heresy out of the kingdom, and if possible out of the world." Thus even at this period we see Henry of Navarre, who had already been twice a Catholic and twice a Protestant, wavering between the two religions, and prepared to accept either as circumstances might direct. His answer was highly unpalatable to the Calvinist ministers.

The Court had fulfilled its engagements with the Duke of Anjou, who not only deserted his former friends but also took the command of an army to act against them, although he owed every-

thing he had obtained to his having joined their party. The Court also succeeded in seducing Marshal Damville from the "cause." An aristocrat and a soldier, Damville was little inclined to obey the commands of stormy meetings of civilians, and to connect himself with the democratic republic of the Hugonots. More difficulty was experienced in treating with the King of Navarre; but at length he also was induced to accept the terms of a peace which was published at BERGERAC in September 1577.¹² There were two treaties, one public, the other secret; but it is unnecessary to detail conditions which were only meant to be observed so long as might be convenient, and it will suffice to state, that, on the whole, they were less favourable to the Protestants than those of the Peace of Monsieur. The only point to be remarked is, that by one of the articles the King, as it were by a side wind, suppressed the Catholic League as well as the Hugonot confederations.¹³ The Pope and the King of Spain, as well as the Guises, had used their utmost endeavours to prevent the concluding of this treaty; and Gregory XIII. had offered the King 900,000 livres towards the expenses to be incurred by continuing the war. But many circumstances combined to incline the French Court to peace; particularly the refusal of the States to vote any money, the menaces of John Casimir, and the disclosures respecting the projects of the Guises.

The King, instead of availing himself of this interval of repose to fortify himself against his enemies, only sank deeper and deeper into vice and infamy. His conduct can be compared only with that of the weakest as well as the worst of the Roman emperors, and offers, in the portentous union of beastly impurity with fantastic superstition, a striking parallel to that of Elagabalus. At the opening of the States-General he appeared in diamond ear-rings; in his orgies he would often assume the manners and dress of a female¹⁴; and though the national exchequer was empty, he and his mother gave *fêtes* that cost 100,000 francs; in some of which the guests were waited on by women either half naked or in man's attire. The minions by whom Henry was surrounded were

¹² This peace is also called the Peace of Poitiers.

¹³ "Seront toutes ligues et associations et confrairies faites et à faire, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, au préjudice de notre présent édit cassées et annulées," &c.—Art. 65. The edict is in La Popelinière (t. ii. fol. 385), whose History concludes with this peace. The secret articles in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 308 sq.

¹⁴ As described in the *Tragiques* of

d'Aubigné, a poet as well as a historian:

"Pour nouveau parement il porta tout ce jour
Cet habit monstrueux, pareil à son amour,
Si qu'au premier abord chacun était en peine
S'il voyoit un roi-femme ou bien un homme reine."

Liv. ii. *Princes*, p. 72.

ferocious as well as profligate; duels and assassinations were of everyday occurrence; the court resembled at once a slaughter-house and a brothel, although, amid all this corruption, the King was the slave of monks and Jesuits whom he implicitly obeyed. It was about this time (December 1578) that he instituted the military order of the Holy Ghost, that of St. Michael having fallen into contempt through being prostituted to unworthy objects.

Meanwhile the Guises were using every effort to rekindle the war, which Catherine, on the other hand, was endeavouring to prevent. With this view she travelled, in August, into the southern provinces, and had an interview with Henry of Navarre at Nérac, bringing with her Henry's wife, her daughter Margaret; a circumstance, however, which did not add to the pleasure of their meeting. Henry received the ladies coldly, and they retired into Languedoc, where they passed the remainder of the year. Nevertheless the negotiations were sedulously pursued; for a peace with the Hugonots was, at this time, indispensable to the Court. The exactions of the King, in order to satisfy his minions, were met with resistance, especially in the more Catholic provinces, where the dissatisfaction was fomented by the Guises; and Henry was obliged to purchase from that influential family a sort of tacit truce, by according to them pecuniary favours. In February 1579, a secret treaty was signed at Nérac, by which the concessions granted to the Protestants by the peace of Bergerac were much extended. In these negotiations Catherine affected a scriptural language, similar to that used by the Calvinist ministers; which the ladies of the Court called "the language of Canaan," and studied it over-night in the chamber of the Queen-mother amid bursts of laughter, Mademoiselle Atri, one of Catherine's "flying squadron," being the chief preceptor. Catherine spent nearly the whole of the year 1579 in the south, endeavouring to avert a renewal of the war by her intrigues, rather than by a faithful observance of the peace. But the King of Navarre saw through her Italian artifices, and was prepared to summon his friends and captains at the shortest notice.

The hostilities which he foresaw were not long in breaking out, and in a way that would seem impossible in any other country than France. When the King of Navarre fled from Court in 1576, he expressed his indifference for two things he had left behind, the mass and his wife; Margaret, the heroine of a thousand amours, was equally indifferent, and though they now contrived to cohabit together, it was because each connived at the infidelities of the other. Henry was in love with Mademoiselle Fosseuse, a girl of

fourteen, while Margaret had taken for her gallant the young Viscount of Turenne, who had lately turned Hugonot, and was an important acquisition to that party both by his personal qualities and his vast estates. The Duke of Anjou being at this time disposed to renew his connection with the Hugonots, Margaret served as the medium of communication between her brother and her husband; while Henry III. with a view to interrupt this good understanding, wrote to the King of Navarre to acquaint him of the intrigues of his wife with Turenne. Henry was neither surprised nor afflicted at this intelligence; but he laid the letter before the guilty parties, who both denied the charge, and Henry affected to believe their protestations. The ladies of the Court of Nérac were indignant at this act of Henry III., "the enemy of women;" they pressed their lovers to renew hostilities against that discourteous monarch; Anjou added his instances to those of the ladies; and in 1580 ensued the war called from its origin *la guerre des amoureux*, or war of the lovers: the seventh of what are sometimes styled the wars of *religion*! The Prince of Condé, who lived on bad terms with his cousin, had already taken the field on his own account, and in November 1579 had seized on the little town of La Fère in Picardy. In the spring of 1580 the Protestant chiefs in the south unfurled their banners. The King of Navarre laid the foundation of his military fame by the bravery he displayed at the capture of Cahors; but on the whole the movement proved a failure. Henry III. had no fewer than three armies in the field, which were generally victorious, and the King of Navarre found himself menaced in his capital of Nérac by Marshal Biron. But Henry III., for fear of the Guises, did not wish to press the Hugonots too hard, and at length accepted the proffered mediation of the Duke of Anjou, who was at this time anxious to enter on the protectorate offered to him by the Flemings.¹⁵ Anjou set off for the south, accompanied by his mother and her flying squadron; conferences were opened at the castle of Fleix in Périgord, and on November 26th 1580 a treaty was concluded which was almost a literal renewal of that of Bergerac. Thus an equivocal peace, or rather truce, was re-established, which proved of some duration.

At this period the conquest of Portugal by Philip II., by adding a new force to that already almost irresistible power, diverted for a time the attention of the French from their own domestic troubles to the affairs of Spain, and revived in them all that ancient jealousy of the House of Austria, which seemed to have slumbered,

¹⁵ See next chapter.

while they were invoking the aid of Philip in support of bigotry and faction.

It was during the reign of Emmanuel I., or the Great, as we have already seen, that Portugal laid the foundation of its greatness, by its conquests in Asia, Africa and America. Emmanuel was succeeded by John III. who reigned from 1521 to 1557. Under this king Portugal attained its highest pitch of commercial prosperity, and Japan was added to the countries with which it traded in the east (1542). The seeds of its decline were, however, already sown, and partly by the policy of John himself. That monarch had shown much favour to the Jesuits before they were regularly established, and had invited two of Loyola's first companions and apostles, Simon Rodriguez and Francis Xavier, into Portugal. Xavier repaired to the East Indies and to Japan as a missionary, and assisted to spread Christianity and civilisation. But the footing which this sect obtained in Portugal, and the fanaticism which they necessarily introduced, gave a fatal blow to the prosperity of the country where, under John's successors, the persecution of the Inquisition became stricter and more intolerant than in Spain. The authority of the Jesuits increased during the long minority of King Sebastian who, at the death of his grandfather John III., was a child only three years old. His bigoted grandmother Catherine, a sister of Charles V., to whom devolved his guardianship and the care of his education, placed him under the direction of the Jesuits; and when, in 1561, Catherine retired into a convent, the same plan was pursued by his new guardian, Cardinal Henry, a brother of John III., and Archbishop of Braga, Evora, and Lisbon, and also Grand-Inquisitor of Portugal. Cardinal Henry was entirely a churchman. In his view the material prosperity of the kingdom was but as dust in the balance when compared with the interests of the Church; and instead therefore of intrusting the education of Sebastian to statesmen and men of the world, he placed him under two Jesuits, Don Alexis de Menezes, who acted as his chamberlain, and Don Louis de Camara, as his teacher and confessor. By these men the mind of Sebastian was filled with romantic and fantastical views of religion. The Pope and his glory formed the chief object of his contemplation; he dreamt of nothing but acquiring the crown of Christian Knighthood by crusades against the Moslems, and of reducing the East and West under the cross of Christ and the victorious banner of Portugal. This martial and religious ardour found, however, an opportunity to exert itself nearer home. In 1574 Sebastian undertook an expedition into Africa, where for some time he waged with the

Moors an undecisive war; which a few years after he was tempted to renew, to his own destruction and the downfall of his kingdom.

Muley Mohammed, Sultan of Morocco, by altering the law of succession, and appointing that the crown should devolve, on the death of the reigning sovereign, to his eldest brother instead of to his son, had filled that empire with civil tumult, conspiracy and murder. Muley's son, Abdallah, in spite of his father's law, had contrived to seize and retain the sceptre; and in order to transmit it to his son, Muley Mohammed, he murdered all his brothers except two; of whom one had escaped to Constantinople, and the other, Muley Hamet, on account of his seemingly harmless character, was suffered to live. On the death of Abdallah, his son, Muley Mohammed, also put his brothers to death, and attempted to seize his uncle, Muley Hamet, who, however, escaped to Constantinople; and returning in 1575 with a Turkish force defeated his nephew in two battles and seized the throne. Muley Mohammed now sought foreign assistance; first from Philip II., by whom it was refused, and then from Sebastian. The prospect thus opened to that adventurous and fanatical monarch of subduing Africa and opposing the Osmánlis proved irresistible. It was in vain that his grandfather's counsellors, as well as his grandmother Catherine, and Cardinal Henry dissuaded him from so wild a project; he had determined to venture his whole kingdom on the enterprise, and he applied to the King of Spain his maternal uncle to assist him in it. At an interview which he had with Philip II., at the shrine of the Virgin at Guadalupe, that monarch, as well as the Duke of Alva, also counselled Sebastian to abandon the undertaking; but finding his nephew's resolution unalterable, Philip at length promised to support him with 50 galleys and 5000 men.

Sebastian sailed from Tangiers, the residence of Muley Mohammed, June 24th 1578, with an army consisting of Portuguese, Castilians and Germans, and a large body of volunteers, including most of the Portuguese nobility and many prelates. Among his forces was a body of 600 Italians, commanded by Thomas Stukely, an Englishman, who had been destined by the Pope for an expedition against England. The point of attack was El Arish, or Larache, which might easily have been reached by sea. Sebastian, however, preferred to march through the sandy desert of Alcaissirquivir, where he was encountered by 40,000 Moorish cavalry. A battle ensued at Alcaissir, at the distance of three or four days' march from El Arish, in which Sebastian was defeated and slain, and his whole army nearly annihilated. The French

traveller Le Blanc¹⁶, who was present at the battle, says that he saw the corpse of Sebastian in a chest filled with quicklime; but the Portuguese believed their king to have escaped alive, and that he would reappear among them; an opinion which caused many pretenders to spring up after the Spaniards had taken possession of Portugal.

As Sebastian did not make his appearance, Cardinal Henry of Braga assumed the regency, and was at length proclaimed king. As the Cardinal was old and childless many claimants to the throne appeared, the chief of whom were Philip II. of Spain, the Duchess of Braganza, and Antonio, Prior of Crato. Philip II.'s claim was founded on his being son of an elder sister of John III. The Duke of Braganza, who had married a younger sister, asserted that their offspring had a better claim to the throne by right of representation, as there was an ancient law excluding all foreigners from the succession. Antonio was the natural son of Louis a brother of John III., who, however, endeavoured to show that he was born in lawful wedlock; and who further maintained that, as the founder of the dynasty was a bastard, an illegitimate origin would not unconditionally exclude him from the throne. King Henry would not declare himself for any of the claimants; and though, at an assembly of the States at Almeria, a considerable part of the clergy and nobles inclined to favour the pretensions of Philip, the great body of the citizens and people appeared to be against him. Under these circumstances no resolution was come to, and soon afterwards King Henry died, January 31st 1580.

In anticipation of this event Philip II. had prepared to seize the Portuguese crown by assembling an army of 24,000 Spanish and Italian veterans, on pretence of a threatened invasion by the Emperor of Morocco. The command of this force was intrusted to the Duke of Alva, as we have mentioned in a former chapter, although that veteran general was then in such disgrace that Philip would not admit him to an interview, but communicated his orders in writing. Meanwhile the Portuguese had declared themselves in favour of Don Antonio, who had been taken prisoner in Morocco, but contrived to escape after a slavery of forty days. Antonio was declared king at a popular meeting at Santarem; was afterwards proclaimed at Lisbon, June 24th 1580, and was soon surrounded by a large body of citizens and peasants who flocked to his standard. But these undisciplined bands were incapable of making head against Alva and his veterans. Antonio, who displayed great personal

¹⁶ *Voyages de Le Blanc*, pt. ii. ch. 22, p. 164.

valour, was defeated and wounded in a bloody battle at ALCANTARA, and the Spaniards successively took possession of Coimbra and Lisbon. In this campaign Alva displayed the same cruelty that he had shown in the Netherlands, though it took a different direction; and we are surprised to hear that this unrelenting champion of the orthodox church caused 2000 monks to be put to death in Portugal. Antonio, who had assembled 5000 or 6000 men at Oporto, found resistance hopeless. He fled to Viana, intending to escape by sea, but having failed in the attempt, concealed himself during several months in different parts of the country; and although Philip had offered a reward of 8000 ducats for his discovery, nobody was found base enough to betray him. At length, in January 1581, he succeeded in escaping in a Flemish ship to Calais, where the French government afforded him protection.

Philip II., who, during Alva's campaign, had repaired to Badajoz in order to be nearer to the scene of action, entered Portugal after its conquest had been achieved; and in April 1581 he received the homage of the Portuguese States assembled at Tomar. The youthful son of the Duchess of Braganza, who, during the Spanish invasion, had been kept a prisoner by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, sent to Philip an act renouncing his pretensions to the crown, which the Spanish monarch, while affecting to consider it as unnecessary, nevertheless took care to lay up among the archives of Simancas. From Tomar, Philip proceeded to Santarem, where by an affected display of benevolence he attempted to make the people forget the cruelties they had experienced at the hands of Alva and his soldiers. Philip spent about two years in Portugal in consolidating his new conquest. His eldest son Don Diego whom the Portuguese States had recognised as their future sovereign having died at Lisbon in November 1582, he caused them to do homage to his second son, Philip, at another assembly held January 26th 1583. In the following February he returned into Spain after appointing Cardinal Albert, brother of the Emperor Rodolph II., governor of Portugal.

Nothing can show more strongly the want of a combined political action, to which we have before alluded as characterising Europe at this period—the abeyance, so to speak, of the European system—than the apathy and indifference with which the great powers regarded the subjugation of Portugal by Spain; a conquest which annexed for more than half a century to the already overgrown power of the Spanish monarchy, not only the remaining western portion of the Iberian peninsula, with its fertile fields and noble harbours, but also the rich and extensive possessions of Por-

tugal in America and the Indies. It was not till after the conquest was irrevocably completed, that France and England began to show any anxiety about its results. The affairs of Portugal, indeed, tended to divert for awhile from England those plots of the Pope and the Spanish King which so seriously menaced the safety of Elizabeth. In 1578 Gregory XIII. began to renew his designs against the English Queen; and one of his favourite projects was to seize Ireland for his nephew Buoncompagni. It is surprising to see how similar were the ideas then entertained abroad respecting Ireland, and perhaps with more justice, to those which still prevail in many parts of the continent.¹⁷ Ireland was represented to Gregory as the victim of English cruelty and rapacity, as a country so ripe for rebellion that an army of 5000 men would easily secure its liberation. With a view to this conquest the Pope took into his service one Thomas Stukely, the English refugee before mentioned, whom he made his chamberlain, bestowed on him the title of Marquis of Leinster, gave him 40,000 crowns, and raised for him several hundred Italian troops. Gregory also sent Sega as his nuncio into Spain, to gain over Philip II. to the project, who promised to assist it with men and money; and Stukely sailed from Cività Vecchia with his Italians to join a Spanish and Portuguese force assembled in the Tagus. But Don Sebastian, who was to have commanded the expedition, diverted his forces, as we have already seen, to his wild enterprise in Morocco, where both he and Stukely perished; and as Philip's subsequent invasion of Portugal led him to diminish his army in the Netherlands, the romantic zeal of Sebastian had the unforeseen effect of promoting the cause of Protestantism and liberty. Part of Stukely's plan was, however, carried into effect. Geraldine, an Irish refugee, whom he was to have called for in France, landed in Ireland in 1579; the Earl of Desmond rose, and some advantages were gained. But reverses followed: Geraldine was killed in a skirmish; the rebellion was put down, and the leaders severely punished.

Rome was pursuing at this time other machinations against Elizabeth, of a slower and more insidious but not less dangerous kind. The Catholic priests who fled from England in 1568, founded under Dr. Wm. Allen a college at Douay, which the Pope

¹⁷ “. . . i quali (i ministri Inglesi) per arricchire se stesso usavano tutta l' arte della tirannide in quel regno, come trasportando le commodità del paese in Inghilterra, tassando il popolo contra le leggi e privilegi antichi, e mantenendo guerra e fattioni tra i paesani—non volendo gli

Inglesi che gli abitanti imparassero la differenza fra il viver libero e la servitù.” —*Discorso sopra il regno d'Irlanda e della gente che bisognerebbe per conquistarlo*; Fugger MSS., ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 80 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

protected and supported with a monthly pension. The establishment attracted many English youths, till Rêquesens, at the instance of Queen Elizabeth, who complained of it as a seminary of treason, ordered it to be removed. It was then transferred to Rheims, where it was patronised by the Guises as well as the Pope. Gregory XIII. endowed another foundation at Rome, under the direction of the Jesuits, and a third was established in Spain. From all these seminaries numerous priests repaired to England every year, traversing the kingdom in disguise and acting as spies. The Jesuits themselves first entered England in 1580, and commenced their traitorous conspiracies. The Guises took an active part in all the projects against the life and throne of Elizabeth. It was chiefly through their influence and machinations that the destruction of Morton, the Regent of Scotland, was accomplished. After the failure of the Irish plot, the Jesuits urged Guise to make an attempt on England itself (1583). Such a thing could not be accomplished without the aid of Spain, and Guise urged Philip to assist him with 4000 men; but it came to the ears of that monarch that Guise had agreed with the English Catholics to assist in expelling the Spaniards after the invasion had succeeded, and Philip put an end to the project.

But although Elizabeth had much reason to complain of the conduct of Philip, she dreaded to involve herself in an open war with him, and when the Prior of Crato arrived in London in June 1581, to solicit her assistance, although she received him honourably, and relieved him bountifully, yet she refused to take up arms in his behalf. In France he succeeded better. Although the French Court had not ventured to aid Don Antonio during the struggle in Portugal, it resolved to assist him in holding some of the Portuguese colonies. Catherine de' Medici even put in a claim to the crown of Portugal, as a descendant, through her mother, of Robert Count of Bologne, the eldest son of Alphonso III.; who in 1254 had repudiated Robert's mother, and disinherited him, though the child of the first bed, in favour of a younger son. The claim of Catherine could only have been urged as some slight pretext for hostilities, or more probably still, with a view of inducing the Spanish monarch to buy her off¹⁸; for by aiding Antonio she virtually recognised his pretensions as superior to her own. Although Africa and the Brazils submitted to Philip II., a great part of the Azores declared for the Prior of Crato. Those islands were then the chief place of rendezvous for vessels bound to either

¹⁸ *Brienne MSS.*, ap. Motley, *Un. Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 103 sq.

Indies; and if occupied by a hostile force, would, as Catherine observed to Walsingham¹⁹, render almost useless to Philip both his own colonies and the Portuguese. In 1581 some succours were despatched from France to the Azores; and in the following year Catherine fitted out a fleet of fifty-five sail, with 5000 troops on board, which she intrusted to the command of her relative, Philip Strozzi. A descent was effected; but the Spanish fleet under Santa Cruz soon afterwards appeared; a bloody battle ensued, July 26th 1582, in which Strozzi was defeated and slain; most of the French vessels were either taken or sunk, and the Spanish admiral put to death all the prisoners he made, declaring that as no regular war had been proclaimed between France and Spain he could regard them only as pirates. The Prior of Crato succeeded in escaping to Terceira, which, with the help of Emanuel da Silva, and a few hundred French, he defended for some time against the Spaniards. In 1583, however, Philip despatched an overwhelming force which reduced the Azores to subjection. Don Antonio escaped to France, and died at Paris in 1595, after having made in 1589, with the assistance of the English admiral, Drake, as will be related in the sequel, another fruitless attempt to wrest Portugal from the Spanish crown.

The conquest of Portugal and its magnificent possessions tended to revive the prestige of Spanish power, then somewhat waning through the revolt in the Netherlands. It was on this side that Spain was most vulnerable²⁰, and hither for a few years after Philip's conquest, as we have related elsewhere, the force of France was directed, but with that underhand system of warfare which characterises the latter portion of the sixteenth century; while Philip retaliated by drawing closer his alliance with the House of Guise. The fruits of this connection appeared in a terrible conspiracy. One Salcède, a Spaniard by origin, but remotely connected on the female side with the House of Lorraine, offered to the Duke of Anjou, now also Duke of Brabant, the services of the regiment of volunteers that he had levied in Champagne. As Salcède's father had been one of the victims of the St. Bartholomew his advances were received without suspicion. The infamous character of the man, however—he had been condemned to death by the Parliament of Rouen for forgery and arson—and some other circumstances, excited the notice of the Prince of Orange, who caused Salcède to be apprehended at Bruges, July 21st 1582. Being put

¹⁹ *Mémoires de Walsingham*, ap. Ranke, *Fr. Gesch.* B. i. S. 389.

²⁰ For the operations of France and the

Duke of Anjou in the Netherlands, see the next chapter.

to the torture he revealed the plan of a vast conspiracy. He confessed that he had been employed by the Guises as a spy, in the interest of Philip II., on the naval armament preparing for Strozzi; and that the Duke of Guise had afterwards revealed to him a plot by which the Duke of Anjou was to be enveloped between the forces of the Duke of Parma and the League; Galais was to be surrendered to the former, while an army levied by the Pope and the Duke of Savoy²¹, and commanded by the Duke of Nemours was to march upon Lyon, and another from Spain was to invade France by way of Bayonne and Béarn; Henry III. was to be seized and placed in the hands of the King of Spain. The assassination of the Duke of Anjou was included in the plan. At the request of Henry, Salcède was sent from Bruges to Vincennes, where he was examined by torture in the King's presence, and was afterwards handed over to the Parliament for prosecution. His confessions, which, however, he retracted more than once, implicated in the conspiracy some who professed the greatest attachment to the King, and even his favourite the Duke of Joyeuse himself. Many of these accusations were, perhaps, calumnious, yet of the main outlines of the conspiracy there can be little doubt. Salcède was condemned to be torn to pieces by four horses (October 25th 1582).

After the failure of this plot, Philip II., dissatisfied with the inactivity of the League, and alarmed by the entry of the Duke of Montpensier and Marshal Biron into Flanders, endeavoured to excite disturbances in France by means of the Hugonots; and early in 1583 he offered the King of Navarre a considerable subsidy to renew the war against Henry III. Thus even the bigoted Philip could make religion bend to policy. The King of Navarre played with the offer; thanked Philip for his good intentions and communicated them to Henry III., in order to dispose that monarch to prolong the term for the surrender of the cautionary towns. Some time after Philip II. renewed his offer on the occasion of an insult offered to Henry of Navarre's wife by the King her brother. Margaret, tired of the little Court of Nérac after the departure of most of the young lords for Flanders, had returned to the Court of France early in 1582, where she entered into a thousand cabals, quarrelled with the King and rallied his minions. Stung by her insolence, Henry III. one day, in the presence of all the Court, overwhelmed his sister with reproaches and abuse; named to her one after another the long list of her

²¹ Now Charles Emmanuel, Emmanuel Philibert having died in 1580.

gallants; accused her of having had a child since her return to Paris by Harlai de Chanvallon, grand-master of the artillery, and concluded by ordering her to return into Gascony.²² On the road she and her ladies were overtaken by some archers of the guard, who made them pull off their little half-masks²³ of black velvet, to see if there were no men among them, and detained two of her suite as prisoners. These ladies were not suffered to proceed till they had been subjected to a strict interrogatory respecting the conduct of their mistress. The King of Navarre refused to receive back his wife after such an insult; a step necessary to his dignity, though in reality he was totally indifferent about her behaviour. Philip II., as we have said, took advantage of this occurrence to renew his offers to Henry of Navarre. On his refusing, the Spanish agents observed, "You do not know what you are doing; we can soon find another market;" alluding to the Guises. But Navarre again acquainted Henry III. with the designs of the King of Spain, as well as of a plot of the Duke of Savoy to enter Provence.

The proceedings of the Duke of Anjou in Flanders, his ill success, return to France, and death in June 1584, will be related in another chapter. By his decease Henry of Navarre became the second person in the kingdom, as heir presumptive of the crown, although the branch of Bourbon was separated from the royal stem by a lapse of more than three centuries. But his heresy stood in his way. Henry III., who was really inclined to support the King of Navarre in preference to the House of Guise, sent to him the Duke of Epemon to exhort him to change his religion. On that head Henry of Navarre was probably indifferent, though as a modern historian observes²⁴, he compensated for his lukewarmness by believing in two dogmas unknown either at Rome or Geneva—toleration and humanity. He listened not, however, to the King's exhortations, though he offered his services and those of his party against the enemies of the crown. The change in the King of Navarre's position had also excited the solicitude of his friends, and Du Plessis Mornay addressed to him an eloquent letter exhorting him to cease the open scandal of his numerous amours.²⁵

The most important consequence of the death of the Duke of

²² Some of Margaret's letters to Chanvallon are published at the end of her *Memoirs* (ed. Guessard). His beauty procured him the name of "le beau Chanvallon." There can be little doubt that Margaret had by him a son, who became a Capuchin monk under the name of Père Ange. See D'Aubigné, *Hist. Un.* p. 1077; Lestoile, *Journal de Henri III.* anno 1583.

²³ These little masks, which were then fashionable among the ladies, were called *loupes*.

²⁴ Martin.

²⁵ Henry, was then in love with Corisande d'Andouins, Countess of Gramont and Guiche, one of a long catalogue of mistresses.

Anjou was the revival of the League, which faction had hitherto proved abortive. Philip II. now seized the opportunity to promote it. The accession of a Protestant King to the throne of France would render inevitable a war between that country and Spain, and might threaten the whole European system, as well as the existence of the Spanish monarchy. Philip himself was growing into years; his son was an infant of seven; during a long minority what would become of Spain with a Hugonot king for neighbour? Bernardino de Mendoza, one of the most incendiary of all Philip's tools, and lately his ambassador in England, whence he had been dismissed for his plots against Elizabeth, was sent to Paris to stimulate Guise and the ultra-Catholic party. It was in this metropolis that the League was reorganised. Paris was at first divided into five *arrondissements*, or quarters, under five leaders, who afterwards associated with themselves eleven more, in order that each quarter of the city might have its director. This was the origin of the SIXTEEN, who afterwards acquired so redoubtable a celebrity. Their policy was to gain over the heads of the different guilds and corporations and of the spiritual brotherhoods, who were generally followed by the other members; and by degrees the great judicial and financial bodies were drawn into the League. From Paris its ramifications were extended to the principal cities of France. Its main objects were the disinherison of Henry of Navarre and the overthrow of the King's minions. The League would willingly have transferred the succession to the Duke of Guise, and such a contingency was doubtless in the thoughts of that prince; but he dared not yet avow it. A stalking-horse was found in the Cardinal of Bourbon, uncle of the King of Navarre, a weak, bigoted, voluptuous old man, who, if the claims of his nephew were set aside on the score of heresy, was undoubtedly next heir to the crown. Guise, who meant to reign under his name, tried to persuade him to renounce his ecclesiastical dignities and marry the Duchess-dowager of Montpensier, Guise's sister. Catherine de' Medici herself was more than half gained over to the League by the dazzling prospect of the crown's descent, after the death of Henry III., to her grandson, the son of her eldest daughter, the Duchess of Lorraine; though with an absurd inconsistency Catherine retained her hostility towards Philip and was inclined for a war with Spain. The situation of Christendom seemed to promise the success of the League. In France itself the Protestants were estimated to have decreased seventy per cent.²⁶ In Germany, under the bigoted

²⁶ Lorenzo Priuli, *Relat. di Francia*, 1582, ap. Ranke, *Pope's*, vol. ii. p. 153.

Emperor Rodolph II., Protestantism was losing all the ground it had gained after the peace of Passau. In Belgium, Farnese was advancing from one conquest to another; and the great hero of Protestantism, the Prince of Orange, had fallen by the hand of an assassin a month after the death of Anjou.

Henry III., without money or resources, and despicable by his want of moral courage, seemed to present no obstacle to the progress of the League. So afraid was he of the King of Spain that he did not venture to accept Cambrai, which the Duke of Anjou had bequeathed to him as a legacy; and Catherine took possession of it as a guarantee for her claims on Portugal. Henry had been striving to regain the affections of the fanatical Parisians, of the priests and the Court of Rome by extraordinary acts of devotion. After the masquerades and carnival of 1583, he had celebrated Lent with unusual strictness, and introduced at Paris the *Blancs-Battus* or Flagellants of Avignon, under the title of the penitents of the Annunciation of our Lady. But the Parisians saw in the affair only another masquerade. After the death of his brother, and the rumours respecting the League, he attempted to conciliate the people by many ordinances of reform. He affected at this time a great attention to business. Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador, writes, that the French King was continually occupied from two o'clock after midnight, his usual time of rising, till eight, shut up in his cabinet "scribbling" with two or three secretaries under him. He now added to his ordinary guard another of forty-five men, called *Taillagambi*, who wore cuirasses under their coats. These men were constantly about his person, were maintained in the palace, and were not suffered to visit out of it.²⁷ Henry felt that he was in a completely false position, and knew not how to extricate himself, dreading alike the Hugonots and the League. The Duke of Guise was a most formidable adversary; there was a grandness in his nature that captivated the people. The Pope compared him to Judas Maccabæus.

In December 1584 a meeting of the Catholic leaders was held at Guise's castle of Joinville; Philip II. sent plenipotentiaries, and a regular treaty, offensive and defensive, was concluded. Its professed objects were, the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion; the complete extirpation of all Protestant and heretical sects, in the Netherlands as well as in France, and the exclusion of heretical princes from the throne. Philip's envoys made several advantageous stipulations. The Cardinal of Bourbon, who had

²⁷ Murdin, p. 426.

accepted the post assigned to him by the Guises, agreed to ratify after his accession the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, to renounce all alliances with the Turk, and to put an end to all illicit navigation towards the Indies; that is, to submit to the monopoly of Spain. The French princes engaged to assist Philip to recover Cambrai; and he, on the other hand, undertook to pay them 600,000 crowns during the first six months of the war, and afterwards 50,000 crowns monthly, so long as it lasted. Cardinal Bourbon further promised to cede Basse Navarre and Béarn; and Guise and Mayenne engaged to deliver up Don Antonio to Philip.²⁸

Before the execution of the treaty, Père Mathieu, who, from his indefatigable activity obtained the name of the "courier of the League," was despatched to Rome to obtain for it the approbation of the Pope. Gregory XIII., who had sanctioned all the most violent acts of the ultra-Catholics in France, appears to have given a verbal approval of the League; but he would not authorise it by a formal Bull, nor would he consent to the murder of the King,—which must therefore have been one of the projects submitted to him—though he did not object to the seizing of his person.

By the establishment of the League France became divided into three parties: that of the King, the weakest and most contemptible of all; that of Henry of Navarre; and that nominally of the Cardinal of Bourbon, but in reality of the Guises and the King of Spain. Henry III. wavered some time as to the course he should adopt. Towards the end of January 1585 a grand embassy from the patriots in the Netherlands solicited his intervention, offering him twelve cautionary towns and 100,000 crowns a month; the Queen of England, who was now prepared to prevent, at any price, the triumph of Philip, urged Henry to accept these offers, which she partly guaranteed, and sent him the order of the Garter. Philip's general, Farnese, was at that time engaged in the siege of Antwerp; to prevent its being succoured, Philip pressed the League to commence operations; and Henry III., alarmed at their movements, dismissed the Dutch ambassadors, and declared that he meant to keep peace with the King of Spain. At Peronne, on the 31st of March, the League published their manifesto. It was in the name of the Cardinal of Bourbon, and signed by him; but with it was circulated a list of the chiefs of the League, including all the Catholic princes of Europe. The name of the Duke of Lorraine appeared, coupled with that of Guise, as lieutenants of the League. It was the first time that the Duke of Lorraine had

²⁸ Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 441.

taken part in the civil wars of France, into which he was enticed by the promise of Toul and Verdun. The King's answer to the manifesto of the League resembled that of an arraigned criminal. He despatched his mother to Epernay, to negotiate with the Guises; who, however, as a considerable part of the kingdom had declared for the League, rose in their demands in proportion to their success. The negotiations were transferred from Epernay to Nemours; and though the King's arms had met with some partial success, a treaty was concluded in July which amounted to a virtual surrender of the royal authority as well as a complete prohibition of the Protestant faith. All former edicts in favour of the Protestants were revoked; the *Chambres mi-parties* were abolished; the reformed ministers were to quit the kingdom within a month, and all other obstinate heretics within six months. The Dukes of Guise, Mayenne, Elbeuf, Aumale, Mercœur, were not only to retain their governments, but nine cautionary towns were also to be assigned to them and to the Cardinal of Bourbon for five years; viz. Soissons, Dinon, Le Conquet, Châlons, Verdun, Toul, St. Dizier, Beaune, and Rue. This peace was proclaimed July 7th, by the EDICT OF NEMOURS.²⁹ On the 13th the King joined his mother at St. Maur, where he received the homage of the Cardinals of Bourbon and Guise, and of the Dukes of Lorraine and Guise. On the 18th he went in person to the Parliament of Paris to publish the revocation of all former edicts of toleration, and the suppression of the (pretended) reformed religion.

Having thus brought down the history of the Protestant struggle in France to a period when the reformed faith seemed threatened with extinction, we will now turn our attention to the Netherlands, where, at this time, it was menaced with a similar fate.

²⁹ The Edict is in *Mém. de la Ligue*, t. i. p. 178 sqq. (ed. Amst. 1753).

CHAPTER IX.

THE history of the revolt in the Netherlands has been carried down in a former chapter to the pacification of Ghent, November 8th 1576. It was a mistake on the part of Philip II. to leave the country eight months with only an *ad interim* government. Had he immediately filled up the vacancy occasioned by the death of Requesens, either by the appointment of his sister Margaret, or any other person, the States could not have seized upon the government, and the alliance established at Ghent would not have been effected, by which an almost independent commonwealth had been erected. But Philip seems to have been puzzled as to the choice of a successor; and his selection, at length, of his brother Don John of Austria, caused a further considerable delay. Don John, the hero of Lepanto, was, at that time, governor of the Milanese, where necessary arrangements compelled him to remain some time after his appointment. He then proceeded to Spain for instructions, whence he travelled in the greatest haste through France.

The state of the Netherlands compelled Don John to enter them not with the pomp and dignity becoming the lawful representative of a great monarch, but stealthily, like a traitor or conspirator. In Luxemburg alone, the only province which had not joined the union, could he expect to be received; and he entered its capital a few days before the publication of the treaty of Ghent, in the disguise of a Moorish slave, and in the train of Don Ottavio Gonzaga, brother of the Prince of Melfi. Having neither money nor arms, he was obliged to negotiate with the provincial government in order to procure the recognition of his authority. At the instance of the Prince of Orange, the States insisted on the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the maintenance of the treaty of Ghent, an act of amnesty for past offences, the convocation of the States-General, and an oath from Don John that he would respect all the charters and customs of the country. The new governor was violent, but the States were firm, and in January 1577 was formed the UNION OF BRUSSELS, the professed objects of which were, the immediate expulsion of the Spaniards, and the execution of the Pacification of Ghent; while at the same time the Catholic religion

and the royal authority were to be upheld. This union, which was only a more popular repetition of the treaty of Ghent, soon obtained numberless signatures; while the treaty had been signed only by the envoys of the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland and Zealand on the one side, and those of a certain number of the Provinces on the other. The Union of Brussels, by the stipulation in favour of Catholicism, contained in it the seeds of its own dissolution; but it became the stepping-stone to the more important Union of Utrecht.

Meanwhile Rodolph II. the new Emperor of Germany, had offered his mediation, and appointed the Bishop of Liège to use his good offices between the parties; who, with the assistance of Duke William of Juliers brought, or seemed to bring, the new governor to a more reasonable frame of mind. Don John, however, was perhaps in reality determined by instructions brought to him from Spain by his secretary Escovedo, recommending no doubt that duplicity which characterised the policy of the Spanish Court. However this may be, when the negotiations were resumed at Marche en Famine, Don John yielded all the points in dispute, and embodied them in what was called the PERPETUAL EDICT, published March 12th 1577. The Prince of Orange suspected from the first that these concessions were a mere deception, to be violated on the first opportunity; and his suspicions of the governor's hypocrisy were afterwards confirmed by intercepted letters. Although, to the astonishment of those not in the secret, the Perpetual Edict was confirmed by Philip (April 7th 1577), the Prince of Orange refused to publish it in Holland and Zealand. To his secret motives we have alluded; his public objections to the Edict were, among others, that no definite time had been fixed for the assembling of the States-General; that the ratification of the treaty of Ghent was not categorical; that the States were called upon to pay the foreign mercenaries who had oppressed them; that his son, Count Buren, was still detained a prisoner, &c. Don John endeavoured to gain over the Prince by private negotiations, in which magnificent offers were made to him; but William was incorruptible.

The Perpetual Edict did not produce any immediate separation between the northern and southern provinces. Although the Spanish troops were actually sent away in April, the Catholics as well as Protestants still harboured suspicions of the Spaniards; and when Don John entered Brussels, May 1st 1577, the citizens refused to give him possession of the citadel. Finding himself thus a governor merely in name, and without any real authority, he

resolved to throw off the mask, and to seize by stealth the power that was withheld from him. On pretence of paying a visit to the consort of Henry of Navarre, who was on her way to the baths of Spa, Don John repaired to Namur, where the citadel was commanded by two sons of Count Barlaimont, who were favourable to his views, and who gave him possession of that fortress. He soon after got possession of Charlemont and Marienberg, but failed in an attempt upon the citadel of Antwerp. These steps he excused on the ground that they were necessary to his security, pretending that a conspiracy had been formed to take his life.

The Prince of Orange endeavoured to prevail on the States to resent these encroachments, and to attack Don John with all their force; but this seemed too bold a step to the aristocratic and Catholic party, led by the Duke of Aerschot. The exertions of William were thus confined to his own provinces of Holland and Zeeland, where a college of eighteen persons was appointed to promote the popular cause. Permission was obtained from the Catholic States for deputies from Holland and Zeeland to enter the Brussels assembly, where they often gave the tone; and they even succeeded in effecting an alliance between the States and the Elector Palatine, a Prince much dreaded by the Catholic party. When the negotiations were resumed with Don John, the States demanded that the citadels of Ghent and Antwerp should be razed; but the republican party in those cities made them level with the ground, without waiting for his answer.

On the 23rd of September 1577, the Prince of Orange, at the invitation of the States-General, entered Brussels amid great rejoicings and the acclamations of the people, who hailed him as "Father William." During his absence prayers were daily offered up for his safety in the churches of Holland and Zeeland. The prince immediately stopped all negotiations with Don John, who was at Namur; and prescribed to him conditions so stringent, that the governor regarded them as a declaration of war, and retired to Luxemburg. Aerschot and the Catholic nobility were averse to these proceedings, though they were unable to hinder them. When they acceded to the Pacification of Ghent, they had hoped to obtain the leading influence in the government; they now saw with jealousy the chief power in the hands of Orange and his party, yet at the same time they hated and suspected the Spaniards. On the other hand William became the favourite of the people. The Brabanters elected him their *Ruward*, a dignity generally reserved for the heir to the sovereignty, and which conferred upon him an almost dictatorial power. He had also been offered the Stad-

holdership of Flanders, which however he declined. These marks of popular favour were bestowed upon Orange partly in consequence of a step taken by his opponents. The Catholic aristocrats, who disliked both Don John and the Prince of Orange, had called in as their governor the Archduke Matthias, a youth of twenty years of age, brother of the Emperor Rodolph II. Matthias accepted the invitation, and came to Brussels without consulting his brother; but he had no talent, and was never anything more than a puppet in the hands of contending factions. To avoid useless contention, as well as not to give offence to the Germans, Orange accepted the nomination of Matthias, and received him with honour. On the 7th December 1577, the States-General formally deposed Don John, and declared all who should assist him rebels and traitors; and on the 10th a fresh "Union of Brussels" was signed, by which Protestantism was placed on a more favourable footing than by the Pacification of Ghent. This, however, was the last time that the Netherlands were united, nor did their union prove of long duration. Matthias was inaugurated at Antwerp as Governor-General, January 18th 1578, having first subscribed a constitution drawn up under the superintendence of the Prince of Orange. William was to be his Lieutenant-General; a step insisted on by Queen Elizabeth, who had now begun to afford the Netherlanders some substantial assistance. Her motives were somewhat selfish. She had discovered that Don John was plotting with the Pope and the Guises to depose her, to espouse Mary Queen of Scots, and to seize the crown of England. Elizabeth's assistance to the Netherlanders had hitherto been confined to small grants of money; but, although Philip II. appears to have disapproved of the scheme of Don John, she now adopted more warlike counsels, and in 1577 made a treaty with the States, by which she agreed to send 5000 foot and 1000 horse into Flanders, to be paid for by the States, and commanded by a general of her own, who was to be received into the Council. She also agreed to lend them 100,000*l.* for which she was to receive the bonds of some of the chief towns in the Netherlands for her repayment within a year.¹ This treaty was signed January 7th 1578, and the English forces, under Sir John Norris, proceeded into the Netherlands.

It being now plain that the acceptance of Don John as governor could be accomplished only by force, Philip II. assembled an army of about 20,000 Spanish and Italian veterans, which he intrusted to the command of Alexander Farnese, son of Ottavio Duke of

¹ Camden's *Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 373 (ed. 1625).

Parma and Margaret, the late Regent of the Netherlands. At the same time the Pope published a Bull in favour of Don John, similar to those formerly issued during the crusades against the Saracens. The Netherlanders also assembled a considerable force under De Goignies, and towards the end of January 1578 both armies were ready to take the field. As the soldiers of the States were mostly raw recruits, Orange advised an immediate attack upon Don John, or upon Namur; but this counsel was overruled, and they waited to be assaulted near GEMBOURS, in the county of Namur (January 31st). A charge of cavalry led by Alexander Farnese decided the victory in favour of the Royalists. Vast numbers of the Netherlanders fell in the battle, and all the prisoners, to the number of about 600, were put to the sword. It was thought that Don John would now march upon Brussels, and the States, the Council, and the Prince of Orange fled to Antwerp; instead of which, however, the victorious general employed himself in taking some towns of less importance, as Gemblours itself, Louvain, Nivelles, Bovines, and others.

Meanwhile Orange was drawing into the League those Dutch towns which had not yet renounced their allegiance to Philip II., and especially Amsterdam; the accession of which important city, February 8th 1578, more than counterbalanced the defeat at Gemblours. Aerschot's party, who had discovered that the Archduke Matthias was entirely useless, applied to the weak and profligate Alençon, now become Duke of Anjou, to accept the protectorate of the Netherlands; while Queen Elizabeth, who dreaded the extension by that means of French influence had, by way of counterpoise, recommended the States to seek the assistance of John Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine; and she advanced money to pay the German troops whom he might conduct into the Low Countries. John Casimir, however, who had little military talent, and had only distinguished himself by some marauding expeditions, did not join the patriots till near the end of August; who, meanwhile, chiefly through the valour of the English under Norris, had defeated Don John at RYMENANTS (August 1st). The allies were so strongly posted, being protected on one side by the river Demer, on another by a wood, and on a third by entrenchments, that Don John was counselled by his best generals not to attack them; but he was anxious to give battle before the arrival of John Casimir. The attack was repulsed, and Don John's army would have suffered greatly in its retreat, had not Alexander Farnese covered it in a masterly manner with his cavalry. This was the last exploit of the victor of Lepanto. He retired under the cannon of Namur;

Philip II., who is supposed to have entertained a mean jealousy of his brilliant relative, sent him no assistance, and caused his secretary to be murdered in Spain for too zealously promoting his master's chimerical marriage with Mary Stuart. Bossu, the commander of the patriot army, threatening Nivelles, Don John broke up to attack him, but was seized on the way with an illness which put an end to his life in six days (October 1st 1578) at Bougy, a miserable village near Namur.

The short administration of Don John may appear on a cursory view to have produced no result; but he in reality initiated the system which preserved so large a portion of the Netherlands to the Spanish crown. Although he began the war contrary to the wishes of Philip, yet it was evident that matters had gone too far to be accommodated by any reconciliation with the States; and he therefore commenced the system of a gradual subjugation of the revolted provinces, partly by force and partly by negotiation. He revived the attachment of the Walloons to the House of Burgundy; he won over to his views Pardieu de la Motte, the commandant of Gravelines; and Matthew Moulart, Bishop of Arras, and employed them in his negotiations with singular success.

Don John was succeeded both in the civil and military command by his nephew Alexander Farnese, the heir of Parma, who was only a few months younger than his uncle, and had shared with him the glory of Lepanto. In personal appearance he formed a striking contrast to his relative. His head was round and covered with short, black, bristly hair; his forehead high but narrow; his nose aquiline; the lower part of his face covered with a bushy black beard; his features were handsome, but wore a somewhat sinister expression. His character was cool, artful, determined, commanding; and, though lacking the fascination of Don John, Farnese had the power of attaching and inspiring confidence. Both as a politician and a military commander he was by far the ablest governor that had yet been seen in the Netherlands.

Before the death of Don John, the Catholic party and Walloon provinces had virtually superseded the Archduke Matthias, by calling in the Duke of Anjou; nor had the Prince of Orange opposed their choice, though he dictated to the French prince a convention which he signed at Mons, August 13th. Anjou's vanity was tickled with the magnificent title of "Defender of the liberty of the Netherlands against the tyranny of the Spaniards and their adherents;" but he was deprived of all real power. He engaged to provide 12,000 men for three months, to be afterwards reduced

to 3500. Anjou's coming had been dreaded and opposed by Elizabeth on political grounds, although she still coquetted with him as a suitor.² He entered the Netherlands in September 1578; took Binche by assault and Maubeuge by capitulation; but under pretence of a deference to the will of Elizabeth, refrained from further conquests, and retired into France. The policy of the English Queen on this subject differed from that of her ministers, who would have gladly seen the Netherlands separated, in whatever manner, and even by a French conquest, from the crown of Spain; while it was the wish of Elizabeth that they should be restored to Philip, though with security for the preservation of their ancient liberties. She had indeed too high an idea of the divine right of kings to regard the successful revolt of subjects with approbation.

Farnese pursued the same policy as his predecessor in endeavouring to conciliate the Catholic and Walloon provinces; and the democratic violence of two demagogues at last enabled him to destroy the Pacification of Ghent. In the autumn of 1577, the nobles Imbize and Ryhove had incited an insurrection in Ghent, and had seized and imprisoned the Duke of Aerschot and ten gentlemen of his suite, because the Duke, who had been elected Stadholder of Flanders, had delayed the promised confirmation of the ancient privileges of the city. Of these two leaders Ryhove was the more vulgar democrat, bold, but savage and unscrupulous. Imbize, with equal cruelty, was treacherous and cowardly, but possessed more eloquence and talent. He had conceived the chimerical idea of establishing a republic and converting Ghent into a second Rome. These demagogues had formed a democratic government consisting of an executive of eighteen citizens, while the legislative power was vested in the deans of the fifty-two guilds and of the weavers together with the council of war of the city trainbands. The example of Ghent was followed by those towns where a proletarian population abounded; as Dendermonde, Courtray, Hulst, Oudenarde, and at last also Bruges.

These proceedings were viewed with great disapprobation by the Prince of Orange, as calculated materially to damage the patriot cause. He sent an envoy to remonstrate with the leaders, and in December proceeded himself to Ghent; but all that he could effect was the liberation of the Duke of Aerschot. The disorders in that city went on increasing, and in the course of 1578 attained

² Letter of Sir Amias Paulet to Leicester, in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, &c. t. vi. p. 421 sq.

such a height that the Walloon aristocracy trembled for their property and even for their lives. The democratic party raged against the Catholics, broke the images in the churches, and seized on the estates of the monks and clergy. A sort of internecine war ensued. The Walloons, with a body of French, headed by Pardieu, lord of La Motte, robbed, murdered and destroyed up to the very gates of Ghent; while on the other hand, Ryhove and La Noue, having got together a force of French Hugonots, desolated the Walloon territories.

These disorders caused the dissolution of the Brussels Union and of the Pacification of Ghent. The Walloons, who complained that faith had not been kept with them, entered into negotiations with Farnese; and in January, 1579 they concluded a separate league among themselves at Arras. The Prince of Orange, on his side, united the Protestant provinces together in an alliance called a perpetual union; which, from its being proclaimed at Utrecht, January 29th 1579, obtained the name of the UNION OF UTRECHT. It was subscribed by deputies from Holland, Zealand, Gelderland, and the rural districts of Groningen; and in the course of the same year was acceded to by Friesland, Overysse, Drenthe, and the town of Groningen. The Union of Utrecht must be regarded as the foundation of the Dutch republic, although the various provinces which subscribed it did not renounce their allegiance to Philip II.; on the contrary, the professed intention of the union was to maintain the Pacification of Ghent, which acknowledged that sovereign. The United Provinces did not propose to meddle with domestic politics or religion, but merely to drive the foreigner from the land; and though they were to remain perpetually united, each province was to retain its peculiar laws, privileges, and customs.

S^{to} Aldegonde having been despatched by the Dutch and Flemings to the Diet assembled at Worms to implore the assistance of the German States against the tyranny of the Spaniards, an attempt was made at the instance of the Emperor, Rodolph II., whose brother Matthijs was still the ostensible governor of the Netherlands, to maintain the union of all the provinces; and with that view a congress was held at Cologne in April, at which plenipotentiaries attended from France, England, and several of the German princes. Cobham and Walsingham were the English envoys; but the negotiations had no result. The Papal nuncio would of course listen to no proposals of toleration, and Philip II. insisted that the Netherlands should remain in the same state as under Charles V. He promised, indeed, to remove the Spanish

troops; but he would acknowledge the Protestant religion only in Holland and Zealand, and that only for a time; while on the other hand the States would relax none of the conditions on which the governorship had been conceded to Matthias.

An appeal to arms became therefore again inevitable; hostilities, indeed, had not been interrupted during the congress, and Farnese, after threatening Antwerp, had laid siege to Maestricht. The Walloon provinces now entirely separated themselves from the rest, and concluded a treaty with Farnese in his camp before Maestricht, May 17th 1579; by which the authority of the King was nominally restored, but under the strictest limitations. Philip promised to dismiss all foreigners from the army, and to confirm all present possessors in the offices which they had acquired during the disturbances. Of all the Walloon towns, Tournai, Cambrai and Bouchain alone adhered to the States. The leading Walloon nobles who negotiated this treaty made the Spaniards pay for their adhesion; the price of their loyalty being a military command, the government of a province, the order of the Golden Fleece, or even a payment in money.³ But as the Walloon provinces were as fanatical as Philip himself, they made no stipulations about religion: Thus the Netherlands became divided into three distinct parties: 1, the reformed provinces of the north which had entered into the Union of Utrecht; 2, the middle or Flemish provinces, containing an almost equal number of Catholics and Protestants, and which had chiefly promoted the Congress of Cologne; and 3, the wholly Catholic Walloon provinces of the south which had resumed their obedience to the Spanish government.

Maestricht, after an admirable defence of three months, during which numberless assaults were repulsed, was at length taken, June 29th 1579, the inhabitants having been surprised in their sleep. The Spaniards raged three days like Turks or savages, putting down all they met and exercising the most abominable cruelties. Fortunately, Farnese's treaty with the Walloons compelled him now to dismiss his Spanish troops, and he was consequently obliged to remain quiet for a period. The Prince of Orange availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to strengthen his party by getting rid of the Archduke Matthias and the Ghent radicals, and by inducing the Flemish provinces to join the Union of Utrecht. Matthias, as well as the Count Palatine John Casimir, were members of the Ghent democracy. Davidson, the English

³ See Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, &c., t. vi. p. 521 sqq.

ambassador to the States, had complained bitterly of the Ghent demagogues, and especially of John Casimir, who was subsidised by England. The Count Palatine went to England to justify himself, and obtained from Elizabeth the Garter and a pension; but his troops in the Netherlands, which had done nothing but plunder, were dismissed. The Prince of Orange proceeded to Ghent in August 1579 to put the affairs of that city in order in the name of the States-General, when Imbize fled into the Palatinate; but having ventured to return in 1584 was seized and executed. William restored in Ghent a mild and moderate government, established a toleration of both religions, and enforced a restitution of the spoils that had been committed both on private property and that of the church.

After the taking of Maestricht and withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the war, as we have said, was not conducted with any vigour, Philip being fortunately occupied with other affairs. The confederates, however, were not in a position to take advantage of this state of things; and it plainly appeared how difficult it was for a confederacy of this description to make head against a powerful and united monarchy. The several provinces which composed it were more attentive to their own advantage than to the general good; while those who held commands in them were not always inaccessible to the influence of corruption. In March 1580 a great Flemish lord, George de Lalain, Count of Renneberg, who, although a Catholic, had served the Union of Utrecht with his mercenaries under John Casimir, and now occupied the town and fortress of Groningen, sold himself to the Spaniards for a pension of 20,000 florins and other advantages. Hence Groningen and Friesland were for some time lost to the league, and the Prince of Orange himself was put into considerable danger.

His peril was increased by a step which Granvella had advised Philip to adopt. A change of ministry had at length restored that cardinal, who had languished many years in Italy, to the counsels of his sovereign. His predecessor, Don Antonio Perez, who had taken the Princess of Eboli, a mistress of Philip's, for his own, was discovered and disgraced: he and the Princess were arrested July 28th 1579, and on the same day Granvella entered Madrid. One of his first steps was to propose the proscription of the Prince of Orange, remarking in a letter which he addressed to the King, 13th November; "As Orange is pusillanimous he might die of fear; or, if the proscription is published in Italy and France, some desperate fellow will be found to undertake the matter." This plan met the approval of Philip, who remarked on the margin of the letter,

"I think this a good suggestion."⁴ William was accordingly placed under the royal ban, and a price of 25,000 gold crowns was set upon his head.⁵ In the preamble to this instrument all the crimes imputed 'to' Orange were recited; he was compared to Cain and Judas, and declared an enemy of the human race; and besides the proffered reward, whoever should assassinate him was promised, not only a pardon for any crime, however heinous, that he might have committed, but also that, if not already noble, he should be ennobled for his valour. To such a depth of moral degradation had Philip and his counsellors sunk under the united influence of bigotry and fear! Not only was a base and cowardly murder sanctioned and encouraged by a public act, but the fountains of justice were poisoned and the nobility insulted by the impunity and the honours held out to the perpetrator.

This proscription was answered by William in his celebrated *Apologie*, or Vindication; a paper drawn up with great eloquence and force of reasoning, though it sometimes oversteps the bounds of moderation, and brings charges against Philip, which, though the popular rumours of the day, the judgment of history has not always confirmed.⁶ The Prince rejoices in the opportunity of defending his character, not against an obscure libeller, but a great and powerful king. He recites the benefits which his family had conferred upon the House of Habsburg, who were obscure in Switzerland when his ancestors filled the imperial throne. He observes that he owes Philip no allegiance as King of Spain, but only as Duke of Brabant; and as Philip had violated the oath which he took to observe the privileges of that province, both parties were released from their engagements. Philip, indeed, might plead the Pope's dispensation, and the Prince left it to divines to determine whether the arrogance of the Pope in presuming to release men from such obligations were not an invasion of the prerogative of heaven, and destructive of all faith among men. It was enough for him to remark the folly of such a proceeding; for as the tie was mutual, the dispensation for Philip himself released also Philip's subjects, whom it was therefore absurd to reproach with disloyalty. He rebuts the charge of being the author of these disturbances,

⁴ Groen van Prinsterer, t. vii. p. 166. Philip recommended as a model the ban published by his father against the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse. William's person and goods were to be abandoned to any one, — "pour impunément outrager sa personne et occuper les biens qu'encore luy appartiennent." — p. 168.

⁵ The ban, though dated March 15th

1580, was not published in the Netherlands till the following June.

⁶ The *Apologie* is in Dumont, *Corps Dipl.* t. v. pt. i. p. 384. An abstract of it is given by Watson in his *Hist. of Philip II.* vol. iii. appendix. The paper has been attributed to the pen of Villers, William's chaplain, a Frenchman.

which were imputable solely to the cruelty and tyranny of the Spanish rule. He charges Philip with incest, adultery, and murder, and Granvella with having administered poison to the Emperor Maximilian. To this paper Orange affixed his name and arms, with his motto, "*Je maintiendray*;" and he sent a copy of it to most of the European sovereigns. It alarmed even the boldest of his friends, and S^{re} Aldegonde, when he read it in France, observed that the Prince was a dead man.

It was now plain that even that limited recognition of Philip's authority, which had hitherto prevailed in the Netherlands, could not much longer continue to be observed, and must be superseded by unconcealed rebellion and the assertion of independence. But such a step could not be ventured on without foreign assistance, and Orange determined on calling in the Duke of Anjou. That Prince, as we have already said, had been named Protector of the Netherlands in 1578, but the state of affairs in France had prevented him from taking possession of his new dignity. Orange now persuaded the States to renew the negotiations with him, and to offer him the Stadholdership; but as the Netherlands reposed even less confidence in Anjou than in Matthias, it was arranged that he should accept the office under the same limitations as the Archduke. The conditions were drawn up and carried by a deputation from the States to the Duke of Anjou, whom they found at Plessis-les-Tours, once the dread abode of Louis XI., where the treaty was concluded, September 19th 1580. The chief stipulations were, that he was to maintain all the rights and privileges of the different provinces, of which he was to be Duke, Count, Margrave or Lord, according to their different constitutions, and was to be succeeded by one of his children. He agreed to assemble the States-General at least once a year, to reside constantly in the Netherlands, and to bestow offices on none but natives. All these conditions Anjou signed the more readily, as he did not intend to observe them. Holland and Zealand, however, which formed a sort of domain belonging to the Prince of Orange, were altogether excluded from this arrangement; and, indeed, Anjou signed a secret reverse, entirely renouncing all pretensions to them. The Archduke Matthias laid down his office at Antwerp, and was mean enough to accept a retiring pension of 50,000 florins, which, however, does not seem to have been regularly paid; and in October 1581 he returned to Austria, where he became the tool of those who were discontented with the government of his brother, the Emperor Rodolph II. In the Netherlands he had been simply insignificant.

Circumstances had prevented the Duke of Anjou from being installed in his new dignity; and it was not till the 26th of July 1581 that the States-General assembled at the Hague proclaimed Francis of Valois sovereign lord of the Netherlands. They at the same time declared their independence by a solemn Act of ABJURATION⁷, which deposed Philip from his sovereignty. In this act his crimes against the people were elaborately enumerated; among which appear prominently the introduction of the Spanish troops, the creation of the new bishoprics, the establishment of the Inquisition, the cruelties of Alva, the "Spanish Fury," and finally, the proscription of the Prince of Orange. The act is justified by an appeal to the LAW OF NATURE. Subjects, it is said, are not created by God to be the mere tools of the prince, to obey his commands, whether just or unjust, and to serve him like slaves; but, on the contrary, the prince is appointed like the shepherd of a flock for the good of his subjects, to govern them according to law and reason. If he neglects to do this, if, instead of defending he oppresses them, by depriving them of their ancient privileges and customs, he is no longer to be regarded as a prince, but as a tyrant; and if his subjects cannot deter him from his oppressions by their prayers, their requests and their remonstrances, they are no longer bound, in law and reason, to recognise him for their sovereign.

Thus was raised the first voice of political liberty proceeding from the spirit of the Reformation; thus was struck the first blow that shook the monarchical principle in its hitherto recognised foundation. Previous revolts had been mere instinctive risings against tyranny and oppression; but the enunciation, as a principle of natural law, of the right of resistance to tyrannous sovereigns, proclaimed an age that had begun to feel and to reflect upon its civil as well as its religious privileges. The deliberate and solemn nature of the act produced all the more profound sensation in Europe: for the Declaration of Independence was not a democratic revolution, or an appeal to the people; the United Provinces did not style themselves a republic, nor, in fact, make any change in their form of government; and the offer of their sovereignty to Queen Elizabeth and to the Duke of Anjou, shows that they were still inclined to be governed by a prince. The whole proceeding was managed by the regular assembly of the States, as if in the ordinary course of business; and so far from sanctioning

⁷ The act, which was drawn up by S^t. Aldegonde, is in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 413 sqq. The life of Marnix de S^t. Aldegonde, who

is entitled to be styled one of the founders of the Dutch republic, has been written by Q^uinet.

a democracy, such as that attempted by Imbize and Ryhove, the divine right of kings was acknowledged by the Act⁸, and afterwards by the envoys of the States at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582. In fact, it is remarkable that the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people was first broached, not by the Protestants, but by the Jesuits and the high Catholic party. It formed part of their theory of the omnipotence of the Pope, who alone reigned by divine right, and that only in his spiritual capacity. Bellarmine was the first who attempted to establish this doctrine logically and systematically. He maintained that the people had an indefeasible right to resume the government and alter its forms; and this view became the prevailing doctrine of all the Jesuit schools, and was by none more emphatically taught⁹ than by the Spanish theologians Suarez and Mariana.⁹ It was of course levelled against heretical sovereigns such as Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth in England, and Henry IV. in France. Thus the ingenuity of casuists is able to pervert the most sacred principles, and to apply for the enslavement of mankind those very maxims which in a proper sense assure their liberty.

A few days before the Act of Abjuration was published, the Prince of Orange accepted the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, though limited at his own request to the period during which the war should last; a limitation, however, afterwards cancelled by the States without William's knowledge. He was to maintain in those provinces the public exercise of the reformed religion alone; but no inquiries were to be made into any man's belief, nor was any hindrance to be offered to him on the ground of his religious tenets.

Fortunately Philip was at this time occupied with the affairs of Portugal, and Alexander Farnese was not in a position to push the war with much vigour. He had not only dismissed his Spanish and Italian veterans, but was also involved in a quarrel with the Spanish King and with his own mother, Margaret, whom Philip II. had sent back to rule the Netherlands. Farnese, however, refusing to share his power with her, Margaret at length withdrew her pretensions, and though she lived under an assumed name upwards of three years in the Netherlands, she forbore to take any ostensible part in public affairs. The Duke of Anjou, whom Henry III. had

⁸ The preamble commences: "Comme il est notoire à un chacun qu'un prince du pais est établi de Dieu pour souverain et chef des sujets, pour les défendre et conserver de toutes injures," &c. The passage deposing Philip runs: "Nous,

suivant la loi de Nature, pour la tuition et défense de nous et des autres habitans, &c. . . . déclarons le Roi d'Espagne déchu IESO JURE de sa souveraineté."

⁹ See Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 199.

pretended to disavow, entered the Low Countries about the middle of August (1581) with an army of some 15,000 men, and compelled Farnese to raise the siege of Cambrai, one of the few Walloon towns that adhered to the Union of Utrecht, and which had been blockaded by Farnese several months. Anjou entered Cambrai in triumph; but this was the extent of his exploits. Through his own improvidence, as well as for want of succour from the French Court, which was wasting its resources in dissipation and extravagance, Anjou found himself obliged to disband his army; and in November he went with a splendid retinue to England to press in person his suit to Queen Elizabeth. Being disappointed at Cambrai Farnese next turned his arms against Tournay, which after a brave defence of two months, conducted by Maria de Lalaing in the absence of her husband, the commandant, was forced to surrender November 30th.

Queen Elizabeth was at this period much embittered against the Spanish Court, on account of its intrigues with the discontented nobles and with Mary Stuart. When Farnese resumed hostilities, she had sent some troops into the Netherlands under Colonel Norris, who proved of considerable service to the Hollanders; yet she was not inclined to provoke an open war with Spain; and much to the regret of Leicester¹⁰, she for the second time declined the offer made to her by the States early in 1582, of the government of their country. How far her negotiations with Anjou were the result of policy or coquetry, it may not be easy to determine. The Duke, who was at that time twenty-eight years of age, possessed considerable grace and vivacity, though in person below the middle size, puny and ill-shaped, his face seamed with pock-marks, his nose swollen and distorted. Elizabeth had always reserved for herself a loophole of escape; and to the contract for the marriage drawn up in June 1581, was appended a provision for the exchange of certain mutual explanations.¹¹ The parting scene in which she jilted the French prince, and his rage upon the occasion are well known. He soon after quitted the shores of England and landed at Flushing, February 10th 1582. Hence he was conducted by the Prince of Orange by water to Antwerp, made his *joyeuse entrée* into that city, and was inaugurated as Duke of Brabant. A few days

¹⁰ See his *Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury*, March 8th 1582, in Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 262.

¹¹ Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, t. v. pt. i. p. 406 sq. The proviso reserved is in the Declaration of the French commissioners attached to the Treaty p. 411: "Icelle dame Reine a expressément déclaré

et réservé, qu'en vertu dudit contrat elle n'entend estre obligée et astreinte à l'accomplissement et consommation dudit mariage, jusqu'à ce que la dite dame Reine et le dit très illustre duc se soient mutuellement éclaircis et satisfaits d'aucunes choses particulières entre eux."

after he took an oath to rule according to the prescribed conditions received the homage of the States, and was proclaimed in the Flemish territories as Duke of Brabant and Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire.

Not long after, the installation of Anjou, an attempt was made to assassinate the Prince of Orange. The Court of Spain followed up the diabolical policy adopted in the proscription by entering into a regular contract with one Anastro, a bankrupt merchant of Antwerp, for the murder of William. This contract, which was signed by Philip *with his own hand*, and sealed with his seal, guaranteed to Anastro the sum of 30,000 ducats for the perpetration of the deed, besides the cross of St. Iago! Anastro intrusted the matter, as if it had been in the regular course of business, to a clerk named Jaurégni; who, being incited by a fanatical priest, and tempted with the offer of a few thousand crowns, undertook the assassination. Jaurégni chose for that purpose the birth-day of the Duke of Anjou (March 18). The Prince of Orange, who had given a grand banquet at his own palace, was just rising from table, when Jaurégni approached under pretence of presenting a petition, and discharged a pistol at him. The ball entered the Prince's neck, under the right ear, passed through the roof of the mouth, and came out under the left jaw, carrying away two teeth in its passage. The pistol had been held so near that the flash cicatrised the wound, which otherwise would probably have been mortal. The assassin was instantly cut down. Tablets found in his pocket betrayed that he was the slave of an imbecile superstition. He had vowed, if successful, to present to Christ a new coat of costly pattern; to the Mother of God at Guadalupe, a new gown; to our Lady of Montserrat, a crown, a robe and a lamp; together with other offerings at a long list of shrines. The more calculating Anastro had left Antwerp before the attempt, and escaped into the Prince of Parma's lines. William was in such danger during three weeks that his wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, died of anxiety. Soon afterwards was discovered the plot of Salcède, related in the preceding chapter.

The French were not popular in the Netherlands, and a report was immediately spread that the crime had been committed at the instigation of Anjou. The infuriated populace crowded to the abbey of St. Michael, the residence of the French prince at Antwerp; and but for the presence of mind of William's son Maurice, then a mere youth, a fearful massacre would have ensued. Maurice had guessed at once that the crime had its origin in Spain, and the papers found in the assassin's pocket proved his suspicions to be

correct. These papers he now showed to the people, and thus appeased them for the moment; but a lurking suspicion still remained, and all mutual confidence was lost. Anjou became daily more dissatisfied with his position, in which he felt that he had no real power, being constantly watched and controlled by the Prince of Orange. He told his followers that only two alternatives were left for him; either to retire into France, which would cover him with disgrace, or to assert his authority in the Netherlands with a strong hand. Adopting the latter design, he distributed his forces in certain Flemish towns, which he wished to occupy, with directions to the commanders, when the opportunity should arrive, to overpower the magistrates and seize those places. It was in fact a repetition of the policy of Don John when he seized Namur. The plan succeeded at Ostend, Dendermonde, Dixmuyd, Dunkirk, and a few other towns; but it was frustrated at Bruges and Nieuport, while at Antwerp, which Anjou himself undertook to master, it occasioned a fearful massacre.

Except his body-guard, Anjou, had no troops in Antwerp; but they lay at no great distance, and on the 17th January 1583, having assembled them near the city on pretence of a review, he proceeded with his guard to one of the gates; a disturbance was purposely created, and the troops began to enter with cries of *Ville gagnée! Vive la messe! tue, tue!* and then began to disperse themselves for plunder. Their triumph was premature. The inhabitants called to mind that several distinguished French officers had some time before been carefully examining the goldsmith's shops under pretence of purchasing; the object of the attack was plain; the Flemish troops and citizens flew to arms, and a terrible conflict ensued. The streets were quickly secured with chains and barricades; the French were shot at from the windows; even women and children attacked them with such weapons as chance afforded; and after a short but bloody struggle the 3000 Frenchmen who had entered were driven out with the loss of more than half their number, while the chief nobles in the Duke's retinue were either killed or made prisoners.

This treacherous attack, which obtained the name of the "French Fury," from being ill-concerted, was much less disastrous than the Spanish Fury in 1576. The French were not so well versed in the method of sacking towns as the Spaniards, who proceeded more methodically, by first butchering the inhabitants and then appropriating their property; while the French began to plunder before they had secured their opponents. Anjou was bitterly reviled by many of his own officers, who were too honourable to partake in

the plot, and to whom he had not ventured to reveal it. When he saw its ill success, he mounted his horse and fled towards Dendermonde. The citizens of Mechlin by cutting a dyke let out the waters of the Dill and drowned about 1000 of his followers.

After this act Anjou of course ceased to be regarded by the Flemings as their protector, and he retired to Dunkirk, one of the towns that he had seized. The Prince of Orange nevertheless endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with him; for which he had many reasons. If Anjou should be cast off, Henry III. might perhaps reconcile himself with Spain, and the road through France would thus be opened to the troops of Philip II. Queen Elizabeth also urged a reconciliation, and it was dangerous to offend a sovereign whose aid was of so much importance to the States. William, too, discovered, that while the Duke was writing to him in the tone of injured innocence, he was at the same time treating with Farnese; and he hastened to close with an opponent whose enmity might prove more dangerous even than his friendship. A provisional arrangement was signed with Anjou in March 1583, but towards the end of June the Duke left Dunkirk never to return.¹²

Meanwhile the Prince of Parma, having been reinforced by Philip with fresh troops, released by the termination of the war in Portugal, as well as by the Spanish and Italian veterans, to whose return the Walloons had been persuaded to consent, had begun to resume more active operations. From July to November 1583 the towns of Dixmuyd, Nieuport, Zutphen, the Sas, or port of Ghent, Hulst, Axel, Rupelmonde and Alost fell into the hands of the Spaniards; while the States, for want of friends, were able to make but little resistance. Besides military talent, Farnese displayed a wise and politic moderation and clemency. He endeavoured as much as possible to spare the places which he attacked the evils which ordinarily accompany warfare. Rather than take them by assault he preferred to reduce them by blockade, or by diverting the course of streams and rivers, and he offered them the most favourable capitulations that his instructions from Philip would allow. But the inexorable bigotry of that monarch would not yield a jot in the matter of religion; and on this head all that the Protestants in the captured towns could obtain was the choice either of renouncing their faith or quitting the country within two years. Farnese pursued his successes in the following year (1584).

¹² The Duke had always been an object of suspicion to the Flemings, as shown by the following verses in allusion to his extraordinary nose:—

“Flamands, ne soyez étonnez,
Si à François voyez deux nez;
Car par droit, raison et usage,
Faut deux nez à double visage.”

Between March and August Ypres, Mechlin, Brussels, Dendermonde and Termonde were forced to capitulate; while Charles of Croy, Prince of Chimay, son of the Duke of Aerschot, treacherously betrayed Bruges to the Spaniards, in order to obtain the command of a division. Ghent, Sluys, Antwerp and Ostend were now the only Flemish towns that remained in the power of the States; and of these Ghent was no longer tenable after the taking of the Sas, by which it was cut off from the sea, and the fall of Termonde, which interrupted its communications with Antwerp and Brabant. That city was again in the hands of the demagogues, but after the execution of Imbize, it capitulated September 17th.

Before this event both Anjou and the Prince of Orange had ceased to exist. William had succeeded in effecting a new treaty with Anjou, but before it was signed the Duke died at Château Thierry, June 10th 1584. Although the character of this Prince rendered him altogether insignificant and contemptible, yet from his position his death had a great effect upon the troubles both in the Netherlands and France. In the latter country by opening the way for the succession of Henry of Navarre to the crown, a Protestant, it served to stimulate the opposition of the Guises and the League. In the Netherlands it caused a dissolution of the government in Flanders and Brabant; which provinces, as they did not belong to the Union of Utrecht, had no longer any head to whom they could look; and thus at a critical moment disunion was introduced into the counsels of the States.

After the death of Anjou, the Prince of Orange, disgusted at the disunion which prevailed in Antwerp and Flanders, returned into Holland after an absence of six years. Convinced in the present circumstances of the necessity of a strong government, he now accepted the dignity, which he had more than once refused, of sovereign count of Holland and Zeeland; and he declared that he would in future rule those provinces with the same princely power as had been enjoyed by Charles V. and Philip II. But before the arrangements for his installation could be completed, he fell by the hand of an assassin.

After the abortive attempt on the Prince's life by Jaurégui, before related, four more had been made with the same ill success; making five within two years, and all with the privity of the Spanish government. The sixth was destined to be more successful. William's murderer was one Balthazar Gérard, a native of Vellefans in Burgundy, and like Jaurégui a religious fanatic. Gérard communicated his design to the Prince of Parma, by whom it was approved; for this cool-headed and cold-hearted tactician admitted

assassination in his art of war. Farnese had, indeed, been long on the look-out for a murderer, and had hired several, who after pocketing his money shirked the act. Assuming the name of Francis Guion, and the aspect of a devout Calvinist, Gérard proceeded to Delft with letters of recommendation to the Prince, and by passing himself off as a spy, obtained entrance into his apartments. It was not, however, till the second interview that Gérard was prepared to perpetrate the diabolical act. On the 10th of July 1584, exactly a month after the death of Anjou, as Orange was proceeding up stairs after dinner to an upper apartment, Gérard shot him with a pistol loaded with three balls, and William almost instantly expired. The murderer was arrested in attempting to escape, and before his execution was subjected to the most exquisite tortures, which he endured with an almost superhuman fortitude. The promised reward was paid to his parents, who received three lordships in Franche Comté, the property of the murdered Prince, and took their place among the landed aristocracy. Philip, however, was not the only monarch of that age who rewarded assassination with public honours. Charles IX. had sent Maurevert the collar of the Order of St. Michael for assassinating a Protestant leader named Moy.¹³

William the Silent, Prince of Orange, was fifty-one years of age at the time of his death. He left twelve children, viz.: by his first wife, Anne of Egmont, a son, Philip Count Buren, a prisoner in Spain, and a daughter, Mary, afterwards married to Count Hohenlohe; by his second wife, Anne of Saxony, a son, Prince Maurice of Nassau and two daughters; by his third wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, six daughters; and by his fourth wife, Louisa, daughter of Admiral Coligni, and widow of Teligni, whom he had married in April 1583, a son, Frederick Henry, afterwards the celebrated Stadholder.

William's place in history is among those benefactors of mankind, the deliverers of their country. His untimely death indeed prevented him from fully accomplishing the great work of emancipation, but he had put it in such a train as ensured a successful result. Stedfastness, constancy of purpose, denial of self in the service of his country, for which he rendered himself almost a beggar, are the great traits in his character. As a commander he was outshone by other generals of the age; yet he possessed considerable military genius, and the relief of Leyden is a striking instance both of vastness of design and boldness of execution. As a statesman he was unquestionably the first in Europe. With

¹³ Charles IX.'s *Letter* to the Duke of Alençon, Oct. 10th 1569, ap. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ix. p. 260.

great sagacity and power to penetrate the designs of others, he had the art so necessary to a politician of concealing his own. He was possessed of a singular eloquence, and his speeches and state papers are models of their kind. In public he exhibited an exemplary piety, though probably his religious convictions did not lie very deep; but his enlightened and liberal toleration forms an agreeable contrast with the harsh and narrow bigotry then displayed not only in the Roman Catholic but too often also in the Protestant communions. A modern historian has well characterised him as "the head of the party of humanity,"¹⁴ at that time a new party in the annals of Europe, but which has since gone on increasing. His personal habits were of the simplest kind. Fulke Greville, Lord Brook, who had seen him at Delft some months before his death, describes him as wearing a gown such as in England a mean-born student of the Inns of Court would be ashamed to be seen in; his waistcoat was of knit woollen, like that worn by English watermen. His company consisted of the burgesses of Delft, and there was no external sign to distinguish him from that multitude.¹⁵

The States testified their respect for William's memory by naming his son Maurice, although then only eighteen years of age, Stadholder of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht; and High Admiral of the Union; but as Maurice had not of course yet displayed that military talent by which he was afterwards distinguished, Count Hohenlohe was appointed his general, to direct him in his enterprises as deputy of the States.

After the fall of Ghent, Farnese applied himself earnestly to the siege of Antwerp, one of the most memorable recorded in history. The citizens were animated in their defence by the valour and talent of S^{te} Aldegonde. It would be impossible to detail with minuteness in this general history the various contrivances resorted to on either side for the attack and the defence¹⁶; and we must therefore content ourselves with briefly adverting to that stupendous monument of Farnese's military genius, the bridge which he carried across the Scheldt, below Antwerp, in order to cut off the communication of the city with the sea and the maritime provinces. From the depth and wideness of the river, the difficulty of finding the requisite materials, and of transporting them to the place selected in the face of an enemy that was superior on the water, the project was loudly denounced by Farnese's

¹⁴ Michelet, *Ligue*, 131.

¹⁵ Brook's *Life of Sidney*, ch. ii.

¹⁶ The best account of the siege is in Meteren, who was intimately acquainted with the affairs of Antwerp. It is also

particularly described by Strada and Le Petit. The English reader will find an ample account of it in Mr. Motley's *United Netherlands*, vol. i. ch. v.

officers as visionary and impracticable; yet in spite of all these discouragements and difficulties, as the place seemed unapproachable in the usual way, he steadily persevered, and at last succeeded in an undertaking which, had he failed, would have covered him with perpetual ridicule. The spot fixed upon for the bridge was between Ordam and Kalloo, where the river is both shallower and narrower than at other parts. The bridge consisted of piles driven into the water to such a distance as its depth would allow; which was 200 feet on the Flanders side and 900 feet on that of Brabant. The interval between the piles, which was 12 feet broad, was covered with planking; but at the extremities towards the centre of the river the breadth was extended to 40 feet, thus forming two forts, or platforms, mounted with cannon. There was still, however, an interstice in the middle of between 1000 and 1100 feet, through which the ships of the enemy, favoured by the wind and tide, or by the night, could manage to pass without any considerable loss, and which it therefore became necessary to fill up. This was accomplished by mooring across it the hulls of thirty-two vessels, at intervals of about 20 feet apart, and connecting them together with planks. Each vessel was planted with artillery and garrisoned by about thirty men; while the bridge was protected by a flota of vessels moored on each side, above and below, at a distance of about 200 feet.

During the construction of the bridge, which lasted half a year, the citizens of Antwerp viewed with dismay the progress of a work that was not only to deprive them of their maritime commerce, but also of the supplies necessary for their subsistence and defence. At length they adopted a plan suggested by Gianbelli, an Italian engineer, and resolved to destroy the bridge by means of fire-ships, which seem to have been first used on this occasion. Several such vessels were sent down the river with a favourable tide and wind, of which two were charged with 6000 or 7000 lbs. of gunpowder each, packed in solid masonry, with various destructive missiles. One of these vessels went ashore before reaching its destination; the other arrived at the bridge and exploded with terrible effect. Curiosity to behold so novel a spectacle had attracted vast numbers of the Spaniards, who lined the shores as well as the bridge. Of these 800 were killed by the explosion, and by the implements of destruction discharged with the powder; a still greater number were maimed and wounded, and the bridge itself was considerably damaged. Farnese himself was thrown to the earth and lay for a time insensible. The besieged, however, did not follow up their plan with vigour. They allowed Farnese time to repair the damage,

and the Spaniards, being now on the alert, either diverted the course of the fire-ships that were subsequently sent against them, or suffered them to pass the bridge through openings made for the purpose. In spite of the bridge, however, the beleaguered citizens might still have secured a transit down the river by breaking through the dykes between Antwerp and Lillo, and sailing over the plains thus laid under water, for which purpose it was necessary to obtain possession of the counter-dyke of Kowenstyn; but after a partial success, too quickly abandoned by Hohenlohe and S^{te} Aldegonde, they were defeated in a bloody battle which they fought upon the dyke. Antwerp was now obliged to capitulate; and as Farnese was anxious to put an end to so long a siege, it obtained more favourable terms than could have been anticipated (August 17th 1585). The prosperity of this great commercial city received, however, a severe blow from its capture by the Spaniards. A great number of the citizens, as well as of the inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders, removed to Amsterdam and Middelburg, and so much augmented the population, as well as the trade, of those cities, that it became necessary to enlarge their walls. S^{te} Aldegonde was vehemently suspected of having sold himself to the Spaniards; and though he lived down this calumny, his public career was now brought to a termination.

The Netherlands seemed at this time in imminent danger of being again reduced under the dominion of Philip II.; a fate, however, from which they were rescued by the succours afforded to them by Queen Elizabeth, and by the impolicy of the Spanish King in diverting his resources in order to attack England and to assist the League in France.

After the assassination of the Prince of Orange, Queen Elizabeth resolved no longer to afford the Hollanders a merely clandestine assistance, but to support them by a public alliance. She declined indeed the sovereignty that was again proffered to her, and which, as related in the preceding chapter, had been previously offered to Henry III. of France with a like result; but she agreed to send 6000 troops into the Netherlands, in return for which, Flushing and Briel, the chief towns and fortresses in Walcheren and Voorne, were to be placed in her hands; and she published her motives for this step in a declaration dated at Richmond, October 10th 1585. They were chiefly grounded on the schemes of Philip II., who, incited by the Pope, was contemplating an invasion of her kingdom, to the crown of which he laid claim by virtue of his descent from John of Gaunt. The Queen's reasons for declining the sovereignty of the United Provinces seem to have been the

expenditure it would require and the perpetual war that it would probably entail. She was anxious that her refusal should not be ascribed to fear, and at the conclusion of her address to the Dutch envoys, among whom was John of Olden Barneveld, she said: "Finally, gentlemen, I beg you to assure the States that I do not decline the sovereignty of your country from any dread of the King of Spain. For I take God to witness that I fear him not; and I hope with the blessing of God to make such demonstrations against him, that men shall say the Queen of England does not fear the Spaniards."¹⁷ But Elizabeth in a great measure marred the benefits which the Netherlanders would otherwise have derived from her assistance by making her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, commander of the expedition; a man entirely unfitted for it by his want of military talent, his selfish and intriguing disposition, and his haughty and overbearing temper. Sir Philip Sidney was appointed governor of Flushing, and on the 10th of December the Earl of Leicester, accompanied by his son-in-law the Earl of Essex and a brilliant staff, landed at that port to assume the command. After Leicester's arrival, the States conferred upon him the dignity of governor-general of the United Provinces, which he accepted without consulting the Queen, and he was solemnly inaugurated at the Hague, January 24th 1586. As Elizabeth had refused the sovereignty herself, she was highly offended by this step; less perhaps from the affair itself than from the contempt of her authority manifested by Leicester. She threatened to recall him; she signified her will that the dignity conferred upon him should be revoked, and that he should exercise no more power than he had originally been invested with as commander-in-chief in the Netherlands with a seat in the council. She sent a special envoy to communicate her displeasure to the States publicly and in the presence of Leicester himself; an impolitic step, by which she not only placed her lieutenant in a painful and humiliating position, and damaged his authority with the Hollanders, but even cast a suspicion upon her own sincerity.

Philip II. naturally regarded Elizabeth's manifesto as a declaration of war, and ordered the seizure of all English vessels, as well as English subjects, in his dominions. The campaign of 1586 was tolerably active. Farnese, now Duke of Parma through the death of his father, successively laid siege to and captured Grave and Venlo on the Meuse. Norris would have succeeded in relieving the former place had not the commandant prematurely surren-

¹⁷ *Hague Archives*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 331.

dered. In the western provinces, Prince Maurice and Sir P. Sidney surprised Axel, but failed at Gravelines; after which, Sidney joined Leicester at Arnheim. After the capture of Venlo, Parma took Neuss on the Rhine and invested Rheinberg; when, in order to occasion a diversion, Leicester, who was not strong enough to cope with the Duke in the open field, seized Doesburg and laid siege to Zutphen. It was during this siege that the gallant and chivalrous Sidney received his death wound, while charging at the head of only 200 horse a body of 1100 of the enemy's cavalry, who were convoying provisions to the town (September 23rd 1586). The humanity which he displayed on this occasion towards a wounded soldier, more conspicuous even than his courage, is well known to the readers of English history. He expired of his wound at Arnheim, October 16th. Parma hastened to Zutphen with all his forces, and Leicester was compelled to raise the siege; but he afterwards contrived to get possession of three forts on the opposite side of the Issel.

Although Leicester was provided only with very inadequate forces, and those, through the niggardliness of Elizabeth, miserably paid, his campaign may be said to have preserved the Netherlands from subjection.¹⁸ But his government had been very obnoxious to the States. He had treated the provinces like a conquered country; had arbitrarily appointed governors of provinces and towns; had laid restrictions upon trade and tampered with the public money. He had made two most injudicious appointments in giving the government of Deventer to Sir William Stanley, an English Catholic, and making Roland York, a man of tainted character, commandant of the principal fort at Zutphen. Nevertheless, when Leicester arrived at the Hague towards the close of the year, the States, being unwilling to offend Elizabeth, received him with great honour, though they made a firm but modest remonstrance against his proceedings. Leicester then pretending that affairs required his presence in England, the States insisted on his executing a deed by which he transferred during his absence his authority as governor to the Council of State; but with an unworthy artifice, he secretly executed on the same day another deed by which he not only reserved his power, but even intrenched upon that of the Council. Scarcely had Leicester departed for England, when Deventer and the fort of Zutphen were betrayed to the enemy by Stanley and York (February 1587). Stanley sent for priests to convert his garrison, consisting of 1300 English and Irish, in order

¹⁸ The Dutch deputies acknowledged to Elizabeth in February 1587 that Leicester had arrested Parma's victories. *Hague Arch.*, ap. Motley, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 197.

that they might form a seminary regiment to serve against the Queen. The States, alarmed by these treacheries, decreed, that during Leicester's absence, the supreme authority should be transferred to Prince Maurice; and though in their public declarations they treated the English with forbearance, they addressed letters of warm remonstrance both to Elizabeth and Leicester. The Earl, however, who affected a puritanical behaviour, had a strong party in his favour in Holland, especially among the Calvinist ministers; and by this party the charges made against him were impugned. Puzzled by these conflicting representations, Elizabeth despatched Lord Buckhurst into Holland to inquire into their truth; but when that nobleman honestly told the Queen that her favourite was in the wrong, and especially accused him of inciting the people against the States, in order to render his own authority absolute; Buckhurst himself was immediately put under arrest, as if he and not Leicester had been the guilty party.

These disputes crippled the power of the States in all the provinces except Holland and Zealand, where alone Maurice could make his commands obeyed, and were a serious drawback to the aid afforded by England. Ostend and Sluys were now the only Flemish towns of much importance that had not been reduced by the Spaniards, and after a feint on Veluwe, the Duke of Parma laid siege to Sluys early in June 1587. Here he pursued the same plan as at Antwerp, by bridging over the large canal which communicated with the sea. Leicester, who had returned into the Netherlands with a reinforcement, being joined by Maurice, after some feeble and ineffectual attempts to relieve Sluys, retired into Zeeland, and the town which was bravely defended by the commandant, Arnold de Groenevelt, and by Sir Roger Williams, Sir Francis Vere, and Captain Nicholas Baskerville, after sustaining 17,000 rounds of shot and losing half its garrison, was forced to capitulate August 4th. During this siege, Guelders was betrayed to the enemy by Colonel Paton, a Scotchman. Leicester, after an unsuccessful and inglorious attempt to reduce Hoogstraten, went to meet the States assembled at Dort. That body had received secret intelligence of his designs either to usurp an unlimited power or to abandon the provinces altogether. He was suspected of an intention to occupy the chief cities in Holland and Zeeland, and to seize Prince Maurice and Olden Barneveld and carry them off to England.¹⁹ Leicester, finding himself the object of suspicion, became accuser in turn, and attributed his misfortunes partly to

¹⁹ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 330.

the States, who had neglected to furnish him with the necessary supplies, and partly to Maurice and Hohenlohe, who had refused to co-operate with him; but perceiving at length that he was unequal to the task he had undertaken, he returned to England in December. Queen Elizabeth transferred to Lord Willoughby the command of the English troops, subject, however, to the control of the States. The latter appointed Prince Maurice commander-in-chief, who, though inferior to his father as a statesman, had already given proofs of great military talent.

The schemes of the Pope and the King of Spain to invade England and dethrone its Queen, were at this time growing to maturity. A new Pontiff now occupied the chair of St. Peter. Gregory XIII., whose long and insidious enmity against Elizabeth had proved abortive, expired April 10th 1585, a Pope more generally and more favourably known to posterity by the reformation of the solar year and the introduction of the Gregorian calendar²⁰, than by all his miserable intrigues. He was succeeded by one of the most extraordinary men that ever wore the tiara. Felix Peretti, the descendant of an Illyrian fugitive and the son of a gardener, was born at Fermo, in the March of Ancona, December 15th 1521. His early infancy was employed in watching fruit and tending swine. At the age of twelve he entered the Franciscan order; and such was his devotion to study that, for want of a candle, he was accustomed to read in the church by the light that burnt before the Host. He subsequently studied at the universities of Bologna and Ferrara, where he exhibited much skill in dialectics and took his degrees with great honour and applause. Proceeding to Rome, he attracted much notice by his sermons, and won the favour of the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, afterwards Pope Pius V. That Pontiff, who found in Peretti a congenial nature, made him successively Vicar-General of the Franciscans, Bishop of St. Agatha, and in 1570 a cardinal and Bishop of Fermo, when Peretti returned, clothed in the purple of the church and with the title of Cardinal Montalto, to the scene of his former humble labours. At the death of Gregory XIII., Cardinal Montalto, then a hale and hearty man of sixty-four, pretending feebleness and ill health, secured by a pious fraud his election to the Papal throne; and immediately convicted himself by throwing aside his crutch, holding himself erect, so as to look a foot taller, and intoning with vigorous lungs a hymn of thanksgiving.²¹ Sixtus V., for that was the title

²⁰ This reform was much assisted by Luigi Liglio, a Calabrian, who pointed out the easiest method. Leti, *Vita di Sisto V.* t. i. p. 294.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 413 sq.

assumed by Montalto, displayed in his pontificate all the energy and enthusiasm of his patron Ghislieri. Educated like him in a convent, Sixtus V. could but ill distinguish between the practicable and impracticable. His head was filled with the most fantastic visions; plans that could hardly have been feasible during the Rome of the middle ages. He dreamt of annihilating the Turkish empire, of conquering Egypt, of opening a passage between the Red Sea and Mediterranean; of penetrating into Syria, bringing the Saviour's tomb to Italy, and erecting it at Montalto in his native province, already the seat of our Lady of Loretto; which place was raised by Sixtus to a considerable town. His administration was strict and vigorous, nay, even cruel, yet in many respects beneficial. He hanged even venial criminals without remorse, and was zealous in exterminating the banditti that infested the Roman States. He instituted eight new congregations of cardinals and fixed their number at seventy. He paid great attention to matters of finance, and accumulated a treasure whilst most other European states were in debt. Although he had no classical taste and cared not for the remains of antiquity at Rome, he enlarged and adorned the city with new buildings, and again conducted the water to the Roman hills by means of the Aqua Felice, an aqueduct which feeds seven and twenty fountains.

Sixtus V. felt a sort of reverence for Queen Elizabeth in whom he recognised some congenial qualities; and he is reported to have said that he and the English Queen should have married and begotten another Alexander. He actually sent her an invitation to return to the bosom of the church, at which Elizabeth of course only laughed; and Sixtus then said he must devise some means to deprive her of her kingdom. There was, however, a generosity in his nature that spurned the insidious methods of Gregory. He does not appear to have sanctioned any attempts to assassinate Elizabeth, though he renewed against her the Bull of excommunication; but he openly proclaimed his intention of forwarding any military attack upon her dominions, declared that he would assist Philip in such an enterprise, and early in 1587 loudly complained of the dilatoriness of the Spaniards, to whom he represented the advantages of the conquest of England with a view to the recovery of the Netherlands. The zeal of Sixtus was further inflamed by the execution of the Queen of Scots (February 8th 1587), the first transient idea of which seems to have been suggested by the massacre of St. Bartholomew.²² Such is the tendency of one crime and one

²² *Letter of Sandys, Bishop of London, Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 22 to Lord Burghley, Sept. 5th 1572, in* sqq.

act of violence to beget another! We shall not here detail the catastrophe, so well known to English readers, of that long tragedy whose argument was the hate and jealousy of the rival queens; one looked up to by Protestant Europe as its patroness and protector, the other regarded by Rome and the Catholic party as the type of their claims, and the innocent victim of the efforts to assert them. When the news of Mary's death arrived in Rome, Sixtus furiously declaimed in the consistory against the English Jezebel, and by way of retaliation created Dr. William Allen a cardinal. A formal treaty was soon afterwards concluded between Sixtus V. and Philip II., by which the Pope promised the King of Spain a subsidy of a million *scudi*, to be paid as soon as Philip should be in actual possession of some English port. England, after its conquest, was to become a fief of the Church.²³ Philip, however, with masterly dissimulation, appears to have kept the Pope, as well as everybody else, in the dark, respecting the actual time of the invasion.²⁴

The French King was solicited by Sixtus to join in the enterprise against Elizabeth; but Henry requested time for deliberation. The destruction of Elizabeth was not for his interest. He had indeed, after the condemnation of Queen Mary, sent De Bellièvre on a special mission publicly to deprecate her execution, yet with secret instructions to solicit Elizabeth for her death, as the common enemy of both through her connection with the Guises.²⁵ That family did all they could to forward the Pope's project, and had even recently undertaken on their own account a conspiracy against Elizabeth. The French ambassador in London, who belonged to the Guisian faction, had entered into a plot to blow up Elizabeth in her apartment; and his servant, Du Trapps, had solicited William Stafford, brother of the English ambassador at Paris, to join in the deed, promising to procure for him from the Pope a pension of 10,000 crowns; though it does not appear that he was authorised to make such a promise.²⁶ The detection of this conspiracy in January 1587; after the Scottish Queen had already been condemned to death for her participation in Babington's plot, seems to have been one of the causes that hastened on her execution. Guise and the League offered the road of Boulogne to Philip for the convenience of his armament; but Henry III. found means to frustrate their intention.²⁷

The execution of the Queen of Scots was an inducement to the

²³ Gritti's *Dispaccio*, 27 Giugno 1587, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 172.

²⁴ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 311 sqq.

²⁵ Bayle, *Critique Gén. de l'Hist. du*

Calvinisme, p. 31. The fact is, however, denied by other historians.

²⁶ Murdin, p. 579 sqq.

²⁷ Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 149 sqq.

King of Spain to strike the blow which he had long been meditating, not only on account of the indignation which the event excited in the breasts of all devoted Papists, but also because Mary's death strengthened the claims which he affected to the English crown; and he now pretended as heir of the House of Lancaster to be the first *Catholic* prince of the blood-royal of England.²⁸ He had been several years preparing for the enterprise. He had been gradually increasing his forces in the Netherlands ever since 1583; and Leicester stated in November 1587 that the Duke of Parma had under his command near 40,000 men.²⁹ Philip's anxiety had been much increased by the footing which the English had gained in the Netherlands; and both his zeal and his hopes were stimulated by the cries for aid addressed to him by the Catholics of England. Already, before the close of 1585, Parma had obtained a plan of the English coasts, and Philip was pressing for the immediate accomplishment of the invasion. So sanguine were his hopes that he was even discussing the future government of his anticipated conquest; and a scheme was in agitation to marry the Queen of Scots after her deliverance to one of his nephews, and perhaps to the Prince of Parma.³⁰ Philip's resolution was further strengthened by the losses and insults which he suffered from the buccaneering expeditions of Sir Francis Drake and other English navigators. In the latter part of 1585, Drake, accompanied by Martin Frobisher, had taken St. Iago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, the island of St. Domingo, and Carthagera on the Spanish Main. Sailing thence to Virginia, where a colony had been founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, Drake returned home with a large treasure, bringing with him the Virginian colonists who had begun to despair of their settlement.³¹

Philip's plot against Protestantism and liberty was extensive and complicated. Its main outline was, to conquer England as a means of subduing the Dutch; to prevent France from opposing his designs, and even to gain the aid of the League in furthering them, by keeping alive the civil war in that country and subsidising Guise; and at the same time to lull the English into a fatal security by entering into negotiations for a pretended peace. Philip's instructions to Parma for the accomplishment of the last object, are worthy of Machiavel and of himself. Seated at his silent desk in the Escorial, this plodding

²⁸ *Letter to a Scotch Nobleman*, in Strype, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 553.

²⁹ *Hardwicke Papers*, vol. i. p. 354.

³⁰ His *Letter to Parma*, Dec. 29th 1585. *Arch. of Simancas*, ap. Motley, *United*

Netherlands, vol. i. p. 376 sq.

³¹ It is on this occasion that tobacco is said to have been first introduced into England.

conspirator against human freedom writes, in the interest of course, of religion and good government, to his general in the Netherlands. "The peace commissioners may meet; but to you only do I declare my intention, that *this shall never lead to any result*, whatever conditions they may offer. On the contrary, all this is done—just as they do—to deceive them, and to cool them in their preparations for defence, by inducing them to believe that such preparations will be unnecessary. You are well aware that *the reverse of all this is the truth*, and that on our part there is to be no slackness, but the greatest diligence in our efforts for the invasion of England," &c.³² Philip found in Parma an able instrument of his treachery, and egregious dupes in Elizabeth and some of her ministers, no match for Spanish Jesuitism and the Machiavelian Italian. Negotiations for the pretended peace were opened at Bourbourg near Gravelines, under the mediation of the King of Denmark, and were one of the reasons which induced Elizabeth not to lend that efficient assistance to the Netherlands during the year 1587 which she might otherwise have done. Elizabeth's blindness in the following year, when the negotiations were continued at Ostend, was still greater, and, but for fortunate accidents, might have proved the destruction of her realm. After many weeks of fruitless talk, a ceremonious interview of the commissioners took place on the sands near Ostend in May, which of course had no result; except that the Duke of Parma availed himself of the opportunity to visit Ostend in the disguise of a lackey, and view the fortifications. He succeeded for two months longer in throwing dust into the eyes of the English Queen, and it was not till towards the middle of July on the very eve of the appearance of the armada in the channel, that she at last awoke from her dream of security.³³

The preparations which had long been making in all the Spanish and Portuguese ports had been retarded by the attack of Drake on the Spanish coasts in 1587. It was an idea of the Spaniards that it would be easier to conquer England than Holland; but the exploits of Drake must have somewhat shaken them in this opinion. With a fleet of forty ships Drake burnt and destroyed under the guns of Cadiz and Lisbon about one hundred vessels laden with provisions and ammunition. He also captured off the Azores a rich Portuguese carrack. The papers found on board this vessel, by the details which they afforded of the value of the trade to the East Indies, and of the manner in which it

³² Philip's *Letter to Parma*, May 13th 1587. *Arch. de Simancas*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 310.

³³ *Ibid.* ch. xviii.

was conducted, are said to have caused the foundation of the London East India Company. Drake ascertained Elizabeth of the vast preparations making in the Spanish harbours.

The sailing of the *Invincible Armada* from Lisbon in May 1588, its dispersion by a storm, its arrival in the English Channel (July 19th), the attacks upon it by Lord Howard of Effingham and Drake, the alarm and confusion into which it was thrown when at anchor before Calais by means of fire-ships, its subsequent dispersion, its voyage round Great Britain by the Orkneys, the disastrous storms which it encountered, and the final return of less than half its numbers to Spain, are circumstances so well known to the English reader that they need not to be here repeated. The Spaniards had relied so confidently on the conquest of England that the armada was crowded with monks of every order destined to re-establish religion in that country. Philip is said to have heard the news of his astounding disaster with an equanimity, which by some has been attributed to greatness of mind, but which, if unaffected, was more probably the result of apathy or pride. It must be recollected, too, that the first accounts of the discomfiture of the armada caused him, by his own confession, great anxiety, and that more than a month elapsed before the return of its shattered remnant to Spain in October at length convinced him of the entire frustration of his hopes.

During this eventful crisis, the Dutch fleet contributed very materially to the safety of England by blockading the Duke of Parma in the Flemish harbours. This commander had with great labour constructed a fleet of 340 vessels of various sizes, the materials for which he had to bring from a vast distance; and he had cantoned near the coast an army of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse ready for embarkation. The Duke of Guise was also prepared to assist the invasion with 12,000 men whom he had collected in Normandy.

In the following year (1589), in order to divert the Spanish King from another attack on England, the war was carried into his own dominions. An English armament under the command of Sir F. Drake and Sir J. Norris, accompanied by Don Antonio, sailed for Portugal, in the hope that the population would declare in favour of the Prior of Crato on his landing. With her usual economy Queen Elizabeth conducted this affair on the principle of a joint-stock speculation. She herself ventured six ships and 60,000*l.*; the two commanders and their friends 50,000*l.*; and the remainder of the expedition was made up by London, the Cinque Ports and other maritime towns. But the enterprise was ill con-

ducted. The fleet had not been provided with sufficient provisions and ammunition; time was lost by an attack upon the Groyne, when the lower town was captured; and though the expedition afterwards effected a landing near Lisbon, mastered the suburbs of that city, and captured sixty Hanse vessels freighted with supplies for a second armada, it was soon discovered that the people were not inclined to take up Don Antonio's cause. After great sufferings³⁴ the expedition therefore returned in June with their booty, but leaving behind them an indelible impression of English valour.

* Meanwhile, after the defeat of the armada, the Duke of Parma had resumed his operations in the Netherlands. In August 1588 he laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom; whence he was obliged to withdraw by the great losses he had suffered through a stratagem of two English soldiers, and to put his army into winter-quarters. At the same time he despatched Count Mansfeld with the German portion of his forces to attack Wachterdonck, a town in Upper Gelderland. The siege of this little place, which was bravely defended by the celebrated Colonel Schenck, possesses no interest, except from the fact that bombs were first used in it. They were the invention of a citizen of Venlo.

The army of the Duke of Parma had suffered much in these two sieges; its pay was likewise in arrear, for the expenses of the armada had emptied Philip's treasury; but the spirits of the Duke were somewhat revived by the acquisition of Gertruydenberg in Dutch Brabant, which was betrayed to him by the seditious and discontented garrison. This was the first Dutch town that the Spaniards had succeeded in recovering. The campaign of 1589 presents little of importance. Farnese, who had fallen into a bad state of health, repaired to Spa for the benefit of the waters, and his army was not in a condition to undertake any considerable enterprise. At the earnest desire of the Elector of Cologne, the Spaniards made an attempt upon Rheinberg, the conduct of which Parma intrusted to the Marquis of Varanbon. But that general was completely defeated in a bloody engagement by Colonel Vere, an English officer of high reputation, who entered Rheinberg and strongly fortified it.

In February 1590 Prince Maurice obtained possession of Breda by a singular stratagem. One Adrian Vandenberg, a barge owner, who was accustomed to supply the garrison of that place with turf for fuel, undertook to introduce the troops of Maurice in the following manner. He erected a sort of deck, or flooring, at the height

³⁴ See Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 58 sq.

of several feet from the bottom of his vessel, thus forming a cabin capable of containing seventy persons, and covered it over carefully with turf. A body of picked men under an officer named Haranguer were then placed in this cabin, and the vessel entered the town as if laden with its usual freight. It happened that the garrison was at that time much in want of fuel, and a party of them began to unload the vessel with great alacrity, when Vandenberg invited them to drink, and amused them till it grew dark. In the night time the men concealed in the vessel rushed out, overpowered the guard, and admitted Prince Maurice, who was waiting in the neighbourhood with his troops.

It was in this year that Philip II., much to the regret of the Duke of Parma, abandoning for the present the war in the Netherlands, directed that general to march with his army to the relief of Paris, besieged by Henry IV. Parma's operations in France are related in another chapter. He intrusted the command of the troops which he left for the defence of the Netherlands to Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeld, whom he had directed to occupy Nymegen. Maurice finding the siege of that place impracticable, took possession of the tract called the Bettuwe, or Bettaw, supposed to be the ancient Batavia, which lies opposite to the town, on the north bank of the Waal. Across this tract Maurice dug a canal from the Rhine to the Waal, which not only secured the navigation of this river by rendering it unnecessary for vessels to pass the town of Nymegen, but was also of advantage to the surrounding country by lessening the inundations. Out of gratitude for these benefits, the States of Gelderland and Overyssele elected Maurice their governor. Maurice, in the absence of Parma, subsequently overran Brabant and Flanders, and by occupying some of the smaller frontier towns, paved the way for future conquest. In 1591 the Duke of Parma was again obliged to resort to Spa. for the benefit of his health, and Maurice pursued the advantages which he had gained in the previous year. In May and June he besieged and captured the towns of Deventer and Zutphen, and again united the county of Zutphen to the Seven Provinces. Colonel Vere, anxious to wipe out the disgrace of Stanley's treachery, highly distinguished himself at the siege of Deventer. Maurice afterwards occupied the district near Antwerp called the Waes, and took Hulst and Nymegen; and after these exploits he returned to the Hague, where he was received with every token of joy and gratitude as the deliverer of the republic of the Seven Provinces.

In 1592, the Duke of Parma having been again ordered into France to relieve Rouen, Maurice captured the two fortresses of

Steenwyck and Coevorden. He had now not only rescued from the Spaniards the seven Dutch provinces, with the exception of Gröningen, which, however, being so far separated from the other Spanish provinces, must necessarily fall in time, but he had also established himself on the left banks of the Meuse and the Scheldt; where he occupied in the name of the States-General the Brabant towns of Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom, and the Flemish towns of Ostend, Axel and Hulst.

The career of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, was now drawing to a close. After his return from France this year the state of his health became so alarming that he solicited Philip for his dismissal, but died without obtaining it, December 3rd 1592, at the age of forty-six. It was to his military genius and his conciliating policy that Spain owed the preservation of the Flemish provinces. After his death Philip appointed the Austrian Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian II., to be governor of the Netherlands; and in the interval before his arrival Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeld was intrusted with the administration.

It may, perhaps, appear surprising that while the affairs of the Spanish Netherlands have occupied so much space in these pages, so little has been said about Spain itself. But in fact there is little to relate. In that unhappy country all enterprise had been crushed by bigotry and tyranny, and its domestic affairs afford therefore but few materials for history. An event, however, which occurred this year, will serve at least to illustrate the remark just made.

The story is connected with those dark intrigues with which Philip was familiar, and must be resumed a little higher. He had been enamoured, as already mentioned, of Anna Mendoza, Princess of Eboli, the wife of his minister, Ruy Gomez; and Philip's secretary, Antonio Perez, was employed to conduct the intrigue; but Perez was himself captivated by the lady, and was thought to be successful. It was at this time that Escovedo, the friend and confidant of Don John of Austria, arrived from the Netherlands to solicit Philip for the return of the Spanish and Italian forces. His designs were opposed by Perez, and Escovedo, in revenge, communicated to the King the reports of his secretary's familiarity with the Princess of Eboli. Philip conceived an implacable resentment against Perez; but he was also enraged against Escovedo, as the tool of Don John's inordinate ambition, and he determined to involve both in a common destruction. Perez received the King's written order to effect the assassination of Escovedo; and soon after, by Philip's permission, a prosecution was instituted against Perez as the murderer.

This, however, the King consented to stop, on the order for the assassination being returned to him; and Perez was even allowed to continue in office, though no longer admitted to the presence of the King. Philip's resentment, however, remained unassuaged, and after a lapse of six years the secretary was accused of malversation, fined heavily and imprisoned. Perez, seeing his destruction resolved on, contrived to escape into Aragon, his native country; and to avoid the pursuit of the King's officers, he appealed to the *Justicia*³⁵, who ordered him to be confined in the state prison; but the viceroy of Aragon caused it to be broken open and cast Perez into the dungeons of the Inquisition. The Aragonese, enraged at this breach of their constitution, rose and liberated Perez, who, after another narrow escape, succeeded in reaching France, where he gave the king some useful information respecting Philip's designs.

The King of Spain seized this opportunity to deprive the Aragonese of their ancient privileges. Alphonso Vargas was ordered to lead to Saragossa a body of troops that had been destined for the invasion of France; the Aragonese, at the instance of Don Juan de la Nuza, the *Justicia*, flew to arms, but were soon overpowered; Vargas entered Saragossa without opposition November 12th 1591, sent the Duke de Villa Hermosa and the Count of Aranda, two of the principal leaders of the movement, to Madrid, and, agreeably to the instructions of Philip II., put the *Justicia* to death without trial or sentence. The palace of the Inquisition at Saragossa was now fortified, and filled with a garrison of Castilian troops; the royal scaffolds and the fires of the Inquisition rivalled one another in atrocity; the *Cortés* were assembled, and compelled to abrogate their *fueros* or national customs and privileges. The *Justicia* was made removable at the King's pleasure; his tribunal was subjected to that of the King; the power of the *Cortés* was abridged, and they were forbidden to assemble without a royal mandate; in short, the ancient Aragonese constitution was entirely destroyed.³⁶

³⁵ The great constitutional powers of the *Justicia* have been described in the preceding volume, p. 60.

³⁶ See Mignet, *Antonio Perez et Philippe II.* ch. v.—vii.; Watson, *Philip II.* vol. iii. p. 216 sqq.

CHAPTER X.

WE now resume the history of France, which in a former chapter has been brought down to the treaty of Nemours in 1585.

That alliance between Henry III. and the League struck the King of Navarre and his adherents with consternation. The days of persecution, which it had been thought were passed for ever, were again established. But the aspect of danger only served to elicit the great qualities of Henry of Navarre. He succeeded in convincing Marshal Damville, now by the death of his elder brother become Duke of Montmorenci, of the necessity of opposing the League; and that nobleman, who was called the "King of Languedoc," from his great power in that province, of which he was governor, again united himself with the Hugonots. Condé was likewise prepared to act with vigour, though but too many of the Hugonot leaders, like those of the League, had an eye only to their own interests in the dismemberment of France, and the prospect of establishing themselves as independent princes. The King of Navarre also sought assistance from England and Germany. He received from Queen Elizabeth this year large sums of money, besides repeated offers of an asylum in England in case he should find himself overmatched; and the German Calvinist princes promised to assist him with an army. In a Declaration of the 10th of June 1585, Henry denied the charge of heresy, denounced the use of the names *Papist* and *Hugonot*, which he hoped would be exchanged for those of *Spaniard* and *Frenchman*; and concluded with an offer to put an end to the civil war by a single combat with the Duke of Guise, or of two to two, or of any larger number that might be agreed on. On the 10th of August another Declaration was published in the names of the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé and Montmorenci, in which the Guises were denounced as the authors of all the misfortunes of France, and a war of extermination was declared against the League.¹ On the other hand preparations were made by the King and the League. The plan of the campaign was regulated by the Duke of

¹ See these Declarations in the *Mémoires et Corresp. of Du Plessis Mornai*, t. iii. p. 89 sqq. and 159 sqq. (ed. 1824). Cf. Thuanus, lib. ix.

Guise, who himself assumed the command of an army that was to operate in Lorraine and protect the eastern frontiers of the kingdom against the Germans; his brother the Duke of Mayenne was to proceed into the south against the King of Navarre; while Henry III. was to preside over a sort of army of reserve stationed in the centre of the kingdom on the banks of the Loire. Thus began the eighth religious war, which from the names of the three leaders has sometimes been called the WAR OF THE THREE HENRIES, viz. the Kings of France and Navarre and Henry Duke of Guise.

Sixtus V., who now occupied the Papal throne, was not like his predecessor, Gregory XIII., a warm supporter of the League. The more extended views of Sixtus embraced the whole European system; he was jealous of the schemes of Philip II.,² and foresaw that if that monarch succeeded in his designs upon France, Rome itself would only become more subject to his power. He could not, indeed, help fulminating against the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé a Bull of excommunication, which had been already prepared by Gregory XIII., and, which deprived them of the succession to the French crown; but he refused to assist the League either with men or money; nor did the promised contributions of Philip II., who was then engaged in preparing the armada, arrive very regularly.

We cannot enter minutely into these wars of the League, which are of little importance to the general history of Europe. At the commencement, Henry of Navarre, by his activity and energy outstripped his opponents; and he occupied either by himself or his generals the provinces of Guyenne, Dauphiné, Saintonge and Poitou. Condé with an injudicious ardour, passed the Loire to seize Angers; where his army, though not defeated, melted away before the superior forces of the enemy. Late in the season the Duke of Mayenne entered Guyenne at the head of 15,000 men; while the King of Navarre had not more than 4000 to oppose to him, the rest being scattered in different garrisons. Nevertheless, Henry made an obstinate defence. The season was unpropitious; Mayenne's army was decimated by an epidemic, and he himself laid up with sickness, so that little was effected. The campaign of 1586 offers nothing of importance. Henry III., who dreaded the success of the League even more than that of the Hugonots, and whose chief hope was that Guise might be crushed in Lorraine by the Germans, did all he could to protract the war and render it indecisive. Instead of attending to the affairs of his kingdom, or

² *Letters of Duke of Nevers, in his Mémoires, pt. i. p. 666 sqq.*

to the progress of the campaign, he frittered away his means at Lyon, spending large sums in spite of the public distress, and wasting his time in the most childish amusements, and in playing with puppy dogs, apes, and parrots. With the view of arresting the progress of the League he entered into negotiations with the Hugonots, and in December 1586 his mother Catherine had an interview with the King of Navarre at the Castle of St. Bris near Cognac. Here Catherine displayed all her Italian arts, and encircling herself with a bevy of pretty women sought to entrap Henry by his too notorious foible; but this time she was unsuccessful, and he dismissed her after an interview in which he loaded her with the bitterest reproaches.

In spite of their promises, the German Calvinists showed but little zeal to assist their brother Protestants in France, till Beza came and excited them by his sermons. By July 1587 a large German army had assembled on the frontiers of France, which John Casimir intrusted to the command of Count Dohna, a brave soldier but indifferent general. So dilatory, however, was this force in its movements, that it was three months in marching to Châtillon-sur-Seine. The Germans subsequently advanced as far as La Charité on the Loire, but finding the passage opposed by the Royal army, they abandoned the idea of forming a junction with the Hugonots, for which it would have been necessary to traverse the mountainous districts of the interior; and they directed their march towards the plains of Beauce.

During these operations the King of Navarre gained a splendid victory over the Duke of Joyeuse and one of the Royal armies at COUTRAS, a small place in Guyenne on the river L' Isle, which falls into the Lower Dordogne. The victory was achieved solely by Henry's superior military skill, as his forces were much less numerous than those of his opponents. Joyeuse himself had been seized by two Hugonot soldiers, when a third shot him through the head. The Calvinist ministers were astonished to see the calmness and moderation of Henry amid the exuberant joy of all around; more acute observers attributed it to that indifference, almost amounting to apathy, which formed part of his character. Instead of pursuing his victory he hastened into Béarn, to lay the colours which he had taken at the feet of his mistress, Corisande. Soon afterwards Guise, assisted by the treachery of the commandant, surprised the Germans in Auneau, and killed a great many of them. They then commenced a retreat, which was molested by Guise as well as by the infuriated peasantry, who in revenge for the disorders committed by the German soldiery, murdered all they could lay hands on.

Guise pursued them over the border, and laid waste the neutral county of Montbelliard. The affair of Auneau increased the renown and influence of Guise, while the King was denounced as having placed himself at the head of his army only to negotiate with heretics.

In January 1588 Guise assembled the heads of the League at Nanci to deliberate on their future course. It was resolved to seize, with the assistance of Spain, the territories of the Duke of Bouillon, one of the leaders of the army of invasion, who, after the retreat, had died at Geneva of vexation and fatigue; and to compel his sister, Charlotte de la Marck, the only heir to his dominions, to marry one of the sons of the Duke of Lorraine. The most violent resolutions were adopted. The King was to be required to join the League more publicly; to remove from his councils and dismiss from their offices all persons who should be named as obnoxious to that faction; to publish the Council of Trent; to establish the Holy Inquisition; to place in the hands of certain leaders towns to be named which they might fortify and garrison. All heretics were to be taxed in the third or fourth part of their incomes, while Catholics were to pay only a tenth part. All Hugonot prisoners were to be put to death, unless they immediately recanted, paid down the value of their estates, and agreed to serve three years without pay.

Henry III. dared not openly to refuse the demands of the League, and resorted to his usual temporising policy. The chiefs of the League repaired from Nanci to Soissons to await the King's answer, as well as to be nearer to Paris, which they were forbidden to enter. Meanwhile the Council of Sixteen, as well as Guise's sister, the Duchess of Montpensier, were organising the most dangerous conspiracies against Henry. The Duchess laid a plan to seize the King in the faubourg St. Antoine, on his return from Vincennes, and to carry him off to Soissons; but Henry heard of it, and came surrounded with a squadron of cavalry. The Duchess was even more violent than her brother against the King, and wore at her girdle a pair of scissors, with which she threatened to bestow upon him his third crown, the tonsure. Her enmity is said to have been occasioned by the King having rejected her advances.

In spite of the prohibition of the King, Guise, at the invitation of the Sixteen, resolved to come to Paris, which he entered by the Port St. Martin, May 9th. He was on horseback, with his face muffled up in his cloak; but a young gentleman of his suite playfully removed it, as well as Guise's hat, and the Parisians, when

they recognised their beloved leader, crowded round him, with shouts of *Vive Guise!* Handsome, of majestic presence, all contemporary authorities agree that there was in his manner an inexpressible charm, which won for him the hearts of the populace. Guise alighted at the hotel of the Queen-Mother, who had joined in the invitation to him; and in the afternoon they proceeded together to visit the King, who was at that moment debating the question of Guise's assassination, and received him with marks of the greatest anger. At the next interview Guise took care to come well attended, and the most furious recriminations ensued. It was evident that the matter must end in a trial of strength. The King was shut up and fortified in the Louvre, Guise in his hotel; the former defended by the military, the latter by the mob. Paris seemed converted into two hostile camps. On the 12th of May the King caused 4000 Swiss and the regiment of guards, who were cantoned in the neighbourhood, to enter Paris. The introduction of the troops enraged the populace, who were still further infuriated by the indiscreet threats of Crillon, the colonel of the guards; barricades were thrown up in all the streets; each house was converted into a citadel, and even the women provided themselves with arms and missiles. Hence the day obtained the name of the DAY OF THE BARRICADES. The insurrection gained strength through the indecision of the King, who was afraid to order the troops to act; and this want of vigour demoralised the troops themselves, who, when the people at length assumed the offensive, for the most part surrendered without a blow.

If in the early part of the day Henry III. had been too slow and cowardly in acting, Guise, on his part, missed the decisive success which lay within his grasp, had he determined on seizing the King's person. He seemed to forget the maxim cited by the Duke of Parma when he heard of the affair, that he who draws his sword upon his Prince should throw away the scabbard. His demands, however, were those of a conqueror, and when Catherine went to treat with him, he required to be appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; that the King of Navarre, and the Bourbons who adhered to him should be declared incapable of succeeding to the crown; and that the King should dismiss his favourites, and even his body-guard of forty-five. While Guise was engaged in this interview with Catherine, Henry III. left the Louvre on foot, and proceeding to the gate of Nesle, crossed the Seine in a skiff. The soldiers of the League fired after him, but he succeeded in escaping, accompanied by about thirty persons. On the heights of Chaillot he turned to bestow his malediction on Paris, upbraiding

it for its disloyalty and ingratitude; for he was the first King of France who had made that city his habitual residence. He swore that he would not return except through a breach in the walls; but he was destined never to revisit it. He directed his course to Chartres, where he was honourably received by the bishop³; and he was soon after followed by the Swiss troops, and by his regiment of guards.

Guise, now master of Paris, converted it into a sort of fanatical republic, of which he was the Dictator. He caused new magistrates to be elected, and new captains more devoted to himself to be appointed to the civic bands; he compelled the Parliament to obedience; seized the Bastille and arsenal, and occupied the towns around Paris, in order to prevent it from being surprised. All offices were bestowed upon his creatures, who ruled supreme in the capital till 1594.

Deputations of the legal and municipal bodies, of the clergy, &c. proceeded to Chartres to address the King. Some of these processions were of the most grotesque and even profane character, especially that of the brotherhood of penitents. At the head of it was the Count of Bouchage, brother of the late Duke of Joyeuse, who had assumed the frock of a capuchin, with the title of brother Ange. Disguised as Christ proceeding to Calvary, he seemed to faint beneath the weight of a huge pasteboard cross; his temples were encircled with a mock crown of thorns, his face was stained with rouge resembling drops of blood, and he was surrounded by executioners who feigned to apply the well-deserved lash with vigour. Two young capuchins sustained the parts of the Virgin and the Magdalen. Henry was entreated, in memory of Christ's passion, to reconcile himself with his good city of Paris; but, in spite of his taste for such spectacles, the application had no effect.

Amid the universal defection, Lyon and Tours had offered the King an asylum, but he preferred to go to Rouen, although most of the inhabitants were partisans of the League. Here he amused himself with plays, water parties, and other entertainments, while his mother negotiated a peace with the rebels. The terms demanded by the League were embodied in an edict published July 21st 1588, and called the EDICT OF UNION; and in some secret articles Henry III., renewing his coronation oath, pledged himself to a war of extermination against the heretics, and engaged his subjects, as well as himself, to swear that they would never obey any heretic prince. He promised to receive the decrees of Trent;

³ Nicholas de Thou, one of the uncles of the historian.

he granted a complete amnesty for all that occurred; prolonged for six years the term appointed for the restitution of the cautionary towns held by the chiefs of the League, and assigned to them three additional places, Orleans, Bourges, and Montreuil-sur-mer. Guise was to be invested with the functions of generalissimo, but the chief of the League was too cautious to insert any article to that effect in the treaty.⁴ The King was also obliged to consent to an assembly of the States-General at Blois; by means of which Guise designed to legalise his usurpations, and to hold Henry in tutelage. The King, however, refused to return to Paris, although the invitation of the Parliament and other public bodies was seconded by his mother. The terror of Philip's threatened invasion of England had not a little contributed to induce him to sign the Edict of Union.

The King opened the meeting of the States-General at Blois in October, with an eloquent speech, composed for him, it is said, by Du Perron, in which he denounced the unmeasured ambition of some of his subjects. These passages, however, Guise and his party forced him to suppress in the printed copy. The haughtiness of Guise's manners added venom to the wounds which he inflicted on the King's pride. Alarming reports of the ambitious plans of Guise—that he meant to obtain from the States the Constable's sword, to carry the King to Paris, and keep him there in subjection, determined Henry to deliver himself by murdering him.

It was no easy enterprise. As Grand-Master, Guise held the keys of the Castle of Blois; he was always accompanied by a numerous suite, and the guard within the castle could not be increased without his knowledge. The King spoke of the matter to Crillon, the colonel of his guard, who declined to connect himself with it, alleging that he was a soldier and no hangman. But Henry found an instrument in Loignac, one of the gentlemen of his chamber. When Loignac proposed the enterprise to the *Taillagambi*, or King's body-guard, they joyfully undertook it, regarding Guise as their enemy from his endeavours to procure their dismissal. The King gave out that he intended to pass Christmas in retirement at Notre Dame de Cléry, and to expedite business before his departure a council was summoned to assemble very early in the morning of the 22nd of December. Guise had received some warnings, but his contempt for the King's cowardice lulled him into a false security, and both he and the cardinal his

⁴ The demands of the "Princes unis" and the Edict are in the *Mém. de la Ligue*, t. ii. p. 365 sqq.

brother attended. When the council was assembled, Guise received a message that the King wished to see him in his bed-chamber. In order to reach this apartment, it was necessary to pass through an ante-chamber where Loignac and eight of the most determined of the *Taillagambi* were posted, while the rest had been stationed in the lobbies and staircases to render all escape impossible. Guise had passed through the ante-chamber, and was in the act of lifting the tapestry to enter the King's apartment, when he was poignarded by Montséri, one of the guard; three or four others then seized him, and prevented him from drawing his sword. With a desperate effort, Guise, who was a powerful man, succeeded in throwing them off, and advanced with closed fists towards Loignac, at the other end of the room. The noise of the scuffle alarmed the council, D'Espinac, Archbishop of Lyon, hastened to the door of the apartment, which he could not open, but he heard Guise exclaim, "Oh, gentlemen! What treachery!" and after some blows, a heavy fall and the exclamation, "Oh God! mercy!" Loignac had struck Guise with the scabbard of his sword, and the duke having received several other wounds, fell covered with his blood.

The King, who had concealed himself in an inner cabinet, as soon as he was sure that Guise was despatched, came out with his drawn sword, exclaiming, "There are no longer two of us! I am King at last!" and while he uttered these words, he gave the still panting body a kick. Sixteen years before Guise himself had so kicked the body of the expiring Admiral! Thus by a retributive justice the authors of the St. Bartholomew were falling by each other's hands.

The Dowager-Duchess of Nemours, mother of the Duke of Guise, the cardinal his brother, his nearest relatives and principal adherents, including the Cardinal of Bourbon, were seized and imprisoned. The fate of the Cardinal of Guise occasioned some debate. It was no light matter for a superstitious King to put to death a Prince of the Church; the assassins of the duke declined the office as a sacrilege; some soldiers of the guard, were, however, found to undertake it, and two days after the cardinal met with the same fate as his brother. The Duchess of Nemours demanded the bodies of her sons, but Henry caused them to be consumed with quicklime.

In an apartment directly under that in which Guise was murdered, Catherine de' Medici lay stretched on her death-bed. The noise had alarmed her, and when she learnt the cause of it from the lips of the King himself, she betrayed an anxiety which probably

hastened her end. She expired January 5th 1589, having nearly attained the age of seventy. At once credulous and sceptical, Catherine belonged to a numerous class who in that age placed more confidence in the powers of witchcraft than in the precepts of morality and religion. She was a firm believer in astrology, and thought herself endowed with second sight.⁵ She had, nevertheless, that native taste for art, and especially architecture, which distinguishes the Italians; but her influence in France can be regarded only as an unmitigated evil.

By the murder of his arch-enemy, Henry III. fancied that he had accomplished all his objects. Instead of preparing to meet the storm which his act was sure to excite, he soon fell into his accustomed listlessness; and he even released some of the more refractory members of the States whom he had imprisoned, especially Brissac and Bois-Dauphin, the generals of the barricades. The States themselves he dismissed in the middle of January. Meanwhile the Parisians, after recovering from the first shock occasioned by the news of Guise's murder, displayed the most violent hostility. On Christmas Day they assembled at the Hotel de Ville, elected the Duke of Aumale Governor of Paris, and levied an army to relieve Orleans; to which the King had laid siege on the Duke of Guise refusing to surrender it. They were encouraged by Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who left the court without taking leave, and repaired to Paris as the centre of papistry and jesuitism. Thither also came Mayenne, Guise's brother, whom the King had in vain attempted to conciliate, a heavy man both in mind and body, but the best of the Guises. Slow, yet haughty, and excitable when his pride was touched, he had poignarded with his own hand a son of the Chancellor Birago for having presumed to obtain from his daughter a promise of marriage.⁶ The pulpits of Paris resounded against the King and the whole race of Valois. The King's name was struck out of the public prayers, and those of the Christian princes in arms for the Lord and for the public safety were substituted for it. Absurd and fanatical processions were formed, in one of which all the children of Paris repaired to the Abbey of St. Geneviève with torches, which, on reaching the porch, they turned down and extinguished, exclaiming, "So perish the House of Valois!" These processions, which sometimes occasioned the grossest immorality, the priests themselves were at length obliged to forbid. The doctors of the Sorbonne pronounced the people released from their allegiance to

⁵ There is a curious description of her talisman in Martin, *Hist de France*, t. ix.

p. 386 note.

⁶ Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 314.

Henry III. and authorised them to take up arms against him. De Harlai and Augustin De Thou, Presidents of the Parliament of Paris, having harangued that body against the demagogues, the Council of Sixteen caused the whole of the members to be arrested during one of their sittings, and to be conducted, clad in their robes, to the Bastille, amid the hootings of the populace. The ultra-Catholic members, however, who had accompanied their colleagues out of an *esprit de corps*, were afterwards dismissed; and this rump, as it may be called, assembling under the conduct of Brisson, decreed whatever the Sixteen dictated. The latter body named a new supreme council, called the Council of the Union, consisting of forty members, by whom the Duke of Mayenne was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. On the other hand, Henry III. assembled round him at Tours such members of the different courts of the Parliament of Paris as remained faithful to him, and declared null and void all the acts of the pseudo-Parliament at Paris. The formation of the Council of the Union and the appointment of Mayenne as Lieutenant-General, gave a great impulse to the League. The people were seized with republican ideas not only in the cities but also in the rural districts; and they imagined that by joining the Union they should be able to live after the manner of the Swiss, and be exempt from all taxes except the imposts payable to their immediate lords.

Meanwhile Henry of Navarre, now sole leader of the Hugonots—for his cousin, the Prince of Condé, had died, not without suspicion of poison, in the spring of 1588—had been named protector of the evangelical church by a general synod of the Protestants held at La Rochelle towards the close of that year; and the defence of their rights was intrusted to his hands. After the death of Guise, the King of Navarre had surprised Niort, and occupied successively St. Maixent, Maillezais, Thouars, Loudun, Argenton, and Châtelleraut. From the last-named town he issued on the 4th of March an excellent manifesto, calling on the three estates of France to reflect on their position, and to save the kingdom by counsels of moderation. The weak and wretched Henry III., who now possessed only a few towns upon the Loire, though important in a military point of view from their position, namely, Beaugenci, Blois, Amboise, Tours, and Saumur, was lost in anxiety and hesitation about the consequences of his crime, and was thinking at the same time of negotiating with the League and with the King of Navarre. But the Duke of Mayenne, with whom he treated through the legate Morosini, having repulsed his advances, he effected through the mediation of his natural sister, the Duchess of Montmorenci, a

twelvemonth's truce with the King of Navarre⁷ (April 3rd). Still, however, Henry III. did not abandon all hope of an alliance with Mayenne, and kept the truce secret a fortnight; till the advance of Mayenne upon Tours, and the news from Rome that the Pope refused to absolve the King from the murder of the Cardinal of Guise, drove him into the arms of the Hugonots. Sixtus V. could have overlooked the assassination of the Duke of Guise as an act of political necessity; but he was compelled, though no partisan of the Guises, to visit with his indignation the murder of a Prince of the Church. He reproached Morosini with negotiating for the King instead of immediately excommunicating him, and cited Henry III. to appear personally at Rome and answer for his crime. On the 31st April 1589 the two Henries cemented their new alliance by an interview at Plessis-les-Tours; and Henry III. agreed to place Saumur in the hands of his brother-in-law to serve as a *tête de pont* on the Loire. Before their forces could be united, Mayenne assaulted Tours, and got possession of the suburb of St. Symphorien; which, however, he was compelled to abandon on the approach of the King of Navarre.

Although the League had gained some advantages at Senlis and other places, the two kings resolved to march with their united forces upon Paris and lay siege to that capital. At St. Cloud, where they arrived towards the end of July, they were joined by numerous volunteers, as well as by some Swiss and German troops, so that their army numbered between 30,000 and 40,000 men. Paris was struck with alarm; the fanaticism of the populace rose to the highest pitch; the priests and Jesuits openly declared that the murder of one or both kings could alone save religion. Henry III. had been excommunicated by the Pope⁸; the zealous Catholics regarded him as an outcast and child of perdition; the papal *Monitorium*, published in France towards the end of June, contained a prophecy that he would perish like Saul. In this state of the public mind, Jacques Clement, a Dominican monk twenty-two years of age, half simpleton, half fanatic, fired by the sermons which he heard, and by the not undeserved reproaches which were everywhere uttered against the King, as well as animated by the exhortations of his prior, of the Duke d'Aumale, and especially of the Duchess of Montpensier, resolved to gain paradise by the assassination of Henry III. He sought the Royal camp, and on pretence of bringing

⁷ The compact is in the *Mém.* of Du Plessis Mornai (t. i. p. 896 sqq. 4to ed.), who, with Rosni, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Sully, was one of the negotiators.

⁸ Yet Sixtus V., or at all events his

legate, Morosini, made an absurd proposal to the King, that he should name one of the Pope's nephews as his successor. *Mém. de Schomberg*, MS. ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 207.

letters from the President De Harlai and the Count of Brienne, obtained an audience of the King. Henry stretching out his hand to receive the letters, Clement stabbed him in the abdomen with a dagger which he had concealed under his frock. The King pulled out the weapon, exclaiming, "The wicked monk has killed me!" and inflicted with it a wound on the assassin's face, who was immediately despatched by the surrounding guards.

The King's wound was not at first thought mortal; but unfavourable symptoms soon appeared, and he expired early the following morning (August 2nd 1589) at the age of thirty-eight. With him was extinguished the House of Valois, which had occupied the throne of France more than two centuries and a half.⁹ As he lay at the point of death Henry III. transferred the command of the forces to the King of Navarre; and exhorted the Catholic nobles who surrounded his bed to submit to that monarch as their lawful sovereign; trusting that he would not long delay his return to the orthodox faith. The Catholic royalists demanded an immediate pledge to that effect; but HENRY IV.—for the King of Navarre now assumed that title as King of France—offended at this blunt demand, replied that none but a man who had no belief at all could so suddenly change; adding, however, that he had always expressed his readiness to be instructed, and that he should be willing to conform to the decisions of a general council.¹⁰ It was already plain that he awaited only a decent time and a convenient pretext for changing his religion. Marshal Biron, the best soldier and most able politician among the Catholic royalists, having obtained from Henry the promise of the county of Périgord, was

⁹ Philip VI., the first king of the House of VALOIS, ascended the throne in 1328, on the death of Charles IV., or le Bel, the last of the direct Capetian line, to whom he was cousin-german. Both Charles IV. and Philip VI. were descended from the eldest son of St. Louis (Louis IX.), while the BOURBONS were descended from his second son. Charles IV. had left female heirs; but the exclusion of females from the throne of France, by what is called the Salic law—though in fact that law says nothing about the royal succession—had been settled by the States-General of France after the death of Louis X. in 1316; which, as male heirs had never been wanting, was the first time there had been occasion to consider the question. It is well known that the claim of Edward III. of England to the French throne was asserted on the death of Charles IV. on the principle of *representa-*

tion, that is, that a female might transmit the right of succession to a son, though incapable of succeeding herself. Yet even on this principle Edward had not the first claim to the throne of France. There had also been two lines of the BOURBONS, the eldest of which was extinguished with the celebrated Constable of Bourbon, killed at Rome.

¹⁰ One of the principal authorities for this period is the *Mémoires* of Sully (*Economics Royales*), a book better for its substance than for its form and composition. It was written by Sully's secretaries, who sometimes flatteringly attribute to him things in which he had no concern. Better works are the *Mémoires* of Agrippa d'Aubigné and of Du Plessis Mornai, which are not in the general collection. Palma Cayet, in his *Chronologie Noveuaire*, flatters Henry IV. too much, whose preceptor he had been.

very instrumental in inducing his party to come to terms with Henry. On the 4th of August the Bourbon monarch signed a declaration, by which he promised to maintain the Roman Catholic and apostolic religion; to submit to the instruction of a general or national council to be called within six months; to allow the exercise of no other religion but the Roman Catholic, except in those towns and places where another was already established; to bestow, with the preceding exception, all offices that might become vacant only on Catholics; to maintain the present officers of the crown in their dignities and charges, and to use every endeavour to punish the murder of the late King. At the bottom of this declaration the Royalist leaders signed an engagement recognising Henry of Navarre as King of France.¹¹ There were, however, many defections from Henry's standard among the Royalist nobles, several of whom hastened into the provinces to try what they could secure in the general anarchy which they expected to ensue; while there were also some desertions among the Hugonots, partly from disappointment at obtaining nothing, and partly from disgust at the King's promise to let himself be "instructed."

Among the League there was a great variety of opinions as to who should succeed the murdered sovereign; though a large majority was in favour of the Cardinal of Bourbon, still a prisoner at Tours, who had been already recognised by the States-General as the heir to the throne. The Duke of Mayenne was too prudent to attempt to seize the prize, though exhorted to do so by his sister, the Duchess of Montpensier. At Rome and Madrid the recognition of a heretic sovereign was of course out of the question. Mendoza, the Spanish envoy, joined Mayenne in declaring for the Cardinal of Bourbon; and the resolution was approved by the Council of the Union, as well as by Philip II. It was not, however, till November that the cardinal was proclaimed by the Parliament of Paris, under the title of Charles X. In that metropolis, the news of Henry III.'s death had been received with extravagant demonstrations of joy. The praises of Jacques Clement were sounded in the pulpits and sung in the streets; he was invoked as a saint and martyr, and images of him were erected not only in private houses but even on the altars of churches.

The immediate prospect of seeing an heretical sovereign on the throne of France somewhat modified the views of Pope Sixtus V. with regard to the League. He sanctioned the regicide in full consistory, profanely paralleling it with the incarnation and resur-

¹¹ The convention is in Isambert, *Recueil*, &c., t. xv. p. 3 sqq.

rection; and as Morosini had shown himself too lukewarm and compliant, towards the end of the year another legate, Gaetano, was sent into France, and intrusted with a sum of money to be laid out for the benefit of the League. Gaetano was instructed to insist on the introduction of the Inquisition and the abolishment of the privileges of the Gallican Church¹²; but he threw himself more into the cause of the democratic portion of the League, and of the King of Spain, than the Pontiff wished or his instructions authorised. Sixtus had not shaken off his suspicions of Philip. He was inclined to the cause of the Catholic Bourbons; nay, he did not exclude the possibility of the conversion of Henry IV. himself, whom he thought it would be very difficult to conquer.¹³

In spite of the denunciations of Rome, a considerable number of French Catholics, who did not approve the Jesuit doctrines of the rights of kings, had, as we have seen, remained faithful to Henry III. and now transferred their allegiance to Henry IV. This party placed civil rights before ecclesiastical pretensions, preferred toleration and humanity to bigotry and persecution, and the national unity of France to the dominion of foreigners. The majority, however, was against the claims of Henry IV. Everything depended on the personal character of the new monarch. The Catholics of his party suspected him because he was not yet converted, while the Hugonots distrusted him from his holding out a prospect of his conversion. Thus threatened with a fall between two parties, Henry, in spite of his faults and vices, saved himself, where, perhaps, a more perfect character would have failed. His countrymen saw in him the reflection of their own virtues as well as of their own defects; they admired him because he was thoroughly French, and were irresistibly carried away by the charm of his gaiety, good-humour, and brilliant courage. Never was there a more perfect model of the Gascon soldier. Small, but strongly and compactly built, with prominent features, vivacious eyes, a beard already mixed with grey, of affable though not very dignified address, his coat worn by the cuirass and hardly covered by a little red mantle, his white plume always seen in the post of honour and danger, he presented in his whole appearance and deportment the most striking contrast to the elegant but effeminate monarch whom he succeeded. Of preceding kings he perhaps bore most resemblance to Francis I.; but was infinitely his superior both in heart and intellect.

¹² Autobiography of Cardinal Gaetano, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 180.

¹³ *Discorso dato al Cardinale Gaetano*,

in De Bouillé, *Hist. des Guises*, t. iii. p. 421.

By the defections already mentioned the Royal army had been reduced by half; it was impossible to continue the siege of Paris, and Henry, dividing his forces into three corps, sent one under the Duke d'Aumont to occupy Champagne, another under the Duke of Longueville into Picardy to make head against a threatened invasion of the Spaniards in the Low Countries, whilst he himself at the head of the third, and largest, of about 10,000 men, marched into Normandy, and encamped within a league of Rouen to await the expected English succours. The Duke of Mayenne, after an interview with the Prince of Parma in the Netherlands, from whom he obtained a few reinforcements, proceeded into Normandy to attack Henry. He was, however, so slow in his movements that he did not arrive till the middle of September, and meanwhile the King, who was assisted by Marshal Biron, had taken up a naturally strong position at Arques, near Dieppe, which he rendered almost impregnable by intrenchments. Dieppe itself, most important as affording him a harbour in the English Channel, had been placed in his hands by the commandant. Mayenne, whose forces were two or three times more numerous than Henry's, ventured to assail the intrenched camp at Arques, but was repulsed with great loss after a bloody battle which lasted all day (September 21st). Mayenne, however, remained before Dieppe till the beginning of October, when learning that D'Aumont and Longueville were advancing, and that Henry had been joined by upwards of 5000 English and Scots, the general of the League thought it prudent to retreat into Picardy, to await reinforcements from the Netherlands. At the same time Queen Elizabeth sent a sum of 22,000*l.* in gold to Henry IV., who protested that he had never before beheld so much money.¹⁴

Strengthened by these reinforcements, as well as by others which he received from the French nobility, Henry resolved to march upon Paris, and appeared before that capital November 1st. The southern suburbs were taken by assault, and upwards of 1000 Parisians either slain or captured. Henry, however, could not penetrate into the city, and on the appearance of Mayenne he was compelled to retreat to Tours. Here he received from the *Signoria* of Venice, through their ambassador Mocenigo, letters congratulating him on his accession. In the year 1582 a revolution had taken place in the government of Venice, and the younger members

¹⁴ Camden, *Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 23 (ed. 1629). Henry IV. is said to have been so poor that he was not able to put on mourning for his predecessor,

except by cutting down the violet suit of Henry III., who happened himself to be in mourning at the time of his death! Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 352.

of the Senate had succeeded in breaking up the monopoly of power held by a few aged patricians, who had always been devoted to Spain and the Church. The Venetians in general regarded the independence of France as essential to the balance of European power. The recognition of Henry was suggested by the famous Fra Paolo Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, the soul of the anti-papal and anti-Spanish party at Venice; and it was the more gratifying to Henry as the first public recognition of his title by any foreign power. The Turkish Sultan Amurath III. also offered him assistance, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Mantua gave him secret assurances of friendship. Henry carried on the war during the winter, gaining many towns and even whole districts and provinces. Stupified by his success, the councils of the League were agitated by grave debates. Mayenne, who wanted to reign under the name of the captive cardinal-king, wished, indeed, for the support of Spain, though in money, not in men. But Philip II. had no idea of being the mere banker of the League; he thought the time come when he should gather the fruits of all his sacrifices; he had formed an extravagant plan of procuring the abolition of the Salic law in favour of his eldest daughter by Elizabeth of France, the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; and meanwhile, during the captivity of the shadow-king Charles X., he wanted to be declared Protector of France. Engrossed by this chimerical scheme he sacrificed the substance for the shadow, and against the advice of his best counsellors, and to the great chagrin of the Duke of Parma, diverted towards France those resources which might have secured the subjugation of the Netherlands. The views of Philip were chiefly supported by the lower French clergy, the monks and preaching friars, many of whom he retained in his pay. These gained for him the greater part of the Sixteen, and consequently the mob; thus forming a strange alliance between a democratic faction and a prince who was the very incarnation of despotism! Mayenne, however, was supported by the principal nobility of the League in resisting Philip's design of a protectorate; and he weakened that sovereign's influence in France by procuring the suppression of the Council of the Union.

In the spring of 1590, Mayenne, who had recruited his army during the winter and gained some small successes, determined to attack Henry, who had taken up a position near Dreux. The armies met on the plain of Ivry (March 14th). Before the engagement, Henry, bareheaded and with upturned eyes, after the fashion of the Hugonots, offered up a short prayer in front of his army; then putting on his helmet, which was adorned with a

magnificent white plume, he said: "Comrades, God is for us! Behold his enemies and ours! At them! I am your King. Should you miss your colours, my plume will be a rallying point; you will find it in the path of victory and honour!" Henry, who had arranged his plan of battle with all the coolness and tact of a consummate general, demeaned himself when the fray was once engaged as if success depended on his single arm. He charged into the thickest of the fight, and for a quarter of an hour nobody knew what had become of him. Animated by his exhortations and example, his troops fought with irresistible fury. Nearly half Mayenne's cavalry was cut to pieces, his infantry killed, taken or dispersed, five guns and upwards of one hundred standards captured. The general of the League escaped almost alone to Mantes; in the neighbourhood of which place, in the castle of his confidential friend and follower Rosni, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Sully, Henry passed the night.

Mayenne hastened to Paris, which he found in a state of the greatest alarm. The army of the League was annihilated, and many of its chiefs counselled immediate negotiations. But the Sorbonne, and still more the legate Gaetano, animated the Parisians to resist to the death. It was peculiarly a war of the clergy, and they showed themselves on this occasion literally the church militant. A regiment was formed of 1300 priests and monks, chiefly of the four mendicant orders, who defiled before the legate, bearing crucifixes for standards, and singing hymns accompanied with salvos of musquetry. Unfortunately one of these martial brothers forgot that his arquebuse was loaded with ball, and shot the legate's almoner! Gaetano then considered it time to retire.

Henry IV. lost the fruits of his victory by delay. Many causes have been assigned for this fatal procrastination; the real one was, probably, a new amour. Henry had conceived a passion for the lady of La Roche Guyon, a place in the neighbourhood of Mantes, and for a time Corisande was forgotten. It was not till the 7th of May that he appeared before Paris. La Noue made a desperate assault on the faubourgs St. Martin and St. Denis, but was repulsed. Just at this time (May 8th) the Cardinal of Bourbon died at the Castle of Fontenay-le-Comte, at the age of sixty-six. The League, however, substituted no other king, and money bearing the effigies of Charles X. continued to be struck by that faction so late as 1595.

Henry, who wished to take Paris by capitulation rather than by assault, converted the siege into a blockade, and, as he was in possession of most of the neighbouring towns, as well as of the course

of the Seine and Marne, he completely deprived the city of its supplies. The famine became almost unbearable; even the wealthier classes were reduced to support life with the most disgusting aliments: yet the priests and monks urged the fanatical populace to the most desperate resistance; and Henry, disappointed in his hope of a speedy surrender, delivered, on the night of July 24th, simultaneous assaults on the ten suburbs, which were all captured. The Parisians being now shut up within their walls, the famine became still more intolerable, and shouts arose of "Bread or Peace!" The humanity of Henry, however, caused him to let many persons pass the lines; his captains also sold passports, at which he was obliged to connive, as he could give them no pay. Paris seemed to lie within his grasp, yet he could not make up his mind to order an assault. He dreaded the odium that he should incur by storming his capital, as well as the probable demoralisation of his army after its capture; nor could he persuade himself that the Duke of Parma would quit the Netherlands to come to its relief. Philip II., however, was infatuated with his present designs on France. Farnese was ordered to relieve Paris, and on August 1st the inhabitants received a message to that effect, but with the addition that the Spanish army could not arrive for a fortnight—another fortnight of starvation! The term of their relief, however, was destined to be postponed twice that period. The Duke of Parma advanced with the greatest caution and deliberation. He brought with him a large park of artillery and a vast store of ammunition and provisions in heavy waggons; and these served as a protection to his camp, which he regularly pitched and fortified every night. It was the 23rd August before he joined Mayenne who was at Meaux with some 10,000 men; and their united army of about 23,000 men was rather superior to that of the King, who was consequently compelled to abandon the blockade of Paris; and on the night of the 29th August he withdrew his troops from the suburbs. Henry endeavoured to provoke an engagement with the Duke of Parma, who had taken up a strong position near Lagny, but though the two armies remained five days in presence, that general was too wary to abandon his advantage; and Henry after a fatal unsuccessful attempt on the southern quarter of Paris in the night of September 9th, was compelled to withdraw. Early in November the Duke of Parma returned into the Netherlands, followed by Henry with 3000 horse, who harassed the Spanish army till it had crossed the frontiers. It was during this expedition that Henry became acquainted with his mistress the celebrated Gabrielle d'Estrées, the renown of whose beauty, though she was then barely

emerged from infancy, induced him to pay her a visit at the Château de Coeuvres.

Pope Sixtus V. expired just before the blockade of Paris was raised (August 27). Such are the extraordinary revolutions of human opinion, that Henry IV., whom he had solemnly excommunicated, was perhaps almost the only person who lamented his death. In spite of the Spanish Court, Sixtus had given a favourable reception to M. de Luxemburg, whom the Catholic royalists had despatched to Rome; and the Pontiff was so touched by Luxemburg's description of Henry's good qualities that he expressed regret at having excommunicated him.* The Pontiff's vacillation occasioned the ultra-Catholic party the greatest uneasiness and alarm. A Spanish Jesuit exclaimed in a sermon: "Not only does the republic of Venice favour the heretics, but——hush! hush!"——and here he placed his finger on his lips,—"even the Pope himself protects them!" In March 1590, the Spanish envoy went to the Pope's apartments, and kneeling down before him, begged permission to execute the commands of his master. He then formally protested against the Pontiff's conduct, and threatened unless he declared the King of Navarre incapable of succeeding to the French crown, that his Catholic Majesty would throw off his allegiance to the Holy See. These threats seem to have shaken Sixtus, who dismissed M. de Luxemburg under pretence of a pilgrimage to Loretto. In July negotiations were begun for a new treaty between the Pope and Spain; yet at this very time there was a Hugonot agent at Rome; and in this state of irresolution, at variance with Philip II., hated by the League and suspected by the Jesuits and the Inquisition, Sixtus V. expired. The Romans with their usual fickleness overthrew the statues they had voted to him, and decreed that none should be again erected to any living Pope.

Urban VII. (Cardinal Castagna) who succeeded to the tiara, lived only twelve days after his election. The conclave then chose Cardinal Sfondrato (December 5th 1590) who assumed the title of Gregory XIV. He was a devout monk, a born subject of Philip II., and devoted to the Spanish cause; and he therefore immediately declared himself in favour of the League, and wrote to the Council of Sixteen, promising them assistance in men and money.¹⁵ He renewed the excommunication of Henry IV.; a step that perplexed many of Henry's Catholic followers, and led to the formation of what was called the "Third Party;" which was con-

¹⁵ Cayet, *Chron. Noven.* t. iii. p. 217 (Petitot t. xl.).

stantly pressing him to return to the Romish Church, and remained faithful to him only in the trust that he would do so. This party took up the cause of the Cardinal of Vendôme, who, after the death of the pretender Charles X., had assumed the title of Cardinal of Bourbon. Gregory remitted to the Parisians 15,000 *scudi* monthly, and intrusted to his nephew Ercole Sfondrato, Duke of Montemarciano, with the standard of the Church, the command of an army which was to assemble at Milan for the invasion of France.

That kingdom seemed fast sinking into anarchy. The governors of provinces acted like so many sovereign princes; ambitious men everywhere sprang up who wished to render themselves independent of the king. Of these the most important was the Duke de Mercœur, governor of Brittany, who sought to possess himself of that duchy in right of his wife, Mary of Luxemburg, heiress of the claims of the House of Penthièvre; and Philip II. supported him with some troops. Meanwhile, the main object of Henry IV. was to obtain possession of the capital; and with that view he designed to keep up the war around Paris until it should be reduced. In January 1591 he made an attempt to surprise the faubourg St. Honoré by sending in before dawn some picked soldiers disguised as millers and ass-drivers, but the plan was frustrated. This affair, which was called *La Journée des Farines*, afforded the Spanish ambassador and the Council of Sixteen a pretext for insisting on the reception of a Spanish garrison into Paris; Mayenne reluctantly gave his consent, and on the 12th of February 4000 Spaniards and Neapolitans entered the French metropolis.

In answer to Gregory XIV.'s bulls of excommunication before mentioned, which were published in France by the legate Landriano towards the end of May 1591, Henry appealed to the Royalist Parliament, now divided into two branches, one of which sat at Châlons and the other at Tours. These bodies ordered the bulls to be burnt by the hangman, declared all priests who recognised them guilty of treason, cited the legate to appear before them, and, on his failing to do so, issued an order for his apprehension. Henry, before an assembly of the clergy at Rheims, had made a fresh promise to receive instruction; while Gregory's attacks on the Gallican Church had secured the King some additional adherents among the clergy and jurists. Meanwhile the Viscount of Turenne had been despatched into Germany, where he succeeded in raising an army of about 10,000 foot and 5000 horse. In September 1591, on the news of the approach of this force, Henry, who in the early part of the year had taken Chartres and Noyon,

and had also received reinforcements of between 4000 and 5000 English under the Earl of Essex, proceeded with his cavalry to meet the Germans, while he distributed his infantry in the fortresses of Picardy. On the other hand, Mayenne had been joined at Verdun by the Papal army under Montemarciano, consisting of 3000 Italians, 6000 Swiss, and 2000 Spaniards from Sicily. The treasure accumulated by Sixtus V. had enabled Gregory to set on foot this army. But the counsels of the League were divided. The young Duke Charles of Guise, who had been kept a prisoner since the murder of his father, succeeded in escaping from the Castle of Tours in August 1591, by letting himself down with a rope from the window of a tower; and a party had gathered round him with which his uncle Mayenne was at open enmity. Mayenne had also quarrelled with the Sixteen, which body had thrown themselves completely into the arms of Rome and the King of Spain. They had obtained, as we have seen, a Spanish garrison in Paris; they demanded the re-establishment of the Council of the Union; they took up the claims of the young Duke of Guise, whom they wished to see married to the Spanish Infanta; nay, the majority of them, as appeared from an intercepted letter, would have accepted Philip himself for their sovereign; and this sentiment was shared by the university of Paris. It appears from a document discovered among the archives of Simancas¹⁶, that this party was ready to allow the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition; Philip was no longer to be King of Spain but the "Great King"—in short to accomplish his scheme of universal monarchy. A committee consisting of the more violent members of the Sixteen condemned and hanged the President Brisson¹⁷, who belonged to that moderate, or trimming, party called the "Politicians." But this and other acts of violence produced a reaction. Mayenne gained the upper hand, hanged four of the Sixteen, forbade the remainder, under pain of death, to hold clandestine meetings, and thus suppressed for a time that turbulent Council.

Queen Elizabeth had made it a condition of granting her succours that they should be first employed against the League in the north-western provinces of France, and Henry accordingly laid siege to Rouen, one of the strongholds of that faction. Its relief could not be attempted without the assistance of the Duke of Parma, which

¹⁶ Apud Ranké, *Franz. Gesch.* B. vi. K. 4.

¹⁷ Brisson was a man of considerable talent, and an author. His book, *De regio Persarum Principatu*, is the earliest work published in Europe on Persian an-

tiquities. At the time of his death he was engaged on a work for the instruction of youth, and begged to be allowed to live on bread and water till he had finished it; but his request was not granted.

Mayenne contrived to obtain without committing himself to any engagement respecting the designs of Philip. Farnese, suffering from ill health and vexed to be called away from the affairs of the Netherlands, was commanded to sacrifice everything to the interests of the League. It was not, however, till January 1592, that he appeared in France; and meanwhile Rouen, hard pressed by Henry, who had received considerable reinforcements from England, besides 3000 Dutch troops, was suffering all the extremities of famine. On the approach of the Spanish army, Henry, who had pushed forward with 1000 horse to make a reconnoissance, was wounded in a skirmish. On approaching Rouen, the Duke of Parma proposed an immediate attack on the besieging army; but Mayenne, who did not wish him to gain a decisive victory, diverted him from this scheme, and the Catholic army, for want of provisions, was obliged to retire to the north of the Somme. When it again returned, however, about the middle of April, Henry, whose forces were much diminished, was compelled to retreat, and the Duke of Parma entered Rouen in triumph (April 20th). There was then a remarkable struggle for the possession of Caudebec, a sort of arsenal of the Hugonots, before which place Farnese was wounded in the arm with a bullet. Caudebec was taken; but while the Duke of Parma was laid up with his wound, as well as Mayenne from a less honourable cause, Henry IV. succeeded in shutting up the Catholic army in the peninsula in which Caudebec lies, surrounded on three sides by the Seine, which here resembles an arm of the sea. Farnese, however, displayed his usual fertility of resource. He caused a number of boats, rafts, and pontoons to be constructed at Rouen, which were floated down with the tide; and on the 12th of May, with the aid of a slight fog, Parma transported all his army, with their artillery and baggage, to the opposite shore, without losing a man. Then marching up the left bank of the Seine, he crossed that river again at St. Cloud, and returned into the Netherlands. Nothing can convey a stronger impression of the cautious tactics of this great general, than his having thus on two occasions marched so many hundred miles, and relieved two capital cities, without having fought a single pitched battle. Henry was almost reduced to despair. After all his efforts he found himself in no better position than after his victory at Ivry, two years before. Yet, on the whole, the war in the provinces had been in his favour. In the east, especially, where Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, had attempted an invasion, Lesdiguières not only defeated that prince in Savoy, but with the help of the Duke

d' Epernon, drove him out of Provence and chased him over the Alps almost to the gates of Turin.

The retreat of the Duke of Parma and his subsequent illness and death (December 1592) were more advantageous to Henry IV. than any victory could have been. On the other hand, the ill reception Henry's agents experienced at Rome, owing to the contradictory promises which he had made to both sides, gave an impulse to the "Third Party," which supported the pretensions of the Cardinal of Bourbon. A new Pontiff now occupied the chair of St. Peter. Gregory XIV. had died in October 1591, and his successor, Innocent IX., Cardinal Fachinetto, an old man of seventy-three, lived only two months. The inconvenience of this frequent mortality determined the conclave to elect a younger man; and their choice fell upon Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandino, who had been named, though in the second place, by the Court of Spain, which would have preferred the election of Cardinal San Severino. Aldobrandino, who was chosen January 20th 1592, assumed the name of Clement VIII. He was in the full vigour of life, having been born at Fano in 1536. He was the youngest of five sons of Salvestro Aldobrandino, of a considerable family at Florence, which had opposed the Medici, and had been driven into exile on the return of that House in 1531. Patronised by Cardinal Alexander Farnese, Ippolito obtained a place in the Roman *Rota*, and was created a cardinal by Sixtus V., who employed him as nuncio in Poland. Clement VIII. was of active and business-like habits. The administration of the Roman States, the interests of the Church, the general politics of Europe, all claimed a share of his attention; while at the same time he strictly attended to his spiritual duties, celebrated mass in person every morning, confessed every evening to Baronius, and dined at noon, during the first year at least of his pontificate, with twelve poor men,—a proof of the frugality of his table. He strictly observed all the fasts of the Church, and sought no other relaxation than the discussion of abstruse theological questions; by which conduct he obtained an extraordinary reputation for piety. Clement VIII. had found the Court of Rome committed to a Spanish policy, though he was not himself very warmly devoted to the interests of Spain; hence when Henry's envoy, Cardinal Gondi, arrived at Florence, he received a message that he could not be acknowledged at Rome, though hopes were held out of a secret reception. In November 1592 the legate of Clement VIII. renewed against Henry IV. the censures of the Church; but since Mayenne's proceedings against the Sixteen, the reaction against the League and in favour of the

"Third Party," or "Politicians," had continued to increase¹⁸; the exhortations of the fanatical clergy began to be neglected, and the prejudices against Henry IV. declined more and more every day.

There were at this time seven or eight pretenders to the French crown: Philip II., both for himself and for his daughter, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; the Duke of Mayenne; the young Duke Charles of Guise; and the Marquis de Pont, who, if the pretensions of the House of Lorraine were to be admitted, had undoubtedly a better claim than any of the family, both as belonging to the elder branch, and as the son of the second daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de' Medici. Other claimants were the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Nemours and the Catholic Bourbons. Philip determined to bring the question to an issue in the States-General, which Mayenne had summoned to meet at Paris in January 1593, whither Philip sent the Duke de Feria as his ambassador. After an interview with Feria, Mayenne finding that he could not obtain the French throne for himself at the price of ceding Provence and Picardy to Spain, promised to support the claim of the Infanta, on condition of being maintained in the lieutenant-generalship, and of obtaining Burgundy as an hereditary government, besides that of Picardy for life, and enormous pecuniary advantages. Meanwhile Henry IV. had resolved to frustrate the plots of his adversaries by an abjuration. He refused to acknowledge the States assembled by Mayenne, declared all their acts null, and the members guilty of high treason; but announced at the same time that he was ready to receive "instruction;" while the Catholic princes, prelates, and lords of his party, though they rejected the summons of Guise to attend the assembly, proposed a conference at some neutral place in the neighbourhood of Paris. Such a proceeding was of course warmly opposed by the Spanish party, and by Sega, the Papal legate, who was in the pay of Spain; but in spite of their opposition the States-General of the League delegated twelve commissioners to treat with those of Henry IV. at Suresne, a village not far from Paris. The debates were conducted by Renaud de Beaune, Bishop of Bourges, on the part of the King, and Espinac, Bishop of Lyon, a man of bad character but great talent, on that of the League. On the 15th of May, Henry, who was at Mantes with his council, made a communication to this meeting requiring that a certain number of

¹⁸ The only difference between this party and the Catholic royalists who adhered to Henry IV. was, that the former required Henry's actual conversion, which

the latter were content to wait for. Meanwhile the Politicians supported the claims of the Cardinal of Bourbon.

bishops and theologians should be sent to him within two months, for his instruction, and announcing his intention to assemble at Mantes the notables of the kingdom and the deputies of sovereign courts to take counsel as well for the interests of religion as of the state. As the prelates and doctors who were invited to instruct him were Roman Catholics either of his own party or that of the League, without the admixture of a single Hugonot, it was evident that he had determined to embrace the Romish faith, and that his "instruction" was a mere matter of form. Gabrielle d'Estrées, who was enthusiastic for "the mass," is said to have contributed not a little to bring Henry to this decision; and thus as "gospel truth first dawned from Boleyn's eyes" in England, so also in France the power of love helped to settle the national religion in an opposite direction.

To frustrate these negotiations, the Duke of Feria offered to the League the services of 14,000 Spanish troops for a year, and 1,200,000 crowns for the pay of French troops, and half these succours for the following year, provided the Infanta were declared Queen of France; and he afterwards increased this offer to 20,000 men for two years. Mayenne laid these propositions before the States; and Inigo Mendoza, a Spanish doctor whom Feria had brought with him, addressed them in a long Latin oration, in which he endeavoured to prove that females were not excluded from succession to the French throne. The deputies listened to his harangue with frigid silence; and to the offers of the ambassador, they replied only by a question: "Did his Catholic Majesty intend to marry the Infanta to a French Prince?" Had Philip II. at once determined in favour of the young Duke of Guise, he would in all probability have carried the States with him; the League would perhaps have proved victorious, and at all events the struggle would have been much prolonged. But Philip had been misinformed respecting the state of public opinion in France. He thought that he could marry his daughter to whomsoever he pleased, and he named as her consort the Archduke Ernest of Austria, her cousin. This proposition was fatal to the Spanish interests. The States would not listen to it; the majority voted for a truce with the royalists; but they confided to Mayenne the preparation of an answer to the Spanish proposals. The policy of Mayenne was of the most selfish description. He saw with regret the reactionary movement against the League, with whose downfall his own power would end; at the same time he did not desire its complete triumph by means of Spain, which, even though it might establish his own nephew on the throne of France, would

be equally fatal to his personal claims. He therefore contrived an answer, which, while it was unacceptable to Philip, should also tend to prolong the war, by involving a gross breach of the rights of Henry IV. His reply, approved by the States, was: That the election of a foreign Prince was contrary to the laws and usages of France; but that if his Catholic Majesty would consent to the election of a French Prince, to whom his daughter should afterwards be married, an end might be put to the troubles of France. Feria, waiving the nomination of the Archduke Ernest, met this unpalatable proposal with the following ultimatum (June 21st): That the Infanta, and a French Prince, to be named within two months by Philip II., as her husband, should be declared *proprietors* of the French crown. Even to this proposition the States would probably have agreed, if the Spaniards would have consented that the King and Queen should be named at the instant of their marriage; but Feria insisted on the immediate appointment of the Infanta, and that the name of her husband should be left in blank.

Spain could scarcely have exacted harder conditions from a conquered country. They caused universal dissatisfaction. Feria was hissed in the streets; the States-General withdrew their former concessions; the Parliament of Paris declared all treaties for the establishment of a foreign prince or princess upon the throne null and contrary to the Salic law; nor did the States impugn their decision. The general discontent was increased by Henry IV. having laid siege to Dreux, the principal entrepôt of provisions coming to Paris from the south. Feria at length consented that the Infanta should marry the Duke of Guise; but Mayenne, though compelled to profess a high sense of the honour done his house, used every endeavour to avoid its acceptance.

On the 12th July the King appeared at St. Denis to be instructed. Lincestre, who had been one of the most fanatical preachers of the League in Paris, appeared among the clergy: a decisive symptom of the alteration in public opinion. Sega, the legate, was furious, and Mayenne and other chiefs of the League, who did not wish to break with Spain, swore an oath between his hands that they would make no peace with "the King of Navarre," whatever Catholic acts he might do. Henry went through the ceremony of his conversion with levity and indifference, sometimes posing the bishops with texts from Scripture, sometimes rallying them on points which would not bear a very strict scrutiny.¹⁹ He was

¹⁹ Thus on the article of purgatory he y croit, et que je suis fils de l'Eglise, et remarked: "J'y croirai, parceque l'Eglise aussi pour vous faire plaisir; car c'est le

accustomed to remark that, perhaps, the difference between the two religions was so great only through the animosity of those who preached them, and that he would one day endeavour to accommodate everything.²⁰ He had already been twice a Catholic and twice a Protestant, and he can, therefore, hardly be said to have made any sacrifice of conscience or principle on this occasion; but he felt the separation from the Hugonot party and his ancient comrades, who had supported him with their blood and substance, and, according to their own expression, "had carried him on their shoulders from the banks of the Loire." James II. has been ridiculed as a bigot in having lost three kingdoms for a mass, and Henry IV. has been reviled as an apostate for having gained one by the same means.²¹ The bigotry of James, however, led him to assert his creed by levying civil war against the majority of his subjects, while those of Henry derived from his apostasy the blessings of peace and union. On the 25th of July 1593 he made a solemn abjuration of Protestantism, in the cathedral of St. Denis, before the Archbishop of Bourges, who absolved him, and gave him the benediction; and Henry afterwards attended high mass in the presence of his court.

After this abjuration the only resource of Philip and the League was to prevent its acceptance by the Pope. The legate had previously denounced Henry as a relapsed heretic, declared null and void all that the French prelates might do, and stigmatised Henry's conversion as a mere sham in order to gain the crown. The King sent to Rome a solemn embassy, at the head of which was the Duke of Nevers, in order to procure the Pontiff's confirmation of the absolution granted by the Bishop of Bourges; but Clement, who was afraid of the King of Spain, and who was also desirous to have the complete control not only of the king's absolution but also if possible of the establishment of his temporal power, refused at first to receive Henry's ambassador, except as Louis Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, and in January the duke quitted Rome in disgust.

A truce of three months had been agreed upon (August 1st), during which many nobles and several important towns made their submissions to the King. Many, however, still held out for the League, and among them Paris as well as Rheims, by ancient usage the city appropriated to the coronation of the kings of

meilleur de vos revenus." See Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 412.

²⁰ *Vie de Mornai*, written by his wife, prefixed to his *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 261 (ed. 1824).

²¹ Henry, however, had thought it not too dear a price even for Paris: "Paris," he said, "vaut bien une messe!" Martin, t. x. p. 357.

France. Henry IV. deemed that ceremony indispensable to sanctify his cause in the eyes of the people, and he therefore caused it to be performed at Chartres by the bishop of that place, February 27th 1594. But he could hardly look upon himself as King of France so long as Paris remained in the hands of a faction which disputed his right, and he therefore strained every nerve to get possession of that capital. The Spanish garrison in it had been reinforced; Mayenne had revived the demagoguery of the Sixteen, and by means of Spanish gold, a measure of corn²² and a small weekly payment were distributed among some 4000 of the lowest populace.

Henry knew that the more respectable citizens detested the Spaniards, and would be glad to see them driven out; but, as he wished to get possession of the city without bloodshed, he determined to attempt it by corrupting the commandant. This was Charles de Cossé, Count of Brissac, who had recently been made a marshal, a man who had imbibed republican ideas from the study of the ancient writers, and who had formed the chimerical project of establishing in Paris a sort of Roman republic; but being soon convinced of the impossibility of such a plan, had rushed to the contrary extreme, and exchanged his high-flown notions for the most grovelling views of self-interest. Henry promised Brissac, as the price of his admission into Paris, the sum of 200,000 crowns and an annual pension of 20,000, together with the governments of Corbeil and Mantes, and the continuance to him of his marshal's bâton. To the Parisians was offered an amnesty from which only criminals were to be excepted, the confirmation of all their privileges; and the prohibition of the Protestant worship within a radius of ten leagues. L'Huillier, the *Prévôt des Marchands*, who had met Brissac's first proposal of surrender with a biting sarcasm²³, was gained with the office of president of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and other members of the town council with other bribes. The Parisians stipulated for the safe retreat of the Papal legate, and the Spanish ambassador and garrison. When these arrangements were completed, the colonels and officers of the city bands were assembled at L'Huillier's house and instructed what they were to do. Before daybreak on the morning of the 22nd March 1594 Brissac opened the gates of Paris to Henry's troops, who took possession of the city without resistance, except at

²² A *minot*, whence the recipients were called *minotiers*.

²³ On Brissac's observing: "Il faut rendre à César ce qui appartient à César,"

L'Huillier replied: "Oui, il faut le lui rendre, mais non pas le lui vendre."

—Michelet, *Ligue*, p. 424.

one of the Spanish guard-houses, where a few soldiers were killed. When all appeared quiet, Henry himself entered, and was astonished at being greeted with joyous cheers by the people from whom he had experienced so obstinate a resistance. He gave manifold proofs of forbearance and good temper, fulfilled all the conditions of his agreement, and allowed the Spaniards to withdraw unmolested; who, 4000 strong, quitted Paris on the same day that he entered it, followed by the Duke of Feria, and the other accredited Spanish ministers. Even the Sorbonne and the more moderate clergy at length made a tardy submission (April 22nd); though the Jesuits and fanatical monks continued to thunder against the King, because he was not yet reconciled with the Pope. The submission of the Sorbonne may be regarded as the *coup de grâce* of the League.

Mayenne had quitted Paris for Soissons, March 6th, whence he proceeded to Laon. Towards the end of May the King in person laid siege to the latter town; at whose approach Mayenne set off for Brussels to hasten the succours promised to him by the Archduke Ernest, governor of the Netherlands. The Spanish ambassador tried to persuade the Archduke to arrest Mayenne, whom he distrusted; but Tassis advised Ernest against a step which would at once have flung the remnant of the League into the arms of the King of France. Mayenne learnt the designs of the Spaniards from an intercepted letter which Henry forwarded to him, and he never forgave them. Nevertheless, having been assisted with some troops under Count Mansfeld, he attempted, but without success, to compel the King to raise the siege of Laon. That town surrendered to the royalists, August 22nd, and its example was soon followed by Château Thierry, Amiens, Cambrai, and Noyon. The success of the King induced the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise to make their peace with him. The submission of Guise placed Champagne at the King's disposal, of which province the Duke was governor. In lieu of it Henry invested him with the government of Provence, an appointment which even then secured almost princely rights; and bestowed other marks of favour both on him and his brothers.

Notwithstanding his humanity and good temper, the King had not neglected a wholesome severity, and had banished from Paris upwards of a hundred of the more fanatical democrats. The *Satyre Ménippée*, a political squib, in which the League and its chiefs were ridiculed with a humour approaching that of Rabelais, had not a little contributed to turn the tide of public opinion in his favour. Henry regarded the Jesuits as his most dangerous enemies;

and after he had established himself at Paris, Jacques d'Amboise, whom he had newly appointed rector of the University, revived against them a process which had been suspended more than thirty years. Afraid, however, of offending the Pope, with whom he was not yet reconciled, the King would probably have abstained from pushing matters to the last extremity against them, but for the fanatical act of one of their disciples. On the 27th of November 1594, while Henry was entering the hotel of his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées, a young man named Jean Châtel attempted to stab him in the breast, but the King fortunately stooping at the time received the blow on his mouth. The assassin, who confessed that he attended the schools of the Jesuits, was put to death with the most dreadful tortures. So great was the public indignation at this attempt that the people could hardly be withheld from storming the Jesuit college. All the members of that order were arrested, and their papers examined. One of them, named Jean Guignard, on whom was found a treatise approving the murder of Henry III., and maintaining that his successor deserved a like fate, was condemned to the gallows: and the remainder of the order were banished from Paris, January 8th 1595, as corrupters of youth, and enemies of the state.²⁴ This example, however, was followed only by a few of the provincial cities.

The irritation caused by this event seems to have precipitated Henry IV. into a step which he had been sometime meditating: a declaration of war against his ancient and most bitter enemy Philip II. (January 17th 1595). The King of Spain, whom the want of money had prevented from giving the League much assistance during the two preceding years, was stung into fury by this challenge; and he immediately ordered Don Fernando de Velasco, Constable of Castile, to join Mayenne in Franche Comté with 10,000 men. Velasco, however, was no great captain, and little of importance was done. The only action worth mentioning is an affair of cavalry at Fontaine Française (June 6th 1595), in which Henry displayed his usual bravery, or rather rashness, but came off victorious. He then overran nearly all Franche Comté without meeting with any impediment from Velasco, but retired at the instance of the Swiss, who entreated him to respect the neutrality of that province. Meanwhile Henry had made advances to Mayenne, who was disgusted with Velasco and the Spaniards, and on the 25th September Mayenne, in the name of the League, signed with the King a truce of three months, with a view to regulate the conditions of future submission.

²⁴ See the *Annuaire Littéraire Soc. Jesu*, 1596, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 258.

An event had already occurred which placed Henry in a much more favourable position with his Roman Catholic subjects; he had succeeded in effecting his reconciliation with the Pope. Not only had Henry become much more humble and submissive in his supplications²⁵, but Clement VIII. also, on his side, had been convinced by his counsellors that it was necessary to his interests as an Italian prince to restore the equilibrium between France and Spain. He dreaded also the separation of the Gallican Church from Rome; and one of his cardinals admonished him to beware lest Clement VIII. should lose France as Clement VII. had lost England. Du Perron and D'Ossat, both of whom were afterwards made cardinals, were admitted by the Pope as the King's ambassadors, and after some negotiation a reconciliation was effected. Henry agreed to restore the Roman Catholic religion in Béarn; to accept the decrees of Trent so far as compatible with the laws of France; strictly to observe the Concordat, and to educate the heir presumptive (the young Prince of Condé) in the Romish faith. Clement spoke with the cardinals separately, and declared that two thirds of them were in favour of the French King's absolution. On the 17th of September 1595 Du Perron and D'Ossat appeared in clerical costume before the Pope, who, surrounded by his cardinals and court, sat on a high throne erected under the portico of St. Peter's. The petition of the King was then read; his ambassadors promised that he should do all that was required of him, and renounce everything contrary to the holy Catholic religion; then, kneeling down before the Pope, they received some light strokes of the rod, whilst the choir sang the *Miserere*. This scene concluded, the Pontiff read some prayers, and putting on the triple crown, pronounced the King's absolution, having first revoked that granted by the Bishop of Bourges. The ceremony was concluded by the singing of the *Te Deum* in the cathedral.

The war on the northern frontiers had not been going on so favourably for the King; but we reserve its details for the next chapter, and shall here pursue to their termination the civil wars of France. In January 1596 Henry signed with Mayenne, at the Castle of Folembrai, the treaty that was to put an end to the

²⁵ "S. M. retourne de nouveau aux pieds de V. B. et la supplie en toute humilité, par les entrailles de N. S. Jésus Christ qu'il vous plaise, luy octroyer vôt're sainte bénédiction et souveraine absolution des censures par luy encourues," &c.—*Requête du Roi, Lettres d'Ossat* t. i. p. 160, note (ed. 1698). D'Ossat's letters, and the *Ambas-*

sades du Cardinal Perron, p. 16 sqq. (ed. 1633), describe Henry's negotiations at Rome. M. Michelet characterises Henry's letters to the Pope as "uniques en bassesse." Brave as he was in the field, he avowed to Sully, "qu'il était peureux devant le couteau."—*La Ligue*, p. 434.

League. The reverses which the arms of Henry had sustained in the north, and more especially the influence of the fair Gabrielle, whom Mayenne had gained by promising to forward the interests of her children, procured for the chief of the League more favourable terms than he was entitled to expect. Soisson, Châlons, and Seurre were assigned to him for six years as places of security; an amnesty was granted to all other partisans of the League who should within six weeks take advantage of the present edict; the adherents of Mayenne were to retain their offices and honours; the King took upon himself that prince's debts, and recognised as valid all his public acts and financial accounts. The murderers of Henry III. were alone excepted from the general amnesty; but the King acknowledged that on that head no charge rested upon the princes and princesses of the League.²⁵

The chief nobles who still held out against Henry IV. were the Duke d'Epèrnon in Provence and the Duke de Mercœur in Brittany. D'Epèrnon concluded a treaty with Philip II., who lent him some assistance; but the tyranny of that noble had rendered him highly unpopular in Provence. On the entrance of the Duke of Guise, Henry's governor, the people crowded to his standards; as he approached Marseilles, the inhabitants rose, drove out the Spanish garrison, and opened their gates to Guise and his troops. This was the most important victory gained by the King since the reduction of Paris, and he owed it to a former enemy. D'Epèrnon made his peace with Henry, and received Périgord and the Limousin in addition to his former governments of Angoulême and Saintonge.

In 1597, after the taking of Amiens by the Spaniards, the Duke de Mercœur rose in Brittany, and Charles Emmanuel of Savoy projected an invasion of Dauphiné; both being supported by Philip II., in order to distract the forces of Henry IV. and prevent him from retaking Amiens. But Lesdiguières anticipated Charles Emmanuel by carrying the war into Savoy and taking Maurienne; whilst Mercœur, who had been deprived by storms of the succour expected from a Spanish fleet, saw his troops beaten at Dinan by those of the King. The frontier towns of Brittany submitted on Henry's approach, and Mercœur, finding resistance hopeless, had recourse to Gabrielle, the refuge of the defeated and destitute. Enticed by the proposal of a marriage between the only daughter of Mercœur, the heiress of his vast possessions, and her little son Cæsar, her offspring by the King, Gabrielle procured

²⁵ The treaty is in Palma Cayet, t. vi. p. 233 (Petitot, t. xliii.).

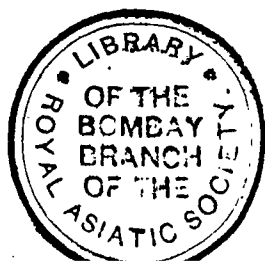
the Duke much more favourable terms than he could have expected, which were ratified in a treaty signed by Henry and the Duchess de Mercœur at Angers, March 20th 1598.

It was after the reduction of Brittany that Henry signed at Nantes the celebrated edict which closed the religious struggle in France. The treaties which the King had been obliged to make with the various chiefs of the League had been very adverse to the Hugonots. The reformed worship had been prohibited in many towns, nay, in whole districts, and especially in Provence, where its celebration had been forbidden on pain of death by the parliament of Aix in all places within its jurisdiction. At the same time the Hugonots were excluded from all offices of trust and power, and the *Chambres Mi-parties*, or courts composed of Catholics and Protestants, were everywhere suppressed, except at Paris and in Languedoc. These oppressions had led the Hugonots to restore their ancient federative organisation; they complained loudly of the King's ingratitude, making no allowance for the difficulties of his position; and they held frequent general assemblies, in which the more ardent of them counselled resorting to violent measures in order to obtain their rights. In the course of 1597 Henry deputed four commissioners, among whom was De Thou, the celebrated historian, then president of the Parliament of Paris, to treat with them; but it was perhaps the success of the King's arms against the Spaniards that principally induced the Hugonots to listen to terms. In December 1597 Henry gave a written promise to leave them, for a term of eight years, in possession of all the places which they occupied; to pay the Protestant garrisons maintained in them; and to bestow employment indifferently on all his subjects without regard to their religious tenets. In April 1598 he published the EDICT OF NANTES, which secured to the Hugonots liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their religion in all places where it had been established during the two preceding years, as well as those named in the edict of 1577; also in one city or town in every bailiwick or district of a seneschal, without infringing the treaties made with the Catholics. Protestants were to be admitted to all colleges, schools, and hospitals; were to be at liberty to found schools and colleges of their own, as well as to publish their religious books in all places where their worship was allowed; and they were to be admissible to all offices and employments without submitting to any oath or ceremony contrary to their conscience. Disinheritance on the score of religion was not to be valid, and parents might by will provide for the education of their children. Many regulations were

made respecting legal suits in which Protestants were parties. On the other hand they were required to pay tithes, to respect the holidays of the Church and the prohibited degrees of affinity in marriage; to renounce all negotiations and alliances with foreigners; to dissolve their provincial councils; and to raise no subsidies except for the maintenance of their ministers and worship, and with the consent of the King.²⁷

Such were the chief provisions of this celebrated edict, which broke the exclusive power of the Roman Catholic Church, and founded a new era in France — that of toleration.

²⁷. The edict is in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 545 sqq.



CHAPTER XI.

THE Austrian Archduke Ernest, who had been appointed governor of the Netherlands by Philip II. after the death of the Duke of Parma¹, did not take possession of his office till the beginning of 1594; and in the interval the government was conducted by Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeld. Philip, however, allowed the count but little real power. He sent some Spaniards into Belgium to keep a watch over him; and as by the agreement with the Walloons no Spaniard could sit in the Council of Regency, Philip appointed a council of war, in which were several of that nation, and which had for its president Pedro Henriquez Count of Fuentés, who published some cruel decrees.

It has been seen in the preceding chapter that the King of Spain was at this period directing his whole attention to the affairs of France; an infatuated policy which, by diverting his money and resources from the Netherlands, fortunately enabled the republic of the Seven United Provinces to become an independent power.

We now revert to the war on the Belgian and French frontiers. In 1593 Count Mansfeld sent into France a small army under the command of his son Charles, which assisted the Duke of Mayenne to take Noyon and a few other places in Picardy, and then returned into the Netherlands. During this period Prince Maurice succeeded in taking the important town of Gertruydenberg. In the following year (1594) Philip ordered the Archduke Ernest to despatch Mansfeld with a considerable body of troops to assist Mayenne in relieving Laon; the ill success of which attempt has been already related.² Maurice availed himself of Mansfeld's absence to reduce Groningen, a place not only important as a fortress, but also as an indispensable member of the Dutch republic (July 22nd 1594). Groningen now obtained its place among the Seven United Provinces, of which Maurice was elected Stadholder. Maurice also crippled the power of Spain, by supporting the mutiny of the Spanish mutineers in Brabant whose pay was in arrear.

The Archduke Ernest, the tameness of whose character made

¹ See above, Ch. IX. p. 332.

² Supra, p. 362.

him almost useless in important affairs, having died in February 1595, Philip appointed Ernest's brother, the Archduke Albert, formerly viceroy of Portugal, governor of the Netherlands, and also substituted him for Ernest as the future husband of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia. Although Albert had been made Archbishop of Toledo and a cardinal, he had not taken priest's orders, and a dispensation for his marriage might easily be procured.

It was in January of this year, as we have mentioned in the preceding chapter, that Henry IV. declared war against the King of Spain. Besides the expedition of Velasco in the south, Philip II. ordered the Spaniard Fuentés, who, till the arrival of Albert, conducted the government of the Netherlands, to invade the north of France; and Fuentés, having quelled the mutiny of the Spanish troops, and having left Mondragone with sufficient forces to keep Prince Maurice in check, set off with 15,000 men, with the design of recovering Cambrai. Catelet and Doullens yielded to his arms; Ham was betrayed to him by the treachery of the governor, and in August Fuentés sat down before Cambrai. It will be recollected that the Duke of Anjou had made over that place to his mother, Catherine de' Medici, who had appointed Balagni to be governor of it. During the civil wars of France Balagni had established himself there as a little independent sovereign, and called himself Prince of Cambrai; but after the discomfiture of the League he had been compelled to declare himself, and had acknowledged his allegiance to the King of France. His extortion and tyranny having rendered him detested by the inhabitants, they sent a message to Henry IV. requesting him to dismiss Balagni and receive them under his immediate authority. Unfortunately, however, Balagni and his wife had gained over Gabrielle d'Estrées; at her instance Henry declined the request of the citizens, who to avenge themselves delivered Cambrai to the Spaniards, October 2nd. Fuentés then returned into the Netherlands, where the campaign had not been marked by any memorable event. Soon after its close the veteran Mondragone died at the great age of ninety-two, having served fifty years in the Low Countries.

The Cardinal Archduke Albert arrived at Brussels in February 1596, when Fuentés resigned his command, and returned to Spain. Albert also directed his principal attention to the war against France, and sent a peaceful message to Prince Maurice and the United Provinces, which, however, met with no attention. Henry IV. had been engaged since the winter in the siege of La Fère, a little town in a strong situation at the junction of the Serre and Oise.

He had received reinforcements from England as well as from Germany and Holland; for Henry had endeavoured to excuse his apostasy to Queen Elizabeth, as a mere act of political necessity; and although she viewed it with alarm and indignation, her hatred and fear of Spain induced her still to assist the French monarch, though her succours were no longer bestowed so liberally and so cordially as before.

Albert marched to Valenciennes with about 20,000 men, with the avowed intention of relieving La Fère; but instead of attempting that enterprise, he despatched De Rosne, a French renegade who had entered the service of Spain, with the greater part of the forces, to surprise Calais; and that important place was taken by assault, April 17th, before Henry could arrive for its defence. La Fère surrendered May 22nd; and Henry then marched with his army towards the coast of Picardy, where he endeavoured, but in vain, to provoke the Spaniards to give him battle. After fortifying Calais and Ardres, Albert withdrew again into the Netherlands.

In the negotiations between Elizabeth and Henry in the preceding year, the English Queen had demanded to be put in possession of Calais or Boulogne, as a security for the charges of the war; a demand which Henry had scornfully rejected. During the investment of Calais by the Spaniards, Elizabeth had renewed her proposal, in case she should be the means of saving it, when Henry again indignantly refused, observing that he would rather receive a box of the ear from the King of Spain than a filip from her.³ Nevertheless, Elizabeth, alarmed at the occupation by the Spaniards of a port which afforded such facilities for the invasion of England, soon afterwards concluded another offensive and defensive alliance with Henry IV. (May 24th), in which the contracting parties pledged themselves to make no separate peace or truce with Philip II.; and they invited all those states and princes, who had reason to dread the machinations of that ambitious monarch, to join the alliance.⁴ The treaty was acceded to by the Dutch; but the German Protestant princes, offended at Henry's apostasy, and alarmed by the war then raging between the Austrians and Turks, refused to enter into it. The treaty, however, had little effect. Elizabeth could not be induced to lend the French King more than 2000 men, and that on condition of his maintaining them; nor would she allow the armament under Essex, which Henry had in vain solicited for the relief of Calais, to co-operate with him in the Netherlands, but despatched it to the coasts of Spain.

³ Du Vair, in *Life of Lord Chancellor Egerton*, p. 407.

⁴ The treaty is in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 525.

The hostile preparations in the Spanish ports had for some time back excited great alarm in England. Another attempt at invasion was apprehended, and a large armament was fitted out under Lord Howard, of Effingham as admiral, and the Earl of Essex as commander of the land forces. The expedition was also accompanied by Sir Walter Raleigh, and other persons of naval and military renown. The fleet, which after the junction of twenty-two Dutch ships, consisted of 150 sail, with about 14,000 men on board⁵, cast anchor in the Bay of Cadiz, June 20th. On the following morning the attack on the harbour began, and after an obstinate contest of some hours' duration, two or three of the largest Spanish men-of-war were taken; the rest escaped by flight, and thirty or forty merchantmen were burnt. Immediately after this victory, Essex having landed with 3000 soldiers, succeeded in penetrating into the town; and in the market-place he was joined by the admiral and another party, who had entered at a different quarter. The inhabitants now surrendered, purchasing their lives with 120,000 crowns, and abandoning the city with its goods and merchandise to the discretion of the conquerors.

The bold, but perhaps not impracticable, plans of Essex, to penetrate into the heart of Andalusia, or, at all events, to hold possession of the Isle of Cadiz with 3000 or 4000 men, having been rejected by a majority of the other commanders, the fleet set sail for England; and after making, during the homeward voyage, two descents of no great importance on the Spanish coast, arrived at Plymouth after an absence of about ten weeks. The loss suffered by the Spaniards was estimated at 20,000,000 ducats.

Thus, while Philip II. was affecting the conqueror, a severe blow was struck in his own dominions. The secret of his weakness was revealed, and if the head of the colossus was of gold, its feet were shown to be of clay. The English, on the other hand, acquired; even from the Spaniards themselves; the praise not only of bravery, but also of humanity and moderation, for the manner in which they had used their victory. The coolness of Essex's reception by the Queen, and the intrigues which followed, are well known to the reader of English history. In the following year, however (1597), Essex, together with Lord Thomas Howard and Raleigh, was intrusted with another expedition against Spain. Infuriated by the insults received at Cadiz, Philip II. was preparing at Lisbon a new armada for the invasion of England, and was amusing himself with the dream of establishing his daughter, the Infanta, on

⁵ 6360 soldiers, about 1000 gentlemen volunteers, and 6672 sailors.

the throne of that country, as the lineal descendant of John of Gaunt. On this occasion, however, the fleets of both nations were defeated by the elements. The Adelantado of Castile, on sailing from Ferrol, was caught in a terrible storm, which dispersed and damaged his fleet. On again collecting his ships, instead of attempting to land in England, he made the best of his way back to the Spanish coast, but lost by another storm sixteen sail in the Bay of Biscay. The enterprise was then abandoned. On the other hand Essex had also been driven back to port by stress of weather, and his ships were so much damaged, that most of the gentlemen volunteers refused again to put to sea. Essex himself, however, with a small squadron, sailed to the Azores, and captured Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, but missed falling in with the Spanish fleet from the Indies, which was the chief object of the expedition. On their return with a few prizes, the English were enveloped near the Scilly Isles in the same storm which dispersed the Spanish fleet, but contrived to get safely into their own harbours. But to return to the affairs of the Netherlands.

During Albert's absence in France in 1596 nothing of importance was undertaken by Prince Maurice, who had no great force at his disposal; and the Archduke on his return laid siege to Hulst, which at last surrendered to the Spaniards (August 18th). This disaster, however, was compensated early in 1597 by a splendid victory gained by Prince Maurice at Turnhout, where he defeated and destroyed a large body of Spanish troops. His success on this occasion is ascribed to his having furnished his cavalry with carabines; an invention which afterwards came into general use, and gave rise to that description of troops called dragoons. Archduke Albert, however, soon afterwards consoled himself for this blow by taking Amiens. Its capture was effected by an ingenious stratagem of the Spanish general Portocarrero. Setting out from Doullens with 3000 men, Portocarrero halted them before dawn at an hermitage about a quarter of mile from Amiens. He then sent forward three officers and a dozen of his most resolute soldiers, disguised like peasants in smock-frocks, under which were concealed their swords and pistols. Arrived at the gate of the town, one of the pretended peasants let fall, as if by accident, a bag which he carried on his shoulders, filled with nuts and apples. This incident excited the merriment of the guard, who began scrambling for the fruit. While they were thus employed another peasant approached driving a waggon loaded with large beams of timber. As soon as the waggon was directly under the gateway the horses were disengaged; one of the officers then discharged his

pistol, at which concerted signal his men fell upon and killed most of the guard. In vain the sentinel on the top of the gate attempted to lower the portcullis; its descent was arrested by the load of timber, and meanwhile Portocarrero rushing forward with his men entered the town and captured it with little resistance.

Henry IV., after holding an assembly of notables at Rouen, was amusing himself at Paris when he received the news of this terrible blow. For some moments he seemed thunderstruck, but after a little reflection exclaimed, "I have played the King of France long enough; it is now time to be again the King of Navarre!" and turning to Gabrielle, who was weeping by his side, added, "A truce to our loves, my mistress; I must mount my horse and go again to the wars." It was, indeed, time. The loss of Amiens, following so rapidly on that of Doullens, Cambrai, and Calais, had begun to shake all confidence in Henry's good fortune. A great deal of discontent existed in France, occasioned by the taxes which the King had found it necessary to impose; the Hugonots also were in motion; whilst the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Mercœur allied themselves with Spain, as we have mentioned in the preceding chapter. In the extremity of his distress Henry applied to Elizabeth to make a diversion by laying siege to Calais, offering now to pledge that town to her if she took it⁶; but this time it was Elizabeth who refused.

Henry, however, met his difficulties with vigour and resolution. He sent Biron with 4000 or 5000 men to blockade Amiens, and that body was soon converted into a regular army by recruits from all parts of the kingdom. Henry's success against the Duke of Savoy and in Brittany has been already related. After a siege of several months Amiens yielded to his arms (September 19th 1597). The Cardinal Archduke made an ineffectual attempt to relieve it: he was but ill supported by Philip II., who towards the end of 1596 had made another bankruptcy, which had shaken credit and commerce throughout Europe. During the siege Prince Maurice had also gained several advantages in the Netherlands.

The fall of Amiens and the ill success of his attempts upon France turned the thoughts of the Spanish King to peace. Pope Clement VIII. had long been desirous of putting an end to the war between France and Spain, which, besides preventing Philip from succouring Austria against the Turks, promoted the cause of heresy in the Netherlands and elsewhere. In 1596 Cardinal Alexander de' Medici, the Papal legate in France, made advances

⁶ Matthieu, ap. Martin, t. x. p. 411.

to the French King which Henry did not repulse; and Fra Buonaventura Calatagirona, the general of the Franciscans, was despatched to Madrid to try the ground. The negotiations were long protracted: but the reverses just mentioned caused Philip to reflect that he was now old and infirm, and that his son would be incompetent to pursue the vast designs which his ambition had chalked out. Philip made indirect offers of peace to England, and even to the United Provinces, but Henry IV. alone showed any inclination to treat. He sent an envoy extraordinary to London to represent to Elizabeth the necessity of peace for France, and he tried to persuade the Dutch to enter into the negotiations; while on the other hand, Cecil, the English ambassador, and Justin de Nassau and Barneveldt, the Dutch envoys at Paris, did all they could to divert Henry from his design, but without effect. In February 1598 the French and Spanish plenipotentiaries met at Vervins, and on the 2nd of May a treaty was signed. By the PEACE OF VERVINS the Spaniards restored to France Calais, Ardres, Doullens, La Capelle, and Le Câtelet in Picardy, and Blavet (Port Louis) in Brittany, of all their conquests retaining only the citadel of Cambrai. The rest of the conditions were referred to the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, which Henry had stipulated should form the basis of the negotiations.⁷ The Duke of Savoy was included in the peace. By the treaty concluded with England and the Dutch in 1596, Henry had bound himself to make no separate peace without the consent of those powers; but he seems to have availed himself of a technical flaw in that treaty, purposely contrived by Du Vair, one of the negociators on the part of France. One of the articles stipulated that the ratifications should be exchanged within six months, and Henry had delayed his signature till December 31st more than seven months. Such a subterfuge could hardly have been allowed had the contracting parties found it expedient to contest the treaty of Vervins; but Henry succeeded in convincing Elizabeth and the Dutch that the peace was indispensable to him, and the good understanding with those powers was not interrupted.⁸

The great political drama of which Philip II. had so long been the protagonist was now drawing to a close. Philip, who felt his end approaching, determined to abdicate, before he died, the sovereignty of the Netherlands in favour of his daughter, thus destroying with his own hands the unity of those provinces for which he had so long been contending. On the 14th of August

⁷ Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 561.

⁸ *Life of Egerton*, p. 292; Camden, *Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 169.

1598 the States-General of the Flemish Catholic provinces took the oath of allegiance to the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, and to her destined husband, the Archduke Albert, who had now resigned the cardinalate. The Infanta was also proclaimed in the county of Burgundy (Franche Comté). Isabella and her heirs were to recognise the King of Spain as lord paramount; any future Prince of the Netherlands was forbidden to marry without the consent of that monarch; and should he fall from the orthodox faith, he was, *ipso facto*, to lose all his rights. The Netherlands were to have the same friends and the same enemies as Spain; to abstain from all commerce with the East and West Indies; and to admit Spanish garrisons into Antwerp, Ghent and Cambrai.⁹ Albert wrote to the States of the United Provinces requiring them to acknowledge their lawful prince, and offering to guarantee them in the maintenance of their religion, and the order of things established among them. But to this communication the States did not even vouchsafe an answer.

Philip did not live to see his daughter's marriage. He expired at his palace of the Escorial September 13th 1598, aged seventy-one years, of which he had reigned forty-two. Death was a relief to him. Consumed with ulcers and devoured by vermin, his body had become loathsome to himself and offensive to others; yet he bore his tortures with that sombre resignation which had characterised him through life; and it may be added with the same gloomy devotion. During his last illness, taking from a coffer a whip stained with blood and shaking it on high, he observed that his own blood and that of his father was upon it, and that he bequeathed it to his children for the same purpose of holy mortification.¹⁰

After his return to Spain in 1559, Philip had chiefly resided at Madrid; making rare excursions to Aranjuez or the wood of Segovia, and visiting more frequently the gloomy pile of the Escorial in a dreary, stony valley, the abode of the monks of St. Jerome. Even here he was mostly shut up in his apartments; and in these dismal solitudes he contracted an air of imperturbable tranquillity that froze all who approached him. Even practised diplomatists were disconcerted in his presence. He seemed to enjoy their confusion; would survey them leisurely from head to foot and then condescendingly bid them to compose themselves. No one living, says De Cheverny, who knew him in Spain, ever spoke to him but on his knees, which he excused on the ground of

⁹ Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 573.

¹⁰ *Mém. de Cheverny*, t. ii. p. 48 (ed. 1664).

his short stature, and the haughtiness of the Spanish nobility. None dared speak to him before he was ordered. He gave his commands with only half a phrase; it was necessary to guess the rest. He very rarely showed himself to the people, or even to the grandees, except on fêtes and holidays.¹¹ His smile, however, is said to have been engaging, perhaps from its rarity; yet it was a saying at court that there was no great distance between his smile and his dagger. He could long dissemble his resentments till the proper opportunity arrived for gratifying them. Yet with all his gloominess and reserve, Philip was addicted to amorous pleasures, and, besides marrying four wives, often indulged in low and disreputable amours.¹²

The reign of Philip II. was most disastrous to his subjects. The King of both Indies died a bankrupt; Portugal was ruined under his sway; a great part of the Netherlands was lost to the Spanish crown, while the provinces retained were almost deprived of their commerce and manufactures; Spain itself was impoverished and enslaved. Such were the fatal results of near half a century of busy and ambitious, but misdirected, policy.

Philip left three children alive; namely, by his third wife, Elizabeth of France, two daughters, Isabella Clara-Eugenia, now sovereign of Flanders, and Catherine, married to the Duke of Savoy; and by his fourth wife, Anne of Austria, a son, who succeeded him with the title of Philip III. He had also had by Anne two sons and a daughter, who died in infancy.

With these revolutions of Western Europe the affairs of its eastern regions have afforded but few points of connection, nor do they offer in themselves anything of very striking interest or importance; and we need, therefore, in order to conclude this book, give only a brief sketch of them down to the end of the century.

The death of Maximilian II. in 1576, and the accession of his eldest son Rodolph II. to the German Empire, have been already recorded. Born in 1552, Rodolph had been educated by his bigoted mother during the first twelve years of his life in that mechanical devotion which passed for religion among the Roman Catholics of those days. He was then sent to Spain, and under the auspices of his relative Philip II. received during the six years

¹¹ *Mém. de Cheverny*, t. p. 44 (ed. 1664).

¹² "È molto divoto e si confessa e comunica più volte all' anno, e sta in orazione ogni dì, e vuole esser netto di con-

scienza. Stimandosi che il suo maggior peccato sia quello della carne."—*Relat. Venez. ap. Mignet, Ant. Perez.* p. 78. He was supposed to have several natural sons among his courtiers.

that he remained in that country. a strictly Spanish education, superintended by the Jesuits. After the death of Don Carlos, Philip had, indeed, for a period designed to make Rodolph his successor on the Spanish throne, and to give him the hand of his then only daughter in marriage. But these plans came to nothing; Rodolph returned into Germany, and was invested successively, as already recorded, with the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as elected King of the Romans. At his father's death, besides the Imperial crown, he also succeeded to the sole possession of Austria; for Maximilian established the right of primogeniture in his hereditary dominions. Rodolph, however, intrusted the administration of Austria to his brother, the Archduke Ernest, and took up his own residence for the most part at Prague. His pursuits, indeed, indisposed him to take any active share in the affairs of state. Although of an indolent and phlegmatic temperament, and of a feeble will, that rendered him often the tool of others, Rodolph possessed considerable abilities and acquirements, which, however, were chiefly applied to the idle studies of alchemy and astrology. The latter, which was dignified with the name of astronomy, incidentally proved of some advantage, by leading him to patronise the eminent astronomers Kepler and Tycho Brahe.

The bigotry of Rodolph II., and still more of his brother Ernest, formed a striking contrast to the tolerant spirit of their father, Maximilian, and may be said to have laid the foundation of the war which in the next century desolated Germany during thirty years. The effects of the new reign were soon visible in Austria, then for the most part Protestant. Rodolph was zealous in performing all the ceremonies of the Roman Church; especially he was a constant attendant in the religious processions, in which he might be seen in the hardest weather bare-headed and with a torch in his hand. In 1578 he determined to celebrate Corpus Christi day at Vienna with more than usual solemnity. As the long-drawn procession was passing over the Peasants' Market, it was found necessary to remove a few stalls, when a tumult immediately arose, with cries of "To arms! we are betrayed!" At these menacing symptoms, the priests and choristers abandoned the Host and fled; they were followed by the guards and halberdiers, and Rodolph found himself in the midst of an infuriated mob, from which he was protected only by the princes and nobles, who drew their swords and closed around him. This incident made a deep impression on the Emperor, whose education had imbued him with a Spanish dignity and stateliness. The suppression of Protestantism at Vienna was immediately resolved on; and Joshua Opitz, a Lutheran of the

Flaccian schism, the most popular preacher in that metropolis, who had distinguished himself by his eloquent, but violent, sermons against the Papists, as well as his assistants in church and school, were ordered to leave Vienna that day, and the Austrian dominions within a fortnight. This measure was followed up by a close restriction of the Protestant worship throughout Austria; and in the following year (1579) it was ordained that none but Roman Catholic teachers and book should be allowed in Austrian schools.

A rapid reaction in favour of the Roman Church also took place in Bavaria after the accession of Duke William, who succeeded his father Albert in 1579. William was a warm supporter of the Jesuits, and erected for them at Munich a college more splendid than his own palace. He employed for the furtherance of the Roman faith all that pomp and that love of art by which he was characterised; and in order to attract the public mind back to the ancient creed, those religious spectacles and processions were instituted which still continue to subsist in Bavaria. At the dedication of the Jesuits' College, a grand dramatic and musical entertainment was exhibited, representing the combat of the Archangel Michael. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the scenery and costumes; a choir of 900 voices chanted the progress of the action; and the multitude shuddered with affright when they beheld the angels precipitated into the deep and undulating abyss of hell.¹³ Duke William also instituted the procession, which still takes place at Munich on Corpus Christi day, but with diminished splendour and less characteristic appliances. The original procession consisted of all the saints and heroes of the Old and New Testament. Adam and Eve led the train in that state of nakedness, if not innocence, proper to them before the fall; St. Augustine appeared with a large beard; and there were sixteen Maries, of whom the last and most beautiful was borne on a cloud and significantly supported her foot upon moonshine. Amid a strange and miscellaneous crowd of Apostles and Pharisees, shepherds and hangmen, Pharaohs and giants, angels, devils and heathen gods, the pious profaneness of the Jesuits did not scruple to introduce the Almighty himself and his Son Jesus Christ. To represent God the Father, it was directed that a tall, straight man should be chosen, strong and well-formed, with a long and thick gray beard, and a fine red complexion. He was to assume a stately and majestic walk and demeanour and a composed and steady aspect, so as to appear

¹³ Zschokke, *Baierische Gesch.* B. iii. S. 150 (ed. 1816).

neither sour nor ridiculous.¹⁴ By such false devices were the multitude lured back to a false religion.

On the other hand an attempt to extend Protestantism in Germany proved a failure; and its origin merited no better fate. Gebhard Truchsess of Waldburg, who at the age of thirty had become Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, while walking in a procession during the congress in that city, beheld at a window the Countess Agnes of Mansfeld, a daughter of that noble house at Eisleben which had befriended Luther. Agnes was of extraordinary beauty, but her family had fallen into poverty: Truchsess, a practised seducer, sought her acquaintance, and prevailed on her to live with him as his mistress. The brothers of Agnes, having learnt their sister's shame, accompanied by some armed followers, surprised the Elector in his palace at Bonn, and compelled him, by threats of death if he refused, to promise that he would marry Agnes. The first thought of Truchsess after this occurrence was to resign his archbishopric; but from this he was diverted by Counts Nuenar and Solms, and other of the nobility, as well as by the exhortations of Agnes. In the autumn of 1582 he openly professed his adherence to the Confession of Augsburg, and in the following February, in spite of an admonition from the Pope, he was married to Agnes by a Protestant minister. Gregory XIII. now fulminated against him a Bull of excommunication, depriving him of all his offices and dignities; and the Chapter of Cologne, who had viewed with displeasure the secession of their archbishop from the orthodox church, although he had promised not to interfere with the exercise of their religion, or to restrict them in the choice of his successor, proceeded to elect in place of Truchsess Prince Ernest of Bavaria, Bishop of Freisingen, who had formerly competed with him for the see. The troops of Ernest, assisted by some Spaniards lent to him by the Prince of Parma after the conquest of Zutphen, drove Truchsess from Cologne. He had in vain sought the assistance of the Protestant princes of Germany, of whom John Casimir of the Palatinate alone lent him some feeble aid. The deposed Elector retired into Westphalia, and sent his wife to England to implore the interference of Queen Elizabeth. Agnes, however, incurred the jealousy and anger of the Queen by her supposed familiarity with Leicester, and was dismissed from court. Truchsess then sought the protection of the Prince of Orange, and finally retired to Strasburg, where he lived sixteen years as dean, till his death in 1601, without renouncing his title

¹⁴ Zschokke, *Baierische Gesch.* B. iii. S. 159 (ed. 1816).

of Elector.¹⁵ For nearly two centuries after this event, the Chapter of Cologne continued to elect its archbishops from the Bavarian family.

Germany, almost isolated at this period from the rest of Europe, was the scene of few political events of any importance. The Diets of the empire were chiefly occupied with matters of internal police. That held at Frankfort in 1577 published some regulations which exhibit in a curious light the manners of the higher classes of the Germans. The oaths and blasphemies of the nobles are denounced; the Electors and Princes of the empire, ecclesiastical as well as secular, are alone authorised to keep buffoons, and at the same time forbidden to get drunk themselves or to intoxicate others. These regulations are accompanied with many more, respecting dress, the table, the rate of interest, monopolies, &c.

The death of Stephen Bathori in December 1586 having again rendered vacant the throne of Poland, Rodolph's brother, the Archduke Maximilian, proposed himself as a candidate. But the choice of the majority of the Electors fell upon the son of John, King of Sweden, whose mother Catherine was a sister of the last Jagellon; and that young prince ascended the throne with the title of Sigismund III. Maximilian, however, prepared to contest it with him, and entering Poland with a small body of troops, penetrated to Cracow, at that time the capital, to which he laid siege. But Zamoisky, Grand Chancellor of the crown, illustrious by his learning and researches as well as by his military exploits, who had embraced the party of Sigismund, compelled Maximilian to raise the siege; and in the following year (January 24th 1588) defeated him in a battle near Bitschin in Silesia. Maximilian was soon afterwards captured in that town, and was detained more than a twelvemonth prisoner in a castle near Lublin, till at length the Emperor Rodolph was obliged to obtain his liberation by paying a large ransom, and ceding to the Poles the county of Zips, which had been formerly pledged to them by the Emperor Sigismund.

The Hungarians were at this time almost independent, though ostensibly Rodolph II. was represented in that country by his brother the Archduke Ernest. When, in 1592, Ernest was called by Philip II. to the government of the Netherlands, and Rodolph could not prevail upon himself to quit his retirement at Prague, the incompetent Matthias was sent into Hungary; as, of the other two brothers of the Emperor, Maximilian was employed in administering Inner Austria and the Tyrol, while Albert was in Spain.

¹⁵ Menzel, B. iii. cap. ii.

The proceedings of the reactionary party and of the Jesuits, both in Hungary and Transylvania, occasioned the greatest discontent. After the election of Stephen Bathori to the Polish crown, the government of Transylvania had been conducted by his brother Christopher, and on Stephen's death he was succeeded by his youthful son Sigismund Bathori, a person of weak character, and the mere tool of the Jesuits, by whom he had been educated. Soon afterwards, however, the Protestant party gained the upper hand, and in 1588 the Jesuits were banished by the States of Transylvania, much against the inclination of Sigismund. On account of the constant border warfare with the Turks, the Emperor, the Pope, and the King of Spain naturally had much influence with Sigismund, as the only allies to whom he could look for assistance against the Osmanlis, whom he regarded with aversion, though he owed to them his throne. But these circumstances had not much effect on the state of parties in Transylvania till the breaking out of a regular war between the Turks and Hungarians in 1593, to which we must now advert; taking previously a retrospect of Turkish history.

The affairs of Turkey have been brought down in a former chapter to the death of Sultan Selim II. in 1574.¹⁶ The Grand-Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli, concealed the death of the Sultan, as he had previously done that of Solyman II., till Selim's son and successor, Amurath III., arrived at Constantinople from his government of Magnesia, to take possession of the throne (December 22nd 1574). Amurath's first act was to cause five brothers, all mere children, to be strangled. The Janissaries had then to be conciliated by an augmented donative of fifty ducats a man, and costly gifts were distributed among the great officers of state.

At the time of his accession Amurath III. was about twenty-eight years of age. His person was small but agreeable, his features good, his complexion pale and yellow from the baneful effects of opium. In his youth a favourable estimate was taken of his character; for though of a studious and somewhat melancholy disposition, he had not shown himself averse from, or incapable of, military achievements. But from these good qualities he rapidly degenerated after his accession, becoming avaricious, addicted to women, fickle, mistrustful, cowardly; and at length he wholly secluded himself in the seraglio.

The religious troubles in France tended to diminish the influence of that country with the Porte. The assistance of the Turks

¹⁶ Above, p. 195.

against the House of Austria was no longer necessary to France, while the Guises and the League were in close alliance with Philip II. On the other hand the Hugonots had secret dealings with the Porte, and Coligni sent several nobles of his party to Constantinople¹⁷; but it does not appear that these negotiations had any result. It may be remarked, however, that the Protestants were much more acceptable to the Turks than the Papists, as approaching more nearly to their own faith, which rejected with abhorrence any semblance of idolatry¹⁸; and it was, perhaps, partly from this cause, that English influence made at this period so surprising an advance at Constantinople.

Towards the end of 1578 William Harebone, or Harburn, an English merchant, presented himself before the Sultan Amurath III. with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, in which she besought the friendship of the Porte, and requested permission for her subjects to trade under their own flag; for although the English had opened a commerce in the Levant before the capture of Cyprus by Selim II., they had hitherto been obliged to sail in those waters under French colours. The Sultan did not vouchsafe an answer to this application; but Harburn, nothing daunted, opened private communications with the Grand Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli, and as the merchandise of England, and especially its metals, was much prized in Turkey, Harburn soon made great progress in spite of the efforts of Germigny, the French ambassador to the Porte, to counteract him. Germigny, indeed, succeeded at first in getting a treaty cancelled which Harburn had effected in 1580, and which allowed the English to trade under their own flag¹⁹; but in May 1583 Elizabeth's indefatigable ambassador obtained a rescript from the Sultan, granting English commerce in the Levant the same privileges as the French. A Turkey company had been already incorporated in London by royal charter in 1581. Sir William Monson²⁰ assigns the following reasons for England having embarked so late in the Levant trade: the want of ships, the danger from the Moorish pirates on the coast of Barbary, and the monopoly of the trade by the Venetians, whose argosies brought the merchandise of the East to Southampton. The last argosy that visited our shores was unfortunately wrecked near the Wight in 1587, and her valuable cargo lost.

¹⁷ Brantôme, t. ix. p. 218.

¹⁸ Thus the cadi of Chios remarked to James Palæologus in 1573: "Nos Lutheranos defendere solemus, quoniam melius de Deo sentire videntur et nobiscum parum dissentiunt; multum autem dissen-

tiunt. Papistæ, qui figuras et imagines faciunt Deo et illas colunt."—Reusner, *Epist. Turc.* t. iii. lib. xi. p. 143.

¹⁹ Zinkeisen, B. iii. S. 424.

²⁰ *Naval Tracts*, written in 1635, sp. Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 169.

In her negotiations with the Porte Elizabeth availed herself of the plea of her religion, styling herself in her letter the protectrix of the true faith against the idolators (*veræ fidei contra idololatrias falso Christi nomen profitentes invicta et potentissima propugnatrix*). Indeed the English agents seem to have assumed an attitude of slavish submission towards the Porte which somewhat moved the contempt of the Turks; and the Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha derisively observed to the Austrian ambassador, "that the English wanted nothing of being true Moslems except to raise the finger on high and cry *Esched*" (the formulary of faith).²¹ This was contrary to the practice of the Venetians, who in treating with the Porte had learned from experience that it was necessary to assume an air of dignity. Nevertheless, the advantages of trade, the interests of policy, and above all a common hatred of the Pope and the King of Spain, soon cemented the alliance between England and the Turks; though Harburn in vain tried to persuade them to attack the Spanish coasts at the time of the armada.

Edward Burton was an able successor of Harburn as English ambassador to the Porte, and till his death in 1598 very much increased the influence of England in Turkey. He found a powerful friend in Seadeddin, the celebrated Turkish historian, minister, and general, whom during the Hungarian war he accompanied on the expedition against Erlau in 1596. The counsels of England now began to have weight even in the Divan. After the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of France, a rivalry had ensued between him and Elizabeth for the precedence of their flags in the Levant, in which Burton gradually prevailed; and at length the English flag instead of the French became the covering ensign of foreign vessels in that quarter. Henry IV. had resumed the traditional policy of France to break the power of Spain with the assistance of the Osmanlis; but he could never obtain from them any effectual assistance. His abjuration of Protestantism filled the Porte with suspicion; and after the peace of Vervins he no longer wanted its aid. Henry however always maintained an honourable and dignified attitude towards the Sultan; he became the special guardian of the rights and liberties of the Christians in the East, as Francis I. had been before him; and he procured the restoration of the privileges of the monks of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Of the Turkish relations at this period, however, the most important were those with Austria and Hungary. The truce con-

²¹ Hammer, *Osman. Gesch.* B. iv. S. 208, Anm.

cluded between Austria and Selim II. had been frequently renewed ; yet the border warfare grew every year more bloody, and the relations with the Porte daily more precarious. In 1592 the Grand-Vizier Sinan Pasha was highly offended by an intercepted letter of Von Kreckwitz the Austrian ambassador, in which the Vizier was denounced as the cause of the misunderstanding which had so long prevailed. While he was in this temper an event occurred which afforded a pretence for a declaration of open war. Hassan, the Turkish governor of Bosnia, having in June 1593 crossed the Culpa with 30,000 men, was defeated near Sissek with great slaughter and the loss of all his baggage and guns by only 5000 Germans and Hungarians. Amurath could now no longer resist the counsels of his Vizier and the importunities of Hassan, and of two Sultanas who had lost their sons at Sissek, to wipe out this disgrace to his arms. War was declared against the Emperor at Constantinople, and Kreckwitz and his suite were thrown into prison.

Sinan Pasha left Constantinople with his army in August 1593, amid the tricks and howlings of dervishes, carrying with him Kreckwitz in chains, who however died upon the march. Crossing the Drave at Essek and passing Stuhlweissenburg, Sinan appeared before Vesprim, which surrendered October 13th. On the other hand, after the Turkish army had retired into winter-quarters, the Imperialists gained a splendid victory over the Pasha of Ofen (Buda) November 23rd, which struck the Turks with consternation. During the winter the Archduke Matthias, who commanded the Imperial troops in the northern part of Hungary, received considerable reinforcements, and laid siege in the spring of 1594 to Gran, which however he was obliged to abandon. The Archduke Maximilian was not more successful in the south, while Sinan, after taking Tata and Raab was repulsed at Komorn.

The campaign of 1595 seemed to open under better auspices for the Emperor. The German Diet assembled at Ratisbon in 1594 had voted Rodolph large succours of men and money for five years. His hereditary dominions, as well as Bohemia and Hungary, came forward with assistance ; from other parts of Europe he received promises which were not however fulfilled. But what principally alarmed the Turkish Sultan was the revolt from him of the three tributary provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, the Voyvodes of which, after either slaying or driving out the Turks, entered into an alliance with the Emperor. In Transylvania the young Prince Sigismund himself, influenced by the Jesuits and the Catholic party, was for Austria, while the greater part of the Pro-

testants preferred the Turks for their masters; and, as since the breaking out of open war it became necessary that the province should declare for one side or the other, a *coup d'état* was resolved on. At a Diet held at Klausenburg, in August 1594, some of the principal leaders of the Protestant party were seized and executed, and a treaty was entered into with Rodolph, which was ratified at Prague January 28th 1595, and confirmed by the Hungarian Diet. The chief conditions were, mutual aid against the Turks, and the reversion of Transylvania to Austria in case Sigismund died without male heirs. The Jesuits now returned into the province, and ruled the weak-minded Sigismund more absolutely than ever. He even thought of entering a convent, and proceeded to Prague to entreat the Emperor to procure him a cardinal's hat. Rodolph, however, dissuaded him from these projects, and prevailed on him to return into Transylvania.

The indifferent success of the campaign of 1594, and above all the revolt of the three provinces, filled Amurath with consternation, and for the first time he sent for the holy standard from Damascus, the palladium of the faithful in their contests with the infidels. Death, however, released him from his anxieties. Amurath III. expired January 16th 1595, and was succeeded by his son Mahomet III. The death of the Sultan was concealed as usual till Mahomet could arrive from his government of Magnesia. He was the last heir of the Turkish throne who enjoyed before his accession an independent government; in future all the Sultan's children were educated exclusively in the seraglio. The funeral of Amurath was immediately followed by the murder of nineteen of his still living sons, and of seven pregnant female slaves. The insubordination of the Janissaries had to be soothed with a donative of 660,000 ducats, and it was also necessary to pacify a revolt of the discontented sipahis.

In spite of the holy standard, the campaign of 1595 was highly unfavourable to the Turks. Sinan, in attempting to gain possession of Wallachia, was driven back with great slaughter by Prince Michael the Voyvode. The Turkish arms were not more fortunate in Hungary. The Imperialists had now received some of the German contingents, the Pope and other Italian princes had forwarded contributions in money, and a more able general, Count Mansfeld, who had been despatched from the Netherlands by Philip II., commanded the forces of Rodolph. In September Mansfeld took the important town of Gran. Shortly after Wissegrad and Waitzen also yielded to the Imperialists, and the Turks lost several places on the Danube. So great was the alarm at Constantinople that

prayers were offered up in the mosques for the success of the arms of the faithful, a step never resorted to except in cases of the utmost danger; and the unwarlike Mahomet III. felt himself compelled to revive the spirits of his troops by heading them in person. His departure was delayed by the death of his Grand-Vizier Sinan; but in April 1596 he commenced with great pomp his expedition against Erlau, accompanied by his newly appointed Grand-Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, and by Seadeddin, who occupied a conspicuous place in the council of war. The Imperialists did not attempt to arrest his march, which was directed by Belgrade, Peterwardein, and Segedin on Erlau. A week sufficed for the capture of Erlau, when, in spite of the capitulation, the garrison of 5000 men was cut down by the Janissaries. The Archduke Maximilian, and Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, now hastened with their forces to recover Erlau, and in October they met the Turks on the plain of Keresztes, where a bloody battle was fought that lasted three days. Victory seemed at first to favour the Christians. Emboldened by their success, they ventured on the third day, (October 26th) to attack the Turkish camp; but they were repulsed with great loss, and, being seized with a panic, took to a disorderly flight, in which 50,000 men are said to have been killed, and 100 guns and the military chest were captured by the Turks. Maximilian, who was one of the first to fly, escaped to Kaschau, and Sigismund with his forces retreated through Tokay into Transylvania. Mahomet then marched back to Constantinople, which he entered in triumph. This signal defeat occasioned the greatest alarm and anxiety at Vienna, and, indeed, throughout Europe.²²

The Sultan, however, did not derive that advantage from his success which might have been expected. In the campaign of 1597 nothing decisive was achieved, while that of 1598 was highly adverse to the Turkish arms: Raab, Tata, Vesprim, Tschambock, besides several fortresses, were taken by the Imperialists, and the operations of the Turkish Seraskier Saturdschi were so unfortunate as to cost him his dismissal and his life. Both sides were now exhausted, and eager to conclude a peace if satisfactory terms could be obtained. In 1599 the Grand-Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, who commanded the Turkish forces in Hungary, made proposals to the Imperial general, Nicholas Palfy; but nothing was effected: the demands on both sides were too high, and the war was continued six years longer. We shall not, however, enter into the details of a struggle which was feebly carried on with varying

²² Katona, t. xxvii. p. 324 & 399.

success, and which gave birth to no events of decisive importance. Even the death of Mahomet III., December 22nd 1603, had little effect on the war, except that it served still further to exhaust the resources of the Porte by the payment of the accustomed donative to the Janissaries. Mahomet was quietly succeeded by his son Achmet I. then hardly fourteen years of age.

The renewal of the war between the Sultan and the Shah of Persia in 1603 tended still further to dispose the Porte to put an end to the struggle in Hungary; and the negociations were facilitated by a revolution in Transylvania.

The weak and simple-minded Sigismund Bathori was persuaded in 1597 by the Jesuits, as well as by his own wife—Maria Christina, daughter of the Archduke Charles of Styria—who wanted to get rid of him, to cede Transylvania to Rodolph II., in exchange for the Silesian principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor, and a large pension. In the spring of 1598 Sigismund proceeded into Silesia, where he soon found that he had been deceived in the bargain that he had made; and before the end of August he returned to Klausenburg at the invitation of Stephen Bocskai, a Hungarian noble, and one of the leaders of the liberal and Protestant party in that country. A counter-revolution now took place. The Austrian commissaries who had been sent to take possession of Transylvania were seized and imprisoned; Sigismund took a new oath to the States that he would make no innovations in religion, and the Jesuits were again sent into banishment. They soon, however, recovered their influence; Sigismund was induced to relinquish his authority to his fanatical relative, Cardinal Andrew Bathori, and retired into Poland to live in a private station. At the same time his wife entered a convent at Hall in the Tyrol, where she passed twenty-two years, the remainder of her existence. Cardinal Andrew Bathori having been recognised by the States as Prince of Transylvania in 1599, the Emperor Rodolph commissioned his general Basta, as well as Michael, Voyvode of Wallachia, to overthrow him, and the Cardinal was soon after killed by Michael's troops. After this occurrence Sigismund regained for a short time possession of Transylvania, but in 1602 was once more compelled to abdicate, and never again appeared on the political scene. About eight years afterwards, having incurred the suspicion of the Emperor, he was summoned to Prague, where he soon after died in his forty-first year.

Stephen Bocskai now set up pretensions of his own, not only to the principality of Transylvania, but even to the crown of Hungary. In June 1605 he entered into an alliance with the Grand-Vizier

Lala Mohammed, commander of the Turkish army in Hungary, and assisted him in the campaign of that year, in which Gran, Wissegrad, Vesprim, and other places were taken by their united forces. Bocskai had already been invested with Transylvania, and on November 11th, Lala Mohammed solemnly crowned him King of Hungary on the field of Rakosch, presenting him at the same time with a Turkish sword and colours, in token that he was the Sultan's vassal.

It would seem, however, that Bocskai had only been set up as a man of straw by the Turks, in order to obtain better conditions in the treaty of peace that was still negotiating between them and Rodolph II. The Archduke Matthias was first of all commissioned to treat with Bocskai, who was easily persuaded to renounce the crown of Hungary; and by a treaty signed at Vienna (June 23rd 1506) he was allowed to retain Transylvania, besides several places in Hungary. This was the prelude to another treaty with the Turks, concluded at Sitvatorok November 11th.

The PEACE OF SITVATOROK, which was to last twenty years from January 1st 1607, made but slight alterations in the territorial possessions of the contracting parties; but it is remarkable for what may be called the moral and diplomatic concessions on the part of the Porte. It was arranged in the preliminaries that the Emperor of Germany should no longer be insulted with the title of "King of Vienna," but that both he and the Sultan should be treated with the Imperial title; and the diplomatic intercourse between the two nations was henceforth to be conducted on an equal footing. But a still more important concession was the abandonment by the Porte of the tribute hitherto paid by Austria; in consideration of which however the Emperor was to pay down once for all (*semel pro semper*) a sum of 200,000 florins, besides making valuable presents.²³

Such an abatement of the haughty tone in which the Turkish Sultans had hitherto spoken betrays a consciousness of inward weakness. The Osmanlis had indeed now passed the zenith of their power, and had arrived at the limits of their conquests; yet their empire still embraced as great an extent as any upon which the sun had ever shone. In Asia the Tigris and Euphrates separated the dominions of the Sultan and the Shah of Persia; Bagdad, Van, and Erzeroum were Turkish governments; between the Black Sea and the Caspian, the Georgians, Mingrelians, and Circassians, though free, were tributary; the coasts of the Black Sea to the

²³ The articles are in Katona, t. xxviii. p. 612 sqq.; Cf. Zinkeisen, B. iii. S. 618.

Crimea, Anatolia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and all Arabia obeyed the Sultan. In Africa he possessed Egypt and the whole coast from the delta of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, with the exception of a few places held by the Spaniards. In Europe, as the reader will have already learnt, he ruled, besides Greece and its archipelago and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Chios, Thrace, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, the greater part of Hungary, Bosnia, Servia, Dalmatia, and Albania.

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

FROM 1598 TO 1648.

(The Years show the end of their Reigns.)

GERMANY.	SPAIN.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	POPES.
Rodolph II. . . 1612	Philip III. . . 1621	Henry IV. . . 1610	Elizabeth . . 1603	Clement VIII. 1605
Matthias . . . 1619	Philip IV. . . —	Louis XIII. . 1643	(English and Scotch Crowns united.)	Leo XI. . . . 1605
Ferdinand II. . 1637		Louis XIV. . . —	James I. . . . 1625	Paul V. . . . 1621
Ferdinand III. —			Charles I. . . . —	Gregory XV. . 1623
				Urban VIII. . 1644
				Innocent X. . . —
POLAND.	PORTUGAL.	TURKEY.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.
Sigismund III. 1632	John IV. . . . —	Mahomet III. . 1603	Christian IV. . 1648	Charles IX. . . 1611
Wladislaus IV. 1648	(House of Braganza begins to reign, 1640.)	Achmet I. . . . 1617	Frederick III. —	Gustavus Ad. . 1632
John II. . . . —		Mustapha I. . 1618		Christina . . . —
		Osmán II. . . . 1622		
		Mustapha <i>restd.</i> 1623		
		Amurath IV. . 1640		
		Ibrahim 1648		
		Mahomet IV. . —		

BOOK IV.

FROM THE PEACE OF VERVINS IN 1598 TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA IN 1648.

CHAPTER I.

At the peace of Vervins a century had elapsed since the French, by their incursions into Italy, had inaugurated the modern European system, and the result up to this time had been entirely in favour of their Spanish rivals. Spain had succeeded in seizing and retaining the two Sicilies and the duchy of Milan, and, in spite of a wretched system of administration and the revolt of her provinces in the Netherlands, was still incontestably the leading power of Europe. The Spanish infantry continued to retain their prestige; the fortunate conquest of Portugal had helped to support the declining power and reputation of Spain; and we have beheld Philip II., towards the close of his long reign, aspiring, with perhaps even a better chance of success than his father Charles V., to universal monarchy, by the conquest of England, and the reduction of France under his dominion by placing his daughter on the throne. These successes, however, were due, not to the strength of Spain, but to the weakness of her adversary. Torn by her religious wars and the anarchy of the League, France was unable to compete with a rival in which those disturbing causes were absent, and as soon as they ceased to operate she rapidly rose to her true position. The question of religion was also the main spring of action in England and the Netherlands. Thus the Reformation forms the key to the political state of Europe at this period, and as its effects were to continue another half century, namely, down to the peace of Westphalia, it will be proper here to take a view of its progress, and the changes which it had effected; after which we shall briefly consider the internal condition of the chief European nations.

Towards the middle of the 16th century Protestantism had established itself over the greater part of Europe. The doctrines of Luther had become the national religion of the Scandinavian kingdoms, of Prussia, Livonia, and the northern provinces of Germany. In Bavaria a large majority of the nobles had embraced them, and the same creed had made still greater progress in Austria, where it was computed that only one thirtieth part of the population remained faithful to the Roman Church. In 1558 a Venetian ambassador reckoned that only one tenth part of the whole German people were Roman Catholics.¹ In Poland, although the King himself was a Roman Catholic, many of his subjects had adopted the reformed doctrines. These also prevailed very extensively in Hungary, where in 1554 a Lutheran had been elected Palatine. In Bohemia the large Hussite party already established could not but derive additional strength from the religious movement in Germany. Calvinism, still more inimical to Rome than were the doctrines of Luther, had from Geneva, its centre and stronghold, spread itself in all directions in Western Europe. In the neighbouring provinces of Germany it had in a great degree supplanted Lutheranism, and had even penetrated into Hungary and Poland; it was predominant in Scotland, and had leavened the doctrines of the English Church. In France it had divided the population into two hostile camps. The Venetian ambassador Micheli relates that, immediately after the death of Francis II. in 1559, fifty preachers had issued from Geneva and settled themselves in various French towns. When Micheli paid a visit to that metropolis of Calvinism he was struck with astonishment at the veneration in which the great French reformer was held, and at the vast sums of money which he received in aid of the thousands who had taken refuge at Geneva.² In the Netherlands the doctrines of Calvin supplanted those of Luther. Tiepolo, another Venetian ambassador, says that all the Pope could reckon upon as sound and secure was Spain and Italy, with a few islands and the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia and Greece.³

The proceedings of the Council of Trent drew an insuperable line of demarcation between Catholics and Protestants; all idea of conciliation was abandoned, and the hostility of the two parties stood out in bolder relief. The violent and impolitic conduct of Pope Paul IV. also tended to widen the breach. From his antipathy to the House

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 12.

² *Relat. delle cose di Francia*, 1561; *Ibid.* p. 17. During the reign of Henry II., 1400 French families had established

themselves at Geneva. Gaberel, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Genève*, t. i. p. 346.

³ *Relat. di Pio IV.* e V., ap. Ranke, *ibid.* p. 19.

of Austria Paul broke with the Imperial party and drove the Emperor Ferdinand to cultivate the friendship of the Protestants. He acted in the same inconsiderate manner towards England. Instead of endeavouring to conciliate Queen Elizabeth and the English nation, Paul repulsed her ambassadors by his haughty demands, deprived Cardinal Pole of his legateship, endeavoured to re-establish Peter's pence, and annulled every alienation that had been made of Church property; nay, so blind was he to his own interests that he was even hostile to Philip II., the great prop of the Roman Catholic cause. But soon after his pontificate a reaction began in favour of the Roman Church. Shaken to her very centre by the Reformation, Rome found means to reclaim vast numbers of apostates and to recover a large share of her former influence and power. As this anti-Reformation is the most striking feature in the history of the latter half of the sixteenth century, and lay at the root of the Thirty Years' War, it may be worth while to inquire into the causes of so remarkable a reaction.

Among these causes we may note the reform effected in the Roman Curia itself. The first part of the sixteenth century had been characterised by a general relaxation of the discipline and authority of the Church; profane studies, literature and art, had usurped the place of religion; and Rome herself seemed to have forgotten her hierarchical character. But the conduct of Pius V., and of several exemplary pontiffs who succeeded him, had a great influence in amending the lives of the Roman prelates. At the beginning of the century the cardinals levied war on the Pope, or hatched conspiracies against him; while the Pope himself did not scruple to gird on the sword and to lead his armies to battle like a temporal prince. But towards the close of the same era everything was done in the name of religion; a ceremonious behaviour began to prevail in the Roman court, and the outward forms at least of piety and virtue were strictly observed. A similar reformation took place in other Roman Catholic countries. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the ancient monastic orders, the Dominicans, Benedictines, and Franciscans, were vigorously reformed in France; and to such a degree were austerities carried among some of the religious communities of women, that fourteen Feuillantines are said to have died in one week. Port Royal was distinguished by its nocturnal vigils, its unbroken silence, and perpetual adoration of the eucharist.⁴ This was also the period of the reforms and labours of St. François de Sales and of St.

⁴ Félibien, *Hist. de Paris*, t. ii. p. 1339.

Theresa in Spain. At the same time were revived certain practices which answered their purpose among the vulgar. Miracles, which had long ceased, began again to be worked. At San Silvestro an image of the Virgin spoke, and the desolate region which surrounded her shrine, such was the attraction of the miracle, was soon occupied with houses. Similar portents became frequent, and spread from Italy into other countries. By these and the like acts did the clergy recover their reputation, and with it a large share of their former power.

But the chief instrument of Catholic reaction was the order of the Jesuits, to whose foundation we have already adverted.⁵ The use that might be made of that sect in retrieving the fortunes of the Church was quickly perceived; and Pope Julius III., soon after his accession in 1550, conferred upon them privileges which roused the jealousy of the other orders. They were empowered to grant degrees to competent persons whose poverty debarred them from studying at a university: a privilege which, by drawing to them the youths of talent among the lower classes, gave them the command of education, and enabled them to mould at an early age the pliant consciences of their pupils. Their method of instruction was most artful. They reduced study to a sort of mechanical process, whose results were quick but superficial; and even Protestant parents, dazzled by their success as teachers, confided to them their children.⁶ As they thus formed the principles of the younger portion of the community by means of education so likewise the power conferred on them of granting absolution, enabled them to obtain the direction of the consciences of older persons, by assuming the functions of confessors. The absurd quarrels of the Protestants among themselves, and particularly that concerning original sin, did not a little contribute to the success of the Jesuits.⁷

It was about the middle of the sixteenth century that the Society of Jesus began to spread themselves throughout Europe. In 1548 the Duke of Bavaria, William IV., appointed to the chairs of theology at Ingolstadt the Jesuits Le Jay a Savoyard, Salmeron a Spaniard, and the celebrated Peter Canisius of Nymwegen. Hence Ingolstadt soon became of a like importance as a Catholic seminary, as Wittenberg for Lutheranism, or Geneva for Calvinism. Favoured by William IV, and his successor Duke Albert V., the Jesuits gradually acquired the direction of all the Bavarian schools.

⁵ See Book III. Chap. I. The principal histories of the Jesuits are those of Orlandini, Maffei, and Ribadaneira. There is a good sketch in Schröckh, *Christliche*

Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation, B. iii.

⁶ See Michelet, *Ligue*, p. 116.

⁷ Menzel, B. iii. S. 43.

They were likewise encouraged by the Emperor Ferdinand in Bohemia and Austria; and it was at the request of that sovereign that Canisius, who did more than any man for his order in Germany, drew up his *Summa Doctrinæ Christianæ*, from which he afterwards extracted his celebrated catechism. In 1551 Ferdinand established a Jesuits' college at Vienna, which he soon after incorporated with the university; in 1556 he removed some of them to Prague, and by that year their influence may be said to have extended over Bavaria, the Tyrol, Franconia, Suabia, Austria, and the Rhenish provinces, and also to have been felt in Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia. In 1578, as related in the preceding chapter, Protestantism was utterly proscribed in the Austrian dominions. In Poland, Cardinal Hosias, Bishop of Ermeland, founded a college for them at Braunsberg in 1569. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Polish Jesuits nearly succeeded in effecting a revolution in Russia, and bringing that country within the pale of the Roman Church. After the murder of the legitimate heir, Dmitri, or Demetrius Ivanowitz, and the usurpation of the throne by Boris Godunow, a Muscovite Boyard, a false Demetrius appeared in Poland; the Jesuits took up his cause, procured his recognition in Poland and the assistance of an army, with which they entered Moscow after the death of Boris, who had expired during the struggle. But the Muscovite nation soon awoke from its surprise; Demetrius was massacred, the Poles were expelled from Moscow, and the hopes of the Church of Rome entirely frustrated.

It was not till a rather later period that the Jesuits obtained a footing in France, and at first in places remote from the capital. At Paris and the larger towns they experienced great opposition; the Sorbonne, the Archbishop of Paris, and the Parliament, who thought their privileges invaded, united in opposing them. By perseverance, however, they gradually succeeded in establishing themselves, and in 1564 were allowed to become teachers. Three years later a magnificent college was erected for them at Lyon; in 1574 the Cardinal of Guise founded a Jesuit academy at Pont-à-Mousson; and they also established themselves in other important towns. Their ranks at this time included many men of distinguished talent, and wherever they appeared the numbers of the Roman Catholics were observed to increase. In 1574 a Jesuits' college was founded at Lucerne in Switzerland, to which the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Guises are said to have contributed.

But although the religious struggle in France terminated, as we have seen in the preceding book, in favour of the Roman Catholic

Church, the authority of the Pope and of the Jesuits never attained to any extraordinary height in that country. The Jesuits succeeded, indeed, in procuring the revocation of the banishment inflicted on them after Chastel's attempt on the life of Héñry IV.; that monarch even gave them the site for their college at La Flèche, whither his heart was carried after his murder; yet in general they continued to be unpopular among the French. In 1611 the inhabitants of Troyes opposed their establishment in that city, on the ground that they were fomenters of discord and division; in the same year, the university of Paris frustrated their attempt to teach publicly in their college, and compelled them to content themselves with privately instructing by means of salaried masters the boarders whom they were permitted to keep in their house. In 1614 the Parliament of Paris ordered to be burnt a book of the Jesuit Suarez, entitled *La Défense de la Foi Catholique Apostolique contre les erreurs de la secte d'Angleterre*, on the ground of its advocating the assassination of sovereigns.⁸ It was remarked that, though other religious orders had produced assassins, the Jesuits were the only one which supported assassination systematically and on principle. The deed had a law of its own. It was not to be perpetrated at the arbitrament of a private individual, but it might be lawfully carried out by the decree of an ecclesiastical tribunal; and this view the Jesuits founded on the 15th decree of the Council of Constance, which anathematised those only who attempted such an act without having first procured a mandate for it.⁹

Altogether, therefore, the movement against the Reformation was not so successful in France as in Austria and Bavaria. The Edict of Nantes was, in fact, a compromise which still left the Hugonots a powerful party, a sort of imperium in imperio. They had their cautionary towns, an organised army, their representative charter, their assemblies; they had even their great seal, of which the device was Religion leaning on the cross, holding the sacred volume in her hand, and treading under foot an aged skeleton intended to represent the Romish Church. Thus they possessed an organisation which enabled them in times of disturbance to break through all the checks and restraints which it had been endeavoured to place upon them. But the zeal and energy of their leaders had died out. Sully, Mornay, Lesdiguières, were either lukewarm or self-interested; nor did Protestantism find in France that pabulum in the popular temperament which had nourished

⁸ See Richelieu, *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 113 sqq., p. 149 and note, and p. 202. dato judicis cujuscunque."—Ap. Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xv. p. 333.

⁹ "Non expectata sententia vel man-

it in Germany and England. Rohan, indeed, was animated with enthusiasm; but alone he could do nothing.

The Gallican Church, however, without regard to Rome, and in spite of the great Hugonot party, made France groan, like other Roman Catholic countries, under the burden of an enormous ecclesiastical establishment. Early in the seventeenth century the whole number of regular and secular clergy considerably exceeded a quarter of a million¹⁰, of which more than three fifths were monks or nuns: viz. 35,600 *religieux rentés*, or monks belonging to foundations; 80,000 nuns of various orders; 46,500 mendicant friars, ancient and reformed; and 500 hermits. But while the *curés*, or working clergy, had scarcely sufficient for the necessities of life, inhabited houses which did not defend them from the weather, and sometimes subsisted on bread which they squeezed with difficulty from their parishioners, the mendicant orders, by virtue of their vow of poverty, dwelt in magnificent buildings, and consumed each a pound of meat and three pints of wine a day. Their *repas maigres*, or fast-day meals, were still more expensive; and it was reckoned that the subsistence of each monk cost daily twenty sous.

It was not till 1580 that the Jesuits appeared in England. Dr. William Allen, afterwards a cardinal, had founded an English Catholic seminary at Douai, and others were subsequently established at St. Omer, Rheims, and Rome. The pupils of these colleges were animated with the most savage spirit of murder. Against Queen Elizabeth their rage was inexhaustible, since, under her auspices, Protestantism had not only been firmly established in England, but also found in her its chief protectress in other countries. The work of Saunders, *De monarchia visibili Ecclesiæ*, published at Louvain in 1571, was the bible of these ferocious fanatics. Saunders had been secretary to bloody Mary, and his book was written under the patronage of the Duke of Alva. It was in the year mentioned that the Jesuits Persons and Campion returned to England, after which a great many penal laws were promulgated against that order. Queen Elizabeth, in self-defence, was compelled to take a leaf out of her enemies' book, and England witnessed to some extent a persecution of the Catholics, of whom about two hundred were executed during her reign. It should, however, be recollected that they were Elizabeth's political enemies, that they were constantly endeavouring to deprive her of her

¹⁰ 266,936: an enormous proportion, considering the population at that time.

See *Le nombre des Eclésiastiques de France* in the *Archives Curieuses*, sér. 1, t. xiv.

kingdom, and even of her life, and that most of those who suffered in England were convicted of conspiracy.¹¹

It may appear surprising that in bigoted a country like Spain the Jesuits should have obtained little or no influence; but, in fact, that very bigotry afforded small scope to their activity in that kingdom; and we have before had occasion to remark that Spain, with all her superstitious devotion, was inimical to the encroachments of Rome. Yet Spain had given birth to the founder of the sect, and produced an eminent patron of it in Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, grandson of the infamous Pope Alexander VI. Borgia, who displayed as much bigotry and superstition as his grandsire did vice and atheism, at last turned Jesuit himself, and eventually became third general of the order. As a rule, however, the Jesuits in Spain were not natives but converted Jews, and even became objects of suspicion to the government. St. Francis de Borgia himself was prosecuted by the Inquisition as one of the mystics or *illuminati*, a sect which arose in Spain in the sixteenth century, and which seems to have borne some resemblance to the English Quakers.¹² In Portugal, on the other hand, during the minority of Sebastian and the tutorship of his ecclesiastical guardians, the Jesuits, as we have already said, obtained a complete control. John III. had founded for them a college at the university of Coimbra, whence issued the greater part of those missionaries who spread themselves over Asia and Africa.

Neither Spain nor Italy¹³, however, was altogether exempted from the invasion of heretical doctrines. As early as 1519, Froben, the celebrated printer of Basle, forwarded some of Luther's tracts into Spain; and in 1527 several works of Erasmus were condemned, and prosecutions instituted against some of the most learned men in the kingdom. By 1530 the doctrines of Luther had made such progress that the Council of the Supreme¹⁴ instructed the inquisitors throughout Spain to exercise the greatest vigilance; an injunction which led to domiciliary visits by the familiars of the Inquisition. The Spaniards themselves attributed the propagation of Lutheran opinions in Spain to their own learned men who had been sent abroad to confute them; an admission than which any more complimentary to Luther can scarcely

¹¹ On this subject see Hallam's *Constitutional Hist.* ch. iii. and iv.

¹² Llorente, t. vi. p. 29.

¹³ The Reformation found for a time a footing in Italy, and especially at Ferrara, under the auspices of Renée of France, who had married the duke; but its pro-

gress in that country is not important enough to be detailed.

¹⁴ The chief tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition, consisting of Inquisitor-General as president, and three counsellors, two of whom were Doctors of Laws.

be imagined, although, according to the testimony of Valdes, that reformer was regarded in Spain as a reprobate Atheist, and it was deemed as meritorious to strangle a Lutheran as to shoot a Turk.¹⁵ The Spanish converts, like Valdes himself, were mostly persons of rank and education; for in Spain the reformed doctrines were chiefly imbibed from books, procured and read with risk and danger. The Protestants of Béarn, indeed, who crossed the Pyrenees, spread their faith in Aragon, where it made most progress, though it also penetrated into the neighbouring provinces.¹⁶ It was reserved for Philip II. to crush the nascent heresy, almost the only instance in which his policy can boast of entire success. This triumph of bigotry shows that the power of opinion is not always a match for despotism and physical force, when wielded with adequate means and a relentless will. Philip, who was supported by that savage Pope, Paul IV., published in 1558 a bloody law by which death and confiscation of property were inflicted on anybody who sold, bought, read, or possessed a book prohibited by the Holy Office. In January 1559 Paul authorised the Spanish Inquisition to hold inquests on archbishops, bishops, and other prelates suspected of heresy, and to send them to Rome; and in the following February, at the request of Philip, he published a brief authorising the Council of the Supreme to deliver over to the secular arm, that is, to put to death, persons convicted of Lutheran opinions, even though they were not relapsed and were willing to recant; a proceeding contrary to all former practice, and against the standing laws of the Inquisition itself.¹⁷ It was in the same year that the first *auto-da-fé* of Protestants was celebrated at Valladolid; which was soon followed by another in the same city, and two more at Seville. In these human sacrifices two hundred and eight victims appeared, of whom sixty-two were burnt, and the rest condemned to minor punishments. About the same time Carranza, the primate of Spain, was pursued by the Inquisition; a prosecution followed by that of eight bishops and twenty-five doctors of theology, most of whom were men of distinguished learning, and had assisted at the Council of Trent. The four *autos-da-fé* just mentioned were followed by others down to the year 1570, when the Reformation in Spain was pretty well suppressed; for though a few Protestants were subsequently burnt, the gleanings were scanty.¹⁸ In the hands of the

¹⁵ Ap. McCrie, *Réform. in Spain*, p. 132.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 234.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 256.

¹⁸ The fires of the Inquisition were not, however, completely extinguished till to-

wards the end of the last century. The last victim was a *beata*, or nun, accused of heresy, who was burnt at Seville, Nov. 7th 1781. Llorente, t. ix. p. 231.

Spanish government, the Inquisition, as we have said, became an instrument of state policy and even of fiscal law; and thus, in 1569, the exportation of horses to France was brought under the cognizance of the Council of the Supreme.¹⁹

A statistical account²⁰ of the year 1616 shows the wonderful progress of the Jesuits in about three quarters of a century since their institution. At that time they had thirty-two provinces: viz. Rome, Sicily, Naples, Milan, Venice, Portugal, Goa, Malabar, Japan, Brazil, Toledo, Castile, Aragon, Bætica (South Spain), Sardinia, Peru, Paraguay, New Granada, Mexico, Philippine Isles, France, Aquitania (W. France), Lyon, Toulouse, Champagne, Upper Germany, the Rhenish province, Austria, Flanders, French Netherlands, Poland, and Lithuania. The order numbered 13,112 members, and possessed 23 houses of profession, 372 colleges, 41 probationary houses for novices, and 123 dwellings and residences. At this period the Jesuits could boast of many distinguished writers, amongst whom it may suffice to mention Sirmond, Schott, Tursellinus, Bellarminus, Suarez, Sanchez, and Mariana. The Jesuits had even penetrated to Constantinople early in the seventeenth century; whither they had gone with the design of overthrowing the Greek Patriarch, and bringing his flock under the dominion of Rome. A struggle ensued which lasted many years, and in which the ambassadors of the different Christian powers to the Porte took part; the Jesuits being supported by the French and Austrian envoys, while those of England and Holland came to the aid of the Patriarch. In 1622, by a skilful application of 40,000 dollars, the Jesuits effected the deposition and banishment by the Porte of the Patriarch Cyrill, who was supposed to be a Calvinist; but on a change in the ministry his restoration was soon after effected, principally through the intervention of the English envoy Sir Thomas Roe. In 1628 the same minister, supported by the Mufti and the Ulemas, gained a complete triumph over the Jesuits, and effected their banishment from Constantinople; but Roe went back to England in that year, and the Jesuits soon after managed to return.²¹

It is not encouraging to the friend of human progress to reflect that the men who succeeded in subjugating the understandings of

¹⁹ McCrie, p. 333.

²⁰ In Jouveney, *Hist. Soc. Jes.*, ap. Schröckh, B. iii. S. 362. At the beginning of the seventeenth century we find an order of *Jesuitissæ*, or female Jesuits, who imitated as nearly as possible the constitutions of their brethren. They appear

not, however, to have been organised on any authority; and in 1631 they were abolished by Pope Urban VIII. *Ibid.* p. 536.

²¹ On this subject, see Sir Thomas Roe's *Negociations*, p. 758 sqq., and 779.

so many millions of their fellows were the disciples of one whose wild hallucinations might have qualified him for an inmate of a lunatic asylum. The principles of Loyola, however, were reduced to a practical and methodical system by cooler and more designing heads than his own; his fundamental canon of absolute and unreasoning obedience to the Pope was retained; but the holy mission was at once concealed and aided by the assumption of manners which in appearance rendered the Jesuits more secular and less fanatical than any other religious order.

The world-wide influence of the Jesuits appears from the preceding list of their provinces. It is their missionary labours beyond the bounds of Europe that show the brightest side of their character; for though some may question the practical utility or permanent success of their efforts, nobody can deny them the praise of courage and enthusiasm. To detail their extra-European labours lies not within our plan, and it may suffice to indicate generally some of the leading events. Xavier, the associate of Loyola, was the first Jesuit missionary. He proceeded to the East Indies, and founded in 1542 a college at Goa, which before the close of the century numbered 120 members. The natives educated at this institution served as interpreters to Xavier and his assistants in their missionary labours in the East Indies and in Japan, where, in spite of the ingenious objections of the Bonzes, he succeeded in making many converts. No permanent good was, however, effected; for in less than a century after, the Dutch, in the interests of their commerce, assisted in driving all the Christians from Japan. Xavier died on his voyage to China in 1552. Towards the end of the century, the Jesuit Ricci established a mission in that country which met with some partial success. King John III. of Portugal despatched Jesuit missionaries into Brazil in 1549, some of whom found their way into Paraguay. The conquest of this country by the Spanish Jesuits at the beginning of the seventeenth century is a singular event in the history of mankind. Aided by the children of some of the natives whom they had taught Spanish, they penetrated by degrees into that savage country, introducing flocks and herds, teaching the inhabitants to sow and reap, to make bricks, to build houses, in short, all the arts of civilised life. The people of Paraguay became the devoted servants, nay, almost the slaves of the Jesuits; who, although they acknowledged the authority of the King of Spain, and paid as a sort of tribute a piastre a head for their subjects, ruled quite independently of the Spanish government. As the masters as well as the rulers of the Paraguayans, the Jesuits distributed to them the

hemp, the cotton, the wool and other raw materials which they were to manufacture; they were allowed to possess neither money nor arms, although the priests exercised them in the use of the latter, and converted them into excellent soldiers. Thus the Jesuits were at once the founders, lawgivers, pontiffs and sovereigns of this singular state. As the Roman Catholic religion thus began to spread abroad into distant countries, Pope Gregory XV. established in 1622 in support of its diffusion the *Congregatio de propaganda Fide*; and a few years afterwards Urban VIII. bestowed on it the building, or college, of that name (1627).

The bigotry and intolerance of Charles V. and Philip II. and of monks like Torquemada and Ximenes, were one cause of the subsequent decline of Spain; in the general policy and especially the wretched commercial system of those monarchs we must look for others.

Towards the end of Charles V.'s reign, Spain seemed to have reached the zenith of her prosperity, and in the year 1543 we find that sovereign congratulating himself on the flourishing state of the Indian trade whose operations were conducted at Seville. "Thanks be to God, he exclaimed, it has ever increased and still increases daily,"²² But the possession of the New World was regarded as supplying the means for subjugating the Old; and the command of an apparently inexhaustible source of wealth only prompted Charles and his son to gratify their ambition or their bigotry by plunging into those expensive and ruinous wars which at length exhausted even the Spanish treasures: a result which a wretched fiscal policy contributed to hasten.

It was an evil hour when governments bethought themselves of increasing the wealth and prosperity of their subjects by fiscal regulations; yet the idea seems to have been coeval with the extension of commerce, and the Venetians, the first nation of modern Europe that enjoyed any considerable trade, were also among the first to invent restrictions, prohibitions, and monopolies. Nothing could be narrower and more selfish than the spirit of their commercial laws. Foreigners were subjected to double customs' duties; they could neither build nor purchase ships in Venetian ports; they were forbidden to be received on board a vessel of the state, or to contract a partnership with any subject of the republic. Ingenious foreign artisans were encouraged to settle in the Venetian dominions, while native artisans and mechanics were forbidden under the severest penalties to emigrate. The nearest relatives of

²² *Nueva Recopilacion*, ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 401.

such as attempted to do so and did not return when ordered, were thrown into prison; if the emigrant persisted in his disobedience, emissaries were employed to kill him!²³ It is impossible to carry further the selfish and cruel jealousy of trade.

The system of prohibition and exclusion adopted by the Venetians in their economical policy, was imitated by other countries. Among these, Spain was remarkable; which, at one time, seemed destined, through its discoveries and conquests in the New World, to become the leading commercial nation of Europe; a station to which it might doubtless have attained under a better system of political economy. The ruin of Spanish trade and commerce had already been initiated under Charles V. Under the reign of that monarch the commercial code of Spain was distinguished by the singular feature of a prohibition of exports with the view of making articles cheap at home. In 1552 the export of cloth as well as of all spun and combed wool was forbidden. In the same year the Cortés proposed that the importation of foreign silk should be allowed, and the exportation of home manufactured prohibited. It was also forbidden to export corn, cattle, and leather. Reversing the very rudiments of economical policy, exorbitant duties were laid on the exportation of manufactured articles, and upon the importation of raw materials. We see in these regulations the germs of inevitable ruin, and one of the causes which drained the country of the specie acquired by so much cruelty and bloodshed. At the end of the sixteenth century Spanish pistoles were much more common in France than in Spain, because the French exported freely their corn and wine, while the Spaniards would suffer nothing to quit the country.²⁴ The consequences soon became apparent in the shutting up of the manufactories, so that in 1558 it was found necessary to relax the prohibition, at least on the Portuguese frontier.²⁵ But the blow was irremediable, and fashion soon put the seal to a ruinous system that had been initiated by ignorance. In 1560 we find complaints that silk and woollen stuffs, brocades, tapestry, arms, all came from abroad, although the materials for their manufacture were abundant in Spain; nay, that the foreigner actually made them of Spanish products and then set his own price upon them. The use of foreign articles begat a liking for them, which became a fashion. No better silk could be

²³ Statutes of the State Inquisition, Art. 26, ap. Blanqui, *Hist. de l'Economie Polit.* t. i. p. 268.

²⁴ Forbonnais, *Recherches sur les Finances de France*, ap. Twiss, *View of the*

Progress of Political Economy in Europe, p. 41.

²⁵ See Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. 401 ff.; Twiss, *ibid.* p. 6.

produced than in Granada and Murcia, yet that of Italy and China was preferred. English jackets, Lombard caps, German shoes, Dutch linen, Antwerp table-cloths, Brussels tapestry, Flemish cabinet ware, became all the vogue. People appeared by day in Florentine brocade, and slept at night under outlandish bed-hangings. France supplied the children of Spain with their toys, her monks and nuns with their beads and rosaries. She was dependent on foreigners even for the materials of war: it was necessary to fetch wood and gunpowder from Flanders, metal and men to cast it from Italy; for Spain had no cannon foundries of her own.

Other circumstances that militated against commerce in Spain were the idleness, pride, and bigotry of the Spaniards. The nation was divided into two classes, between which there was a continual jealousy: the *Hidalgos*, or nobles, and the *Pecheros*, or persons employed in trade and agriculture. The *Hidalgos* enjoyed peculiar privileges, and are expressly named as entitled to favour by Ferdinand and Isabella, "because through them we achieved our conquests."²⁶ This class would have deemed itself disgraced by any other profession than that of arms. They were regarded as the pith and marrow of the nation; they filled all the offices of state; a municipal town would have been affronted by the appointment of a trader to be its *corregidor*; the *Cortés* of Aragon would admit no member who had been engaged in commerce. As neither the house, the horse, the mule, nor the arms of a *Hidalgo* could be seized for debt, nor his personal liberty be infringed, nor taxes be imposed upon him, everybody naturally wished to belong to an order which enjoyed so large a share of public favour; and so many claims were consequently made to the privileges of the *Hidalguia*, that, although the tribunals set apart every Saturday for the examination of them, it was often found insufficient. The interest of money being high in Spain, if a *roturier* could scrape together some 7000 ducats, which would yield an income of about 500, he settled it on his eldest son as a *majorat*, or patrimony. The son of a *ci-devant* farmer or shopkeeper now considered himself a noble, and dubbed himself *Don*; while his younger brothers began to be ashamed of their callings, and wanted the same title. Those who had no chance of attaining to such a rank, often turned their views towards a convent; where, if they could not gratify their pride, they might at least indulge their idleness. Hence the number of convents increased enormously in Spain. As the tradesman aped the noble, so the noble aped the King; and because Philip II.

²⁶ *Nueva Recopilacion*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 399.

had founded the Escorial, so the grandees thought it a fine thing to have a monastery on their estates; convents rose on every side and candidates to fill them were always forthcoming. These institutions not only offered an easy, idle life, but also secured a certain degree of respect and importance. Philip III. and his consort founded even more of these schools of idleness than Philip II.; and in the reign of the former it was computed that Spain contained 988 nunneries, all numerously filled; that there were 32,000 monks of the Dominican and Franciscan orders alone; and that the clergy in the two bishoprics of Pámluna and Calahorra amounted to 20,000.²⁷

A consequence of this state of society was that even the little commerce that remained in Spain fell mostly into the hands of foreigners. The financial embarrassments of Charles V. led him not only to give to Germans and Italians a monopoly of the Indian trade as security for their advances, but even to allow them to encroach upon the birthright of his subjects by engrossing the trade and commerce of the interior. The Fuggers and other great houses to whom Charles was under obligation, obtained commercial privileges that were denied to the natives, such as that of exporting prohibited articles, and others of a similar kind. By degrees these intruders, favoured by such a state of manners as we have described, monopolised not only the higher branches of commerce, but even the smaller handicraft trades; and in 1610 it was computed that there were 160,000 foreigners settled in Castile alone, of whom 10,000 were Genoese.²⁸

In the absence of an adequate revenue from trade, the Spanish government was compelled to lay on very burthensome taxes. In 1594 the *Cortés* complain that a capital of 1000 ducats paid annually 300 to the King, so that in the course of three or four years the whole of it would be swallowed up. Yet people, they said, instead of engaging in commercial enterprises, lived off their capital as long as it would last. Rents were low, yet no farmers could be had; they were either emigrating or else shut up in prison. Scarcely a fifth part of the wool formerly used was now manufactured; whence, as well as through the heavy tax on that commodity, the flocks also began to be greatly diminished. Agriculture and pasturage, manufactures and commerce, drooped together; every town in the kingdom was beginning to be depopulated; many houses were shut up and deserted — the country was

²⁷ Davila, *Felipe III.*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* p. 415.

²⁸ Ranke and Twiss, *ubi supra*.

going to ruin! Such is a picture of Spain at the close of the sixteenth century, and after a hundred years' possession of the treasures of the New World, not drawn from the deductions or descriptions of historical writers, but taken from an official document of the Spanish National Assembly.²⁹

But although the taxes were enormous they brought comparatively little into the royal treasury, the greater part of the produce being swallowed up by the expenses of collection. This abuse was one of the consequences of the sale of offices. As every place had been rendered venal, it followed that Philip II. was most unfaithfully served; and his officers indemnified themselves for their outlay by impounding what passed through their hands. Another evil was, that while the taxes were so high and so badly collected, they were spent out of the country. The government had to procure its necessities abroad; its principal creditors were foreigners; the money once withdrawn from Spain never returned, owing to its absurd fiscal system, and thus the country became every year more and more exhausted. Already in 1540, Charles V., the master of the treasures of the New World, had coined a large quantity of base gold crowns to supply his necessities. So great continued to be the drain of specie in order to purchase foreign manufactures that, in 1603, Philip III. was advised by Lerma to issue a royal edict raising the nominal value of copper money almost to an equality with that of silver.³⁰ All these evils had been aggravated by the impolitic nature of the wars entered into by Philip II. By his quarrel with the Netherlands, besides the expense it entailed, he had deprived himself of one of his most productive sources of revenue³¹; yet he did not even pursue that war in a manner which might have insured its success, but frittered away his means in pursuit of his chimerical projects in France.

Spain, however, may perhaps be said not so much to have declined as to have returned to the normal condition from which, during about a century, it had been forced by a series of extraordinary events; the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon; the reduction of the Moors; the wonderful discoveries in America, and the enormous accumulation of power in the hands of the House of Austria. All these advantages, which by able rulers

²⁹ *Memorial de las Cortes de 1594*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 412.

³⁰ Blanqui, t. i. p. 282; Gonzalez Davila, ap. Watson, *Philip III.* vol. i. p. 191.

³¹ The average produce of the American mines during the reign of Philip II.

was 11,000,000 ducats (Humboldt, *Essai sur la N. Espagne*, t. iii. p. 428), and the war in the Netherlands cost him 7,000,000 ducats annually (Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Rep.* ii. 518).

might have been developed into a permanent system of power, were thrown away by the absurd and reckless mode of government which we have just described, and Spain returned to the condition depicted by the Venetian Navagero in his *Viaggio* in 1526.³² Even Catalonia is described by that writer as then ill-peopled and little cultivated; Aragon was for the most part desolate; in Castile the traveller found extensive tracts of desert, with now and then a *Venta*, commonly uninhabited, and resembling rather a caravansary than an hotel.

From the depths of a Neapolitan dungeon the monk Thomas Campanella, who had been convicted in 1598 of attempting to establish a sort of utopian republic in Calabria³³, addressed to Philip III. of Spain a remarkable prediction of that country's decline, founded on the actual appearances which it presented. The Spaniards, he observed, who so haughtily keep aloof from other people, who neglect agriculture and commerce, and esteem only the profession of arms, will soon exhaust themselves; they will never be able to recover their losses, and their wealth will pass away into the hands of the foreigner. Already the most useful arts of life languish in neglect, and without manufactures, agriculture or trade, how can any people hope to prosper? So indolent are the Spaniards that they do not even deign to record the great actions which they achieve. Campanella reviews and condemns the system of taxation; advises the encouragement of navigation, because the key of the ocean is the key of the world; recommends the equality of civil laws; the accession of all classes to power; the encouragement of art and manufacture, as things of more real value than mines of gold and silver. And while he thus proclaims the approaching ruin of Spain, the prophetic monk announces in glowing terms the renovation of the world through the wonderful discoveries of science, and the irresistible progress of human liberty and knowledge.³⁴ Let us follow awhile his far-seeing glance. Ruin approached with a more rapid stride than even he might have anticipated. Between the years 1600 and 1619 the peasantry in the bishopric of Salamanca had decreased from 8384 to 4135, or more than one half, and depopulation was going on at the same rate in other parts of Spain.³⁵ The most fertile fields

³² Apud Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 397.

³³ The little band of original thinkers who arose in Calabria towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the insurrection in which Campanella was one of the principal leaders, are described by Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xv.

³⁴ The treatise of Campanella, *De Monarchia Hispanica*, has gone through many editions, and was translated into English by Chilmead, with a preface by the celebrated William Prynne, 1659.

³⁵ Davila, *Felipe III.* an. 1619, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 417.

were left unploughed, the houses were everywhere dilapidated and decayed. The first *Cortés* of Philip IV., who ascended the Spanish throne in 1621, complain that if things went on in their present course there would soon be no labourers for the field, no pilots for the sea; people would no longer marry, the nation would become extinct, the clergy alone surviving without a flock! The chief cities, they remark, are filled with beggars; whole families abandon house and home and adopt mendicency as affording the only chance of support. Yet, though they saw and felt these evils, so blinded were the Spaniards with bigotry, so utterly unconscious that it was one of the chief sources of their misery, that these very *Cortés* could suggest no better remedy than to change the patron saint! Their proposition to hand over Spain to the protection of St^a Teresa de Jesus was, however, opposed on the ground that their former patron St. Iago might take offence, "under whose protection they had seen the whole world at their feet, and the nation enlightened by science and virtue!"²⁶

The ancient maritime commerce which the Catalans had shared with Genoa and Venice partook in the general decay. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the trade of Barcelona was still flourishing, and does not then appear to have been much injured by the Portuguese discoveries. That city prided itself on a saying of Charles V., that he deemed it more honourable and important to be Count of Barcelona than to have received the Roman crown. In 1529, however, Charles fitted out his last fleet from the remnant of the Catalan marine. Ten more years and Barcelona had a consul neither at Tunis nor Alexandria; commerce with Constantinople and the Levant was a thing to be no longer contemplated. The new route of ocean commerce was one of the causes of this decline; a still more direct one was the predominance of the Turkish navy in the Mediterranean after the victories of Barbarossa over the Spanish and Venetian fleets in the Ionian Sea in 1538, the alliance between Sultan Solymán and Francis I., and the settlements of the Mahometans on the coast of Africa.

France, like Spain, was also suffering from an erroneous system of political economy introduced by Birago, the *Garde des Sceaux*, or chancellor, of Catherine de' Medici, before whose time the trade of France seems to have been unfettered. By birth an Italian, Birago had adopted the prohibitive and protective theories of Venice and other Italian cities, though his regulations were somewhat better than those observed in Spain, and were intended to

²⁶ *Cortes primeras de Felipe IV.*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 417 f.

promote the manufactures of France. He discountenanced only the exportation of raw materials (*matières premières*) and the importation of manufactured articles; a system which from this time forward plays a great part in the laws and policy of France.³⁷ Thus the export of wool, flax, hemp, &c., was forbidden, and on the other hand the importation of woollen and linen cloths, gold and silver lace, velvet, satin, arms, tapestry, &c. Drugs and spices could enter only at certain ports, as Marseilles, Rouen, Bordeaux, and La Rochelle. These laws were accompanied with others regulating the prices of articles. . Special commissions of notables were appointed in every town to assess the price of victuals, cloths, and other goods, as well as to settle the rate of labourers' wages. This injudicious meddling had the same operation as in Spain, though not to the same extent, of depressing the trade and industry of the nation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century French manufactures had much deteriorated. France had at one time the reputation of making the best cloth in the world, both for dye and texture, but it had now entirely lost its character. The trade in scarlet cloth exported to Turkey, which in the time of Francis I. had been very large, had been entirely lost. The Turkey trade was now carried on by the French with ready money only. The author of the *Advis au Roi* ³⁸, published in 1614, complains that Marseilles alone sent annually to Turkey seven million crowns of silver, and attributes to this cause the scarcity of that metal in France; what little there was being mostly foreign coin,* and of baser alloy than the French. The chief cause of the great drain of money in that direction was that France still imported her spices, drugs, and cottons from Turkey instead of procuring them from the East Indies, either through the Amsterdam Company, or by establishing a company of her own. Other manufactures, as that of leather, had also deteriorated; and although glass had long been used in France, it was only recently that it had begun to be made there. As in Spain, the caprice of fashion had also proved injurious to trade. The French gentry disdained to wear articles of home manufacture, and procured instead, at an extravagant price, the rich cloths and silks of Venice and Genoa; while the inhabitants of those towns themselves went very simply clad. The Parisians, however, were already distinguished for their taste in manufacturing articles of domestic luxury, and the silver plate

³⁷ See Isambert, *Recueil d'anciennes Lois Françaises*, t. xiv. p. 241.

³⁸ It will be found in the *Archives Curieuses*, 2^{de} sér. t. i. On the trade of

France at this period, see also Laffemas, *Hist. du Commerce de France*, *ibid.* 1^{re} sér. t. xiv.

made in that capital was in great demand throughout the world. The paper manufactory was also flourishing.

Thus commerce drooped, and what little existed was mostly in the hands of aliens, and especially of Italians settled at Marseilles. Commercial pursuits were not regarded with favour by the higher classes, and the French gentleman, like the Spanish hidalgo, considered arms to be the only honourable profession. The decay of trade was aggravated by the want of good internal communications. In consequence of the badness of the roads merchants were in many places compelled to send their goods thirty or forty leagues round, a circumstance which had caused the ruin of many towns. The rates levied for the maintenance of such roads as existed were often diverted to other purposes; and fraudulent bankrupts and other dishonest persons sometimes took advantage of the neglected and unguarded state of the highways to pretend a robbery or an accident, and thus to defraud their creditors. When Henry IV. was firmly established on the throne, Sully turned his attention to the state of the roads, made them more direct, and planted their sides with elms; which, however, were uprooted by the ignorant populace. The scheme of joining the Mediterranean and the ocean by means of a canal was also agitated in Henry's reign, and appears to have been suggested in a letter of Cardinal Joyeuse to that monarch.³⁹ The plan was subsequently discussed in the council of Marie de' Medici, "but," says Richelieu, "the enterprise was too great for the times, nor was there anybody who cared enough for the commerce and riches of France to support it."⁴⁰ The execution of that useful and magnificent work was reserved for the reign of Louis XVI. Sully, however, commenced the canal of Briare to join the Seine and Loire; a work not completed till the reign of Louis XIII.

France was saved by its agricultural wealth and by the cares of Sully, who, though he paid little attention to commerce, and indeed strangely regarded foreign trade and home manufactures as sources of impoverishment⁴¹, was careful to develop the natural resources of France, and to restore its financial system to a sound and vigorous condition. Giovanni Botero, an Italian who wrote towards the end of the sixteenth century, remarks that France possessed four magnets which served to attract the wealth of other countries: its corn, which helped to supply Spain and Portugal; its wine, exported to England, Flanders, and the Baltic; its salt,

³⁹ *Archives Curieuses*, 2^{de} sér. t. i. p. 12, ed. note. On the state of trade, finance, &c., under Henry IV., the work of

M. Poisson is of great authority.

⁴⁰ *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 179.

⁴¹ Blanqui, *ibid.* t. i. p. 357.

manufactured on the shores of the Mediterranean and the ocean; and its hemp and cloth, in demand at Lisbon and Seville, for the sails and cordage of the Portuguese and Spanish shipping.⁴² The breeding of cattle, however, does not seem to have kept pace with the progress of agriculture; horses, in particular, it was found necessary to import from Turkey, Italy, Spain, England, Germany, and other places.

Hence, although France had gone through near half a century of civil wars carried on in the name of religion, which to a great extent had re-established the empire of the middle ages, she was nevertheless in a much more flourishing condition, and enjoyed better future prospects at the beginning of the sixteenth century than Spain, in spite of the vast colonial possessions of the latter country, the internal peace which had reigned in it, and the absolute authority acquired by its monarchs. This last advantage was the only thing yet wanting to render France more than a match for Spain in the politics of Europe, and in that rivalry between the two nations for precedence, which will hereafter occupy so much of our attention. After the peace of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes, the old struggle between the French crown and the French nobles still remained to be renewed. It was necessary that France should become a great monarchy before it could be a great nation, and from this period it was the constant aim of the government to centralise the power of the King; an object not thoroughly attained till the reign of Louis XIV.

The very conditions on which Henry IV. had made his peace with the heads of the League presented an obstacle to this centralisation. He had been forced to purchase their submission with governments, fortresses and money, thus creating a new class of powerful vassals, almost as formidable as those feudal ones which it had been the constant aim of Louis XI. to control and humiliate. Although the twelve great governments were of royal delegation, yet the holders of them were often obeyed by the inhabitants of these provinces in preference to the King. In 1599, when Henry IV. was troubled by the machinations of the Spanish Court, the Duke de Montpensier insulted him with the proposition that governors should be allowed to hold their provinces as proprietors, doing only liege homage to the crown; and he assured the King that he would thus always be provided with the means of raising an army.⁴³ To check the power of the governors, Henry sometimes appointed lieutenant-generals in the provinces; but these officers became

⁴² Botero, ap. Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 197.

⁴³ Anquetil, *Intrigue du Cabinet*, t. i. p. 18 sq.

sometimes as formidable as the governors themselves. The court had also begun to oppose the old hereditary aristocracy by another kind of nobles more dependent on the crown, that of the "Dukes and Peers" (*la duché-pairie*) created by letters-patent: an order that pretended to the first rank of nobility. At the accession of Henry III. there had been only eight such *duchés-pairies*; when Henry IV. ascended the throne there were eighteen, and the Bourbons in every reign created new.⁴⁴

But there was also a class of lower nobles, having the command of a fortress or two, who could set the royal authority at defiance. As the theory and practice of engineering and fortification were then in their infancy, the King might be bearded by the commandant of a single fortress, provided he had a devoted garrison; while a confederation of three or four such commanders might make the monarch tremble on his throne. France was covered with such places, which served more to support the power of the nobles than for the defence of the kingdom. The fortress called *Le Castellet*, which commanded the town of Château-Renard, affords a specimen of one. The walls were four and a half *toises* thick, with many casemated chambers, and a subterranean passage running through the whole building. It contained dungeons, magazines, a well, windmills for grinding corn and an oven to convert it into bread; while for its defence it was stored with battering cannon and falconets, gunpowder and ammunition of all descriptions.⁴⁵ Richelieu caused most of this kind of castles to be dismantled after the taking of La Rochelle. The holders of such places, and indeed the higher nobility of France in general, were for the most part grossly illiterate, priding themselves only on their prowess and feats of arms, which were frequently exhibited in sanguinary duels. The Constable Montmorency who died in 1614, who was reputed one of the most perfect cavaliers of his time, was so illiterate that he could scarcely write his name. There were of course occasional exceptions to this remark, as, for instance, Marshal Biron. One day Biron showed himself better informed respecting some of the antiquities preserved at Fontainebleau than a professed scholar who was present; but he was half ashamed of his knowledge, and only communicated it over his shoulder as he was in the act of going away.⁴⁶ The ferocity of the nobles and the

⁴⁴ Sismondi, *Hist. des Franç.* t. xv. p. 142:

⁴⁵ Anquetil, *ibid.* t. ii. p. 174 note.

⁴⁶ Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.* B. ii. S. 84. It may be remarked, however, that Péréfixe in his *Hist. du Roy Henri le Grand*, represents Biron as having, like his bro-

ther nobles, no need to conceal his knowledge: "Il est bon de sçavoir que ce Mareschal estoit fort ignorant, mais extrêmement curieux des prédictions des astrologues, devins, geomantiens, et autres affronteurs."— p. 393, Elzevir ed. 1661.

fashion of duelling had been nourished by the frivolous and at the same time sanguinary reign of Henry III., who with an effeminate love of febrile emotions accorded his favour to none but duellists. The more manly heart of Henry IV. was bent on repressing the practice, and in 1602 he published an edict declaring guilty of high treason and consequently amenable to capital punishment, whosoever should be engaged in a duel either as principal or second. But this law proved too severe to be executed; and between 1601 and 1609 no fewer than 2000 gentlemen were killed in duels!⁴⁷ In the latter year Henry published a milder edict, referring all persons who had been affronted to himself to decide whether a duel could be permitted. Whoever sent or accepted a challenge without such authority was to lose his right of reparation, and to be deprived of all his offices and employments; and he who killed his adversary in such an unlicensed duel was to be punished with death without sepulture, and his children were to be disgraced for a term of ten years.⁴⁸

In the state of disorganisation in which France was left by the civil wars, and in the midst of that rude and insolent nobility, she was fortunate in possessing such a king as Henry IV. and such an administrator as Sully. With all his faults, Henry did not suffer even the greatest of them, his unconquerable addiction to women, to make him forget his kingly office, and even the spell of the charming Gabrielle was powerless to resist the calls of duty and the stern admonitions of Sully. Nothing could present a greater contrast than did his court with that of his voluptuous, effeminate and extravagant predecessor. To repress the disorders of the nobility, which had been encouraged by Henry III., he told his nobles that they must accustom themselves to live off their own property, without recourse to the royal coffers, or oppressing their own vassals with a thousand robberies and extortions; and he advised them, as peace was now restored, to return to their homes and look after the cultivation of their estates. Knowing, moreover, how apt the French nobility is to follow the example of their king, he taught them by his own mode of dress to retrench their superfluous finery. He commonly wore a grey cloth and a doublet of satin or taffety, without pinking, lace or embroidery, and he

⁴⁷ Fontenai-Mareuil, ap. Martin, t. x. p. 469. The Memoirs of the period and the works of Brantome abound with accounts of duels, The celebrated one between Jarnac and La Châtaigneraie in 1547, terminated by the *coup de Jarnac*, has be-

come classical in French history. M. Michelet has devoted two chapters to a most graphic description of it. *Guerres de Religion*, ch. i. and ii.

⁴⁸ Isambert, t. xv. p. 351.

ridiculed those who went too finely clad, and carried, as he said, their windmills and their forests on their backs.⁴⁹

Henry's counsellor Maximilian de Béthune Baron Rosni and afterwards Duke of Sully, on whom he had early cast his eye, was precisely the man capable of assisting him in the reorganisation of France. The stoical, nay, somewhat cynical, manners of Sully were little calculated to conciliate friends. He was rude, obstinate, proud, self-interested, but he had displayed great financial ability, and Henry saw that even his repulsive qualities, his avarice included, rendered him the very man for the conjuncture. All the King required of him was that he would bestow as much care on the royal revenue as he had done on his own; nor cared to inquire whether his minister made his own fortune at the same time with that of the State. Rosni did not indeed belong to that order of statesmen who forget themselves. His income was 200,000 livres, and he possessed a couple of million in trinkets.⁵⁰ His rough and somewhat brutal manners served to stem the opposition that he encountered. At the command of the King he had undertaken in the summer of 1596 a sort of financial voyage of discovery throughout France; when, armed with unlimited powers, he had suspended the greater part of the officers of finance, examined their accounts for the last four years, and returned to the King with seventy cart-loads of silver, amounting to half a million crowns, the fruits of his researches. Such was the rapacity of the *traitants*, or farmers of the revenue, that of 150 millions levied in taxes scarce thirty found their way into the royal treasury.⁵¹ Besides putting an end to the thefts of the financiers, Sully also repressed the extortions of the governors of provinces. He had found the State charged with a debt of nearly 300 million francs, and having a disposable revenue of only from seven to nine millions; in 1610, after a lapse of twelve years, one third of this debt had been paid off, the net revenue had been doubled, and now yielded sixteen millions, exclusive of four millions arising from a better management of the royal domains and other sources: and the King had at his immediate disposal a rest or reserve of more than twenty millions, three fourths of which were deposited in specie at the Bastille.⁵²

By the wise and energetic measures of Sully, France was saved from that ruin which menaced Spain, and began rapidly to rise in the scale of nations. Giovanni Botero, an Italian writer who

⁴⁹ Pérèfixe, *Hist. de Henri le Grand*, p. 260.

⁵⁰ Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. ii. S. 80.

⁵¹ Blanqui, *Hist. de l'Econ. Polit.* t. i. p. 352.

⁵² Martin, t. x. p. 440 sq.

flourished towards the end of the sixteenth century, says, that France was at that time the greatest, richest, and most populous of all the European kingdoms, and contained fifteen million inhabitants. Paris, with a population of 450,000 souls, was, with the exception, perhaps, of Moscow, the largest capital in Europe. The weak and profligate Henry III., by making that city his constant residence, had contributed much to enlarge and improve it. The earlier kings had preferred their castles on the Loire; Francis I. had commonly resided in the neighbourhood of Paris; Henry II. had held his court somewhat more frequently in the capital; but Charles IX. had been mostly banished from it by the religious wars.⁵³ According to the Italian writer whom we have just cited, the three European cities of the first rank and magnitude were, at that time, Moscow, Constantinople, and Paris. London could only claim a second rank, with Naples, Lisbon, Prague, Milan, and Ghent; each containing some 160,000 inhabitants; whence, Botero too hastily infers that England, Naples, Portugal, Bohemia, Milan, and Flanders, were states of equal magnitude and power. The size of the metropolis is not always a criterion of the strength of a kingdom. But Botero's inference will show the estimation in which England was then held among foreigners. Spain certainly was, or had been, the leading nation of Europe; yet that country did not contain any city even of such magnitude as these last; a circumstance owing partly to its having been divided into several small kingdoms, partly to its want of large rivers. The chief cities were those in which the ancient kings and princes had held their seats; as Barcelona, Saragossa, Valentia, Cordova, Toledo, Burgos, Leon. Madrid was increasing through the residence of Philip II.; but the cities to which a Spaniard could point with most pride were Granada, the ancient capital of the Moorish sultans; Seville, enriched by being the seat of the American trade; and Valladolid, which had long been the residence of the Spanish monarchs. In Italy, Rome owed its splendour to the residence of the Pope; Milan and Venice were stationary, if not declining, and were no larger than they had been four centuries before; Cracow and Vilna were the two chief cities of Poland; in Russia, besides Moscow, Voladimir and Great Novgorod.⁵⁴

England, under the rule of Elizabeth and her able ministers, was, at the period we have been surveying, fast rising in the scale of nations, though the population was then perhaps hardly more

⁵³ Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. i. S. 376.

⁵⁴ Botero, ap. Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 194 sq. Bodin, author of *La Répub-*

lique, published in 1577, estimates the population of Venice at 180,440. *Ibid.* p. 120.

numerous than that now contained in the metropolis, and though the habits of the people were widely different from what they are at present. Meteren, the Flemish historian⁵⁵, who long resided in London, describes the English as being indolent, like the Spaniards, instead of laborious, like the French and Hollanders, fond of dress, field sports and good living. The more ingenious handicrafts were all exercised by foreigners, nor did the natives even cultivate the soil to the extent which they might; though England at that time exported, instead of importing grain. Nevertheless, had England continued to enjoy a vigorous government, she would soon have been fitted to play a great part in the affairs of Europe; but the weakness of the first two Stuarts, and the corruption and bigotry of their successors, impaired, and almost destroyed, during the seventeenth century, her weight as a European power. It was, however, a recoil to make a stronger bond, supported by the security of her domestic liberties.

The true principles of commerce were at first ill-understood in England as in other countries, though perhaps not to so great an extent; and she was the first to improve upon them in practice. Sounder theories of political economy and the monetary system, owe their birth to Italy, and, indeed, to so uncommercial a country as Calabria. Antonio Serra, a fellow-countryman of Campanella's, to whose admonitions addressed to Philip III. we have already adverted, and a partaker in his unsuccessful attempt to rescue Calabria from the Spanish yoke, addressed in 1613 from the Neapolitan dungeon of the Vicaria to the viceroy Lemos, his work⁵⁶ on the methods of procuring an abundant supply of the precious metals in countries which do not possess mines; a book which may be regarded as inaugurating the science of political economy. But how great is the gulf between theory and practice, our own times have shown; and indeed the practical statesmen and merchants of England had taken a step in the right direction before the publication of Serra's book. While statesmen, like Sully, harboured the popular prejudice against the exportation of gold and silver, the English East India Company, at its first establishment in 1600, had obtained permission to export annually 30,000*l*. It was still held, indeed, that the precious metals were the sole true elements of wealth, and that the employment of them abroad was wholesome and legitimate only when the commodities procured with them should realise in foreign markets a still larger amount, and thus

⁵⁵ Ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 307.

⁵⁶ Entitled, *Breve Trattato delle cause*

che possono far abbondare li regni d'oro e d'argento dove non sono miniere. See Twiss, p. 8.

raise a balance to be paid in specie. By degrees, however, juster notions began to prevail; it was at length discovered that gold and silver are nothing but commodities, and that the circulation of them, like that of any other article, should be unrestricted. These ideas at length made their way into the House of Commons, and in 1663 the statutes prohibiting the exportation of coin and bullion were repealed.⁵⁷ The publications of Mr. Thomas Mun were very useful in establishing better notions of commerce; but that author was also the first who rendered popular the celebrated theory of the balance of trade; a system, whose errors were pernicious, not only by inducing governments to tamper with trade instead of leaving it free to find its own channels, but also, what was still worse, by leading nations to regard the prosperity of their neighbours as incompatible with their own. Hence arose among them a desire to hurt and impoverish one another: commerce, that should naturally be a bond of union, became an occasion of discord, and the jealousy of trade not only impelled them to contend with hostile tariffs, but even gave rise to frequent and bloody wars.

Before the close of Elizabeth's reign, Raleigh had made a first but unsuccessful attempt to found an English colony in America; and it was reserved for her successor, James I., to initiate that colonial system by which England has been distinguished among modern nations. We pass over this subject, as well as the first attempts of the English to trade with India and America, as well known to the English reader, and as foreign to our purpose, except in so far as they were the occasions of quarrels with the Spanish government. It must be confessed that the voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and others, to the New World, were little better than piratical, though justified perhaps by the absurd and exclusive pretensions of Spain, as well as by that underhand system of hostility and annoyance, without an open breach, which had during many years prevailed between the two countries. If Drake surprised the Spanish settlements on the Pacific and returned with untold treasure, Philip was aiding and abetting a rebellion in Ireland, or scheming the assassination of the heretic English Queen. It must, however, be acknowledged that the piracies of the English had often no such excuse, being in many cases exercised on friendly nations, as the French, the Dutch, and the Danes. After the peace of Vervins, the French maritime commerce with Spain and Belgium was terribly annoyed by the English privateers: we find the Danes also complaining, and in

⁵⁷ Twiss, p. 49.

1599 Elizabeth issued a proclamation enjoining all masters of vessels having letters of marque to give security before they put to sea, that they would commit no injury on the subjects of friendly powers.⁵⁸ Thus the hardy mariners of England, like those of ancient Greece, were nursed in piracy, and seem like them to have felt glory rather than shame in the exercise of a profession to which the boundless sea opens so many temptations and facilities.⁵⁹ The disputes which hence arose had nearly produced a war between England and France, till in 1606 they were put an end to by a treaty of commerce; by which all letters of reprisals were annulled on both sides, and many salutary regulations adopted respecting trade.⁶⁰

The opening of a more extensive commerce with Russia, which had hitherto been confined to Narva, was of a more legitimate nature. In the year 1553 a Joint-Stock Company was established in London, under the direction of the celebrated Sebastian Cabot, for the prosecution of maritime discovery, and a squadron of three ships, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, doubled the North Cape in search of a north-eastern passage. Sir Hugh, with two of his ships, was compelled by the approach of winter to seek shelter in a harbour of Russian Lapland, where he and his crews were all frozen to death. In the following summer they were discovered by some Russian fishermen in the same attitudes in which death had surprised them; the commander still sitting at his cabin table with his diary and other papers open before him. The third vessel, under Richard Chancellor, was fortunate enough to run into the White Sea, or Bay of St. Nicholas; and the crews landing at the Abbey of St. Nicholas near Archangel, were enabled to weather the rigour of the season.⁶¹ Chancellor employed the opportunity to seek an interview with the Czar, John Basilowitz, at Moscow, and to obtain for English commerce important privileges at Archangel, and other ports in those seas, which had been hitherto unvisited by any ships of burthen. The Russians were the more inclined to enter into this connection, as Livonia, whence their products were shipped to the rest of Europe, was now in the hands of the Teutonic Order. Another fruit of this voyage was the discovery of the whale fishery at Spitzbergen. In the following year (1554) a charter of incorporation was granted by Queen

⁵⁸ Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 364.

⁵⁹ Οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὸ πάλαι—ἐτρώποντο πρὸς ληστείαν—οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνην τοῦτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον.—Thucyd. i. 5.

⁶⁰ Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 645: cf. Poirson,

Hist. du Règne de Henri IV. t. ii. p. 115 sqq.

⁶¹ An account of this voyage was written by Clement Adam, from materials supplied by Chancellor, under the title of *Anglorum Navigatio ad Moscovitas*.

Mary to the merchant adventurers engaged in this trade, who were subsequently called the Russia Company. In 1555 Chancellor and his companions again visited Moscow, where they were hospitably entertained at the expense of the Czar, who granted them some further important privileges; and in the same year a Muscovite ambassador visited the Court of London. A few years after, Anthony Jenkinson, the energetic agent of the Russia Company, sailed down the Wolga to Astrachan, crossed the Caspian Sea into Persia, established at Bokhara a trade with the merchants of India, Persia, Russia and Cathay, or China, and the silks and other products of the East were conveyed by the route thus opened to Kolmogro, on the White Sea, and shipped thence to England.⁶² In 1566 the Russia Company was sanctioned and confirmed by an express statute, the first of the kind passed by the English Parliament.

In the year 1581 was incorporated a trading company of the same kind, the English Turkey, or Levant, Company. We have already had occasion to note the commencement of a trade between England and the Porte; to which we need not again advert. But the most important of all the commercial associations formed during the reign of Elizabeth was the East India Company, established by charter, 31st December 1600, for the purpose of carrying on a direct trade to the Indies. In this enterprise, however, we had been anticipated by the Dutch.

The history of Holland at this period affords a striking example how the spirit of liberty not only serves to secure the domestic happiness of a people, but also to promote their wealth, and power and thus to make them respected abroad. The war of independence became a source of prosperity to the new republic. Although engaged in a long and arduous struggle with the Spaniards, their former masters, then reputed the leading power in Europe, the trade and commerce of the Dutch had gone on increasing every year, while their navy had attained to such a force as rendered them equal, if not superior, at sea, to any European nation.⁶³ So Athens reached her highest pitch of power and glory during her struggle with Persia; and though the Dutch will not afford many points of comparison with the Athenians, besides their naval strength, yet the insolence, vain glory, and radical weakness of the Spaniards may find no

⁶² See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 632 (ed. 1747). Cf. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 114 sqq.

⁶³ The marine of the United Provinces was far superior to that of England to-

wards the close of the sixteenth century. *Report of the magistrates of Amsterdam, Hague Archives*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 133.

unapt counterparts among the Persians. From the middle of the sixteenth century the maritime commerce of the Dutch had been gradually superseding that of the Hanse Towns; against which trading confederacy a terrible blow had also been struck by the regulations of Queen Elizabeth.⁶⁴ Before the close of the century the Dutch had become the chief carriers between the southern and northern parts of Europe. During the years 1586 and 1587, the most miserable years of the struggle, more than 800 ships entered the Dutch ports. The merchants and manufacturers of Brabant and Flanders flocked into Holland and Zealand, and contributed so much to the wealth and population of those provinces that it became necessary to build new towns, and add to the streets of the old ones. This prosperity was accompanied with a corresponding decline in the southern, or obedient, provinces of the Netherlands. In these, large districts once fertile had become waste; whole villages, and even some small towns, had been literally depopulated; the fox, the wolf, and the wild boar prowled around even the larger cities, and in the winter of 1586-7, two hundred persons were killed by wild beasts in the neighbourhood of Ghent. Nobles and wealthy citizens had been reduced to beggary, and peasants and artisans were forced to turn soldiers or brigands.⁶⁵ Antwerp had been completely ruined by the closing of the Scheldt. Meanwhile the Dutch, not content with merely conveying the commodities of the East from the ports of Spain and Portugal to those of northern Europe, resolved to trade on their own account with the Indies, and with this view secured the services of one Cornelius Houtman, a Fleming, who, having made several voyages to India with the Portuguese, was well acquainted not only with the navigation, but also with the ports best adapted for trade. The merchants of Amsterdam now entered into an association called the Company of Distant Countries, and despatched, under Houtman's command, four ships of small burthen, carrying 250 men, with 100 guns, and laden with commodities suitable for the Indian market. After an absence of about two and a half years, Houtman with three of his ships returned to the Texel in August 1597, having penetrated as far as Bantam in

⁶⁴ After many disputes and some deeds of violence, the Steelyard, or house of the Hanse merchants in London, was ordered by Elizabeth to be shut up in 1597. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 212. The great opponents of the Hanseatic League in this country, were the Company of Merchant Adventurers, whose members resided in the principal towns of

England. The limits of their trade lay from the river Somme in France, through the whole extent of the German Ocean; though it was confined to a few staple towns within those boundaries. *Ibid.* p. 220.

⁶⁵ See the authorities collected by Mr. Motley, *Un. Netherl.* vol. ii. p. 129.

Java; but the Portuguese merchants who resided there set the natives against the Dutch, and the profits of the voyage scarcely repaid the expenses of the outfit. It was found, however, that the influence of the Portuguese in the Indies had very much declined since the conquest of Portugal by Philip II.; the rapacity, tyranny, and bad faith of their governors and merchants had disgusted the natives — circumstances which encouraged the Dutch to persevere, especially as they had acquired a good knowledge of those seas, and had brought home with them some native Indians who might be useful in another expedition. They were further stimulated by an edict published by Philip III. soon after his accession, prohibiting his Spanish and Portuguese subjects from all commerce with the Dutch. The States retaliated by similar edicts, and declared that they should regard as enemies the subjects of all neutral powers who should convey commodities to Spanish, Portuguese, or Flemish ports. This manifesto was recognised by France, and natives of that country were warned by their government that they would trade with Spain at their own peril.

After the return of Houtman various trading companies were formed by the Dutch. In the course of the year 1598 upwards of eighty vessels were despatched to all parts of the world, to the East and West Indies, to the coast of Africa, and even to the Pacific Ocean, in squadrons of from four to eight vessels, completely armed, and some provided with troops; so that they were alike prepared to fight or trade. But as these divided associations were not found to yield much profit, they were in the year 1602 amalgamated into one, under the name of the East India Company, with a joint-stock capital of between six and seven million guilders, or about six hundred thousand pounds sterling; and power was conferred upon this society to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Straits of Magellan, to appoint governors, administer justice, build forts, raise troops, &c. Their trade was secure from molestation through the maritime superiority which the Dutch navy now began to assert.⁶⁶ We shall not pursue in detail the history of their settlements in the East, contenting ourselves with remarking that in time they planted factories and settlements along the coasts of Asia from Bassora in the Persian Gulf as far as Japan, and in particular they established themselves in the island of Java, where they made Batavia the central emporium of all their eastern trade. They also appropriated the Molucca and other spice islands, and became at length so powerful in the East as to

⁶⁶ See Watson's *Philip III.* bk. iv.; Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 226.

send out fleets of forty or fifty large ships and an army of thirty thousand men. In short, the foreign commerce of Holland grew so large as quite to overshadow that of England, and to excite the jealousy of our merchants and adventurers, as may be seen in the *Observations*⁶⁷ addressed to James I. by Sir Walter Raleigh shortly before his execution; from which, after making large allowances for exaggeration, it is evident that the trade of the Dutch was then far more considerable than that of the English.

France also appeared as a competitor in the race of colonisation; but that nation does not seem to be well fitted by nature for such enterprises, which, instead of giving birth at once to brilliant and striking results, must be fostered and brought to maturity by long years of patient care and industry. It is, at all events, certain, that the attempts of the French in this way were not crowned with any remarkable success. Sully had observed this characteristic in their national genius; he had dissuaded Henry from renewing the attempts to form plantations in New France⁶⁸; and he might have pointed to their failures at Cape Breton and Florida. But Henry was not to be discouraged. He resolved to compete with Spain and England in the foundation of transatlantic colonies; but in order to avoid disputes with those powers, he confined the researches of his navigators to the regions beyond the fortieth degree N. latitude. These efforts resulted in the foundation by Champlain of the colonies of Acadia and Canada (1608). The Gallic race obtained a permanent footing in the New World, though destined at length to fall under the dominion of their English rivals in that hemisphere. Henry also attempted in 1604 to establish a French East India Company; but there was not commercial enterprise enough in the country to carry out his views. The company remained in abeyance till 1615, when Louis XIII. gave them a new charter, and they took possession of the vast island of Madagascar. But it was soon found not to answer their expectations, and the company sank into oblivion.⁶⁹

While the Western Powers were thus extending their trade and planting colonies in the most distant parts of the then known world, their naval resources, in a military point of view, seem to have been very inadequate to the vastness of their enterprises. Although Queen Elizabeth had sometimes as many as one hundred and fifty ships of war at sea, yet only thirteen of them belonged to herself; the rest consisted of vessels hired from the merchants, and

⁶⁷ An abstract of them will be found in Macpherson, *ibid.* p. 233 sqq.

⁶⁸ Letter of Sully to the President

Jeannin (1608), ap. Martin, t. x. p. 464.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 465 sq.; Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 282.

fitted up on occasion as men of war. King James I. added eleven ships to the royal navy.⁷⁰ The navy of France was in a still worse condition. It appears from the Memoirs of Sully that in the reign of Henry IV. the French did not possess more than some half dozen indifferent ships at Brest and La Rochelle, and a score of galleys in the Mediterranean. It was reserved for Cardinal Richelieu to revive the French navy, and to make the *fleurs de lys* flourish on sea as well as on land; in token of which he caused to be inscribed on the sterns of his new built vessels the motto,

“Florent quoque lilia ponto.”

The Turks, although not naturally fond of the sea, nor a commercial people—for what little trade they had was mostly in the hands either of Europeans, or more especially of Jews—nevertheless surpassed, during the period of their prosperity, the other nations of Europe in their maritime forces. Early in the sixteenth century, under Selim I.; the Turkish fleet numbered 400 sail of all descriptions, carrying 30,000 men. After the time of Selim, though still very formidable, it somewhat declined; and the battle of Lepanto inflicted on it a blow from which it never thoroughly recovered. The rapidity, indeed, with which after that tremendous defeat the Turkish vessels that had been destroyed were replaced with new ones, excited the astonishment of the Bishop of Acqs, the French ambassador to the Porte; but fresh crews could not so easily be supplied, and still less experienced officers.⁷¹ Through mismanagement and neglect the Turkish navy began rapidly to decline towards the end of the sixteenth century; and Sir Thomas Roe, who was at Constantinople in 1622, describes the Turkish galleys as mostly so rotten and decayed that not fifty were fit to put to sea, and those very ill-manned and equipped.⁷² The corsair fleets of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli appear not, however, to have shared this decay. It was remarked early in the seventeenth century that the Beys of those places possessed a fleet of forty large square-rigged vessels, with which they infested the commerce of the Mediterranean; and they are related on one occasion to have blockaded Malaga, while another division of their ships cruised between the Tagus and the Guadalquivir.⁷³

The chief naval stations of the Turks, besides Constantinople

⁷⁰ Macpherson, vol. ii. pp. 155, 230. The whole sum set apart by Elizabeth for the repairs of her fleet was under 9000*l.* per annum. Burchet's *Naval Hist.* *ibid.* p. 194.

⁷¹ *Négociations de France dans le Le-*

vant, t. iii. p. 269.

⁷² *Négociations* of Sir Thos. Roe, pp. 27, 28, &c.

⁷³ Sir F. Cottington's *Letter* to Duke of Buckingham, in Morgan's *Hist. of Algiers*, vol. ii. p. 629.

and Gallipoli, were Nicomedia, Negropont, and Valona in Albania. The Greeks formed the best sailors in the Turkish fleet; galley-slaves for the oars were supplied by Christian prisoners, and there was also a maritime conscription throughout the Ottoman Empire. Before the battle of Lepanto, the Turkish galleys carried only from three to seven guns, one or two of which were of heavy calibre. After that disastrous defeat the number of guns was doubled, yet were still unequal to those of the Venetian ships. The Turks understood but little of manœuvring in line; their tactics were to reserve their fire till they came to close quarters, and then to board the enemy. The Capudan-Pasha, or chief officer of the fleet, not only commanded at sea, but had also the uncontrolled direction of the arsenal. In favour of Chaireddin-Barbarossa, this office was elevated to that of Beglerbeg of the sea and the dignity of a Pasha of two tails; for the sea, like the land, was divided into Sandjaks, fourteen in number. After the taking of Chios by Selim II. in 1566, the Capudan-Pasha was made a Vizier and Pasha of three tails.⁷⁴

Not only the Ottoman navy, but also the empire in general, was beginning towards the close of the sixteenth century to feel the approaches of decay. The wars of Selim II. had so exhausted the treasure, that he caused it to be removed to his private treasury. It had previously been kept in the ancient Byzantine castle, called the "Seven Towers." In the palmy days of the Ottoman empire each of these seven towers had had its appropriate use: one contained the gold, another the silver money; a third the gold and silver plate and jewels; valuable remains of antiquity were deposited in the fourth; in the fifth were preserved ancient coins and other objects, chiefly collected by Selim I. during his expeditions into Persia and Egypt; the sixth was a sort of arsenal, and the seventh was appropriated to the archives. After the time of Selim II. the Seven Towers were used as a prison for distinguished persons and as an arsenal. Amurath III., whose avarice was prodigious, retained and improved upon the custom of his predecessor. He caused, it is said, a vault to be built, with treble locks, in which his treasure was deposited, and over which he slept every night; it was opened only four times a year to receive fresh heaps of wealth, which have been estimated at twelve million ducats annually; but two millions are perhaps nearer the truth.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, B. ii. S. 280 ff.; see also Hadji Khalifeh, *Maritime Wars*, by Mitchell, *passim*;

Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reich.* B. iii. S. 279—329.

⁷⁵ *Inform. Pol.* ap. Zinkeisen, B. iii. S. 353.

More than a century of Turkish despotism had at length done its work. Ragazzoni describes⁷⁶ the Christians in the Ottoman empire in 1571 as so depressed and degraded that they dared hardly look a Turk in the face; the only care of their listless existence was to raise enough for their maintenance, and to pay their *Karatsch*, or poll-tax—all beyond would be seized by the Turks. Constantinople, however, still afforded a secure place of residence, whither the Greeks flocked in great numbers; so that towards the end of the sixteenth century it was reckoned that there were 100,000 of them in that capital. Many of these acquired great wealth, either by trade or by farming certain branches of the Grand-Seignior's revenue. Among them one Michael Kantakuzenus was conspicuous both for his enormous wealth and his intrigues, which procured him the name of the "Devil's Son" (*Seitan Oglie*), although it was thought that he was no true Greek, but an Englishman by birth and belonging to the family of an English ambassador. The fate of whole provinces lay in his hands; he could fit out twenty or thirty galleys at his own expense, and the splendour of his palace at Anchioli rivalled the seraglio of the Grand Seignior. Kantakuzenus had gained his influence through the favour and friendship of Mohammed Sokolli; but even that powerful vizier could not at last save him from the wrath of Amurath III.; and he was hanged before the gate of his own palace (March 1578). The Jews also occupied an important position in the Ottoman empire. From the earliest period the physicians of the Sultan were of the Hebrew race; they monopolised most branches of commerce, they were the chief musical performers, and acted obscene comedies for the entertainment of the Grand Seignior.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ *Relatione*, in Albéri, ii. p. 100* (ser. iii.).

⁷⁷ Gerlach's *Tagebuch* contains much information on the state of Constantinople.

CHAPTER II.

THE peace of Vervins, recorded at the close of the preceding book, was not very well observed on the part of France. The ruling idea that guided the foreign policy of Henry IV. was, to curb the power of the House of Austria: a plan incompatible with the letter of the treaty. In pursuance of this policy Henry became the supporter of Protestantism; not, perhaps, from any lingering affection for his ancient faith—his indifference in such matters has been already seen—but because the Protestants were the natural enemies of the Austrian House. Hence he was determined to support the independence of Holland. He annually paid the Dutch large sums of money; he connived at the recruiting for them in France; and in spite of a royal prohibition, granted at the instance of the Spanish ambassador in 1599, whole regiments passed into the service of the United Provinces.

In aid of his plans Henry fortified himself with alliances on all sides. He courted the Protestant princes of Germany, and incited them to make a diversion in favour of the Dutch; he cultivated the friendship of Venice, reconciled himself with the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and attached the House of Lorraine to his interests by giving his sister, Catherine, in marriage to the Duke of Bar (January 31st 1599); who, formerly, when Marquis de Pont, had been his rival for the French crown. The Porte was propitiated by Savari de Brèves, an able diplomatist, and the vanity of France was gratified by obtaining the protectorate of the Christians in the East. The Pope was gained through his temporal interests as an Italian prince. Henry had promised, on his absolution, to publish in France the decrees of Trent; and, as he had refrained from doing so out of consideration for the Hugonots, he had, by way of compensation, offered to support Clement VIII. in his design of reuniting Ferrara to the dominions of the Church; although the House of Este had often been the faithful ally of France. The direct line of the reigning branch of that family having become extinct on the death of Alphonso, Clement VIII. seized the duchy; and Cæsar d'Este, the cousin and heir of Alphonso, obtained only Modena, an Imperial fief (1597). The connivance of Henry grati-

fied the Pope, and, in spite of the Edict of Nantes, the courts of Rome and Paris remained on good terms.

The friendship of the Pope was also necessary to Henry for his private affairs, as he was meditating a divorce from his consort, Margaret de Valois, from whom he had long been estranged. She had brought him no children, and she was now hiding her debaucheries in an old château in Auvergne; but neither sterility nor adultery was with the Court of Rome a sufficient plea for a divorce, and it was therefore necessary to find some cause of nullity in the marriage itself; a task in general rendered easy by the numerous formalities of the canon law. Besides the extraordinary circumstances of the marriage before related, flaws were discovered in Gregory XIII.'s dispensation for kinship; and as Margaret herself, in consideration of a large pension from the King, and with the prospect of a more unbounded licence to gratify her inclinations, promoted the suit, a divorce was easily obtained (February 1599).

The choice of her successor was more difficult. Love pointed one way, policy another. The charming Gabrielle still possessed Henry's heart; the rival proposed was Mary de' Medici, the offspring of Francis Grand-Duke of Tuscany, by a daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I. A marriage with Gabrielle, now Duchess of Beaufort, would have caused bitter discontent and opposition, as by legitimating her children they might thus have claimed the crown to the detriment of the princes of the blood. Gabrielle was opposed by Sully, though he owed his elevation to the fair favourite, and some violent scenes ensued between them, in which Henry supported the minister against the mistress¹; for with all his love and admiration of women he never suffered himself to be governed by them. The difficulty was solved by the sudden death of Gabrielle, April 8th 1599. She was seized, it is said, with an apoplexy, and being then pregnant, brought forth a dead child; expiring herself thirty-six hours after in such dreadful torments that her lovely face could be no longer recognised. Sinister suspicions arose. The Tuscan Grand-Duke was not unfamiliar with the arts of poison, and on the day before her accouchement, Gabrielle had dined with Zamet, a celebrated Luccese financier of those times.² Henry, who was absent from Paris, though he felt and expressed an unfeigned sorrow for the death of his mistress, harboured no suspicions, and the negotiations for the Florentine

¹ Henry told her bluntly: "Je me passerois mieux de dix maîtresses comme vous que d'un serviteur comme lui."—

Econom. Royales, t. iii. p. 241 (Petitot).

² Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xxii. p. 32.

marriage went on. Mary de' Medici, however, had nearly been supplanted by another rival. Before the end of the summer, Henry had been captivated by a new mistress, Mademoiselle d'Entragues, whom he created Marquise de Verneuil. The new favourite and her father had extorted from Henry a written promise of marriage in case she should bear a child; and though the document was torn by Sully, it was renewed by the love-sick monarch. Luckily, perhaps, for Henry, the fright occasioned by a thunder-storm brought Henriette d'Entragues to bed of a still-born child, and released him from his engagement, though his new passion still continued. The commissaries of the Pope in France had pronounced his marriage with Margaret null in December 1599; and on the 25th of April following the King signed his marriage contract with the Tuscan Princess; the second descendant of the Florentine bankers, who was destined to give heirs to the crown of France.

A domestic rebellion, fomented by Spain and Savoy, diverted awhile the attention of Henry from his plans of foreign policy. Sully's economy and love of order had excited much discontent among the powerful nobles of France; the materials of sedition were accumulated and ready to burst into a flame; and a point that had been left undecided in the treaty of Vervins afforded the means of applying the torch. By that treaty the question between France and Savoy respecting the marquisate of Saluzzo had been referred to the decision of the Pope; but Clement VIII., unwilling to offend either party, had declined to interfere. In order if possible to settle this question, and also to engage Henry to support his pretensions to Geneva, Charles Emmanuel, who then reigned in Savoy, had paid a visit to the French King at Fontainebleau; where, alarmed, apparently, at the idea of being seized and detained, he had agreed to accept La Bresse in exchange for Saluzzo. He had, however, no intention of fulfilling this engagement; and he employed his visit to France in ingratiating himself with the French nobles, many of whom he gained by large gifts and still larger promises. It had been predicted by an astrologer that in the year 1600 there should be no King in France; and Charles Emmanuel made use of a prediction which carried no slight weight in that age, not only to rouse the ambition of the French nobility, but also, it is said, to stimulate a renewal of the odious enterprises against Henry's life. A plan was formed to convert France into an elective monarchy, like the German empire, and to establish each great lord as an hereditary prince in his government.³ It

³ Evidence of La Fin in the process against Biron, ap. Ranke, *Französische Gesch.* B. ii. S. 150.

was thought that many towns as well as nobles might be drawn into the plot, nay, even that some princes of the blood might be induced to engage in it. Among the leading conspirators were the Dukes of Epemon and Bouillon (Turenne), and the Count d'Auvergne, a natural son of Charles IX. and uterine brother of the King's mistress, Mademoiselle d'Entragues. But Marshal Biron was the soul of the plot; whose chief motive was wounded pride, the source of so many rash actions in men of his egregious vanity. Biron pretended that the King owed to him the crown, and complained of his ingratitude, although Henry had made him a duke and peer of France as well as a marshal and governor of Burgundy; but Henry had mortified him by remarking, that it was true the Biron had served him well, yet that he had found it difficult to moderate the drunkenness of the father and to restrain the freaks and caprices of the son. Biron's complaints were so loud that the Court of Spain made him secret advances; while an intriguer named La Fin proposed to him, on the part of the Duke of Savoy, one of the Duke's daughters in marriage, and held out the hope that Spain would guarantee to him the sovereignty of Burgundy.

After many pretexts and delays, Charles Emmanuel having refused to give up Saluzzo, Henry IV. declared war against him in August 1600, and promptly followed up the declaration by invading Savoy. Biron carefully concealed his designs, nor does the King appear to have been aware of them; for he gave the marshal a command, who conquered for him the province of La Bresse⁴, though still carrying on a secret correspondence with the Duke of Savoy. Henry's refusal to give Biron the command of Bourg, the capital of the province, still further exasperated him.

One of the most interesting incidents of this little war is the care displayed by Henry for the safety of Geneva. The Duke of Savoy had long hankered after the possession of that city, and had erected at the distance of two leagues from it the fort of St. Catherine, which proved a great annoyance to the Genevese. The fort was captured by the royal forces; and the now aged Beza, at the head of a deputation of the citizens, went out to meet the King, who, in spite of the displeasure of the Papal legate, gave him a friendly reception, presented him with a sum of money, and granted his request for the demolition of the fortress.⁵

This war presents little else of interest except its results, em-

⁴ La Bresse, between Franche Comté and Dauphiné, is now the Department of the Ain.

⁵ Thuanus, lib. cxxv. t. vi. p. 42 sqq. (ed. 1773).

bodied in the treaty of peace signed January 17th 1601. The rapidity of Henry's conquests had quite dispirited Charles Emmanuel; and although Fuentes, the Spanish governor of the Milanese, ardently desired the prolongation of the war, the Duke of Lerma, the all-powerful minister of Philip III., was against it; for the anxiety of the Spanish cabinet had been excited by the appearance in the western waters of the Mediterranean of a Turkish fleet, effected through the influence of the French ambassador at Constantinople. Under these circumstances negotiations were begun. It was a vital point with the Duke of Savoy to retain possession of the marquisate of Saluzzo, which would have given the French too firm a footing in Piedmont; but in order to induce them to relinquish their claim, he was compelled to make large territorial concessions on the other side of the Alps. La Bresse, Bugei, Valromei, the bailliage of Gex, in short, all the country between the Saone, the Rhone, and the southern extremity of the Jura mountains, except the little principality of Dombes and its capital Trévoux, belonging to the Duke of Montpensier, were now ceded to the French in exchange for their claims of the much smaller territories of La Perouse, Pignerol and the Val di Stura. The Duke also ceded Castel Delfino, or Château Dauphin, reserving a right of passage into Franche Comté, for which he had to pay 100,000 crowns. This hasty peace ruined all Biron's hopes, and struck him with such alarm, that he came to Henry and confessed his treasonable plans. Henry not only pardoned him but even employed him in embassies to England and Switzerland; but Biron was incorrigible. He soon afterwards renewed his intrigues with the French malcontent nobles, and being apprehended and condemned by the Parliament of Paris, was beheaded in the court of the Bastille, July 29th 1602. The execution of so powerful a nobleman created both at home and abroad a strong impression of the power of the French King.

While the war with Savoy was going on Mary de' Medici arrived in France, and Henry solemnised his marriage with her at Lyon, December 9th 1600. The union was not destined to be a happy one. Mary, though not destitute of a certain vulgar beauty, was neither amiable nor attractive; she possessed but little of the grace or intellect of her family; and she was withal violent, bigoted, obstinate, and jealous. For this last quality indeed she had sufficient excuse. The Marquise of Verneuil was installed in an apartment of the Louvre, and the jealousies of the wife and the mistress converted that palace into a little Pandemonium. Both ladies promised to give birth to what each contended would be the

rightful heir to the French throne; and Mademoiselle de Verneuil was constantly asserting her right to be queen instead of the "great banker." Henry did not content himself even with these two ladies; he had other mistresses, and the Queen repaid his infidelities in kind. It was whispered that she had intrigues of gallantry with Virginio Orsini, her cousin, with the Duke de Bellegarde, Henry's ambassador at Florence; above all, with Concini, a young and brilliant Florentine gentleman, whom she had brought to France in her suite, and whom she afterwards married to her foster-sister, Leonora Dori, better known by the name of La Galigai. The quarrels between the King and his consort sometimes ended in personal violence; and Henry would probably have sent Mary back to Italy had she not presented him with a dauphin (September 27th 1601) who afterwards became Louis XIII.⁶

Although the aims of Henry IV. were always noble and worthy of his character, the means which he employed to attain them will not always admit of the same praise. His excuse must be sought in the necessities and difficulties of his political situation. At home, where he was suspected both by Catholics and Hugonots, he was frequently obliged to resort to finesse, nor did he hesitate himself to acknowledge that his word was not always to be depended on.⁷ Abroad, where his policy led him to contend with both branches of the House of Austria, he was compelled, in that unequal struggle, to supply with artifice the deficiencies of force; and he did not scruple to assist underhand the malcontent vassals and subjects of the Emperor and the King of Spain. France is the land of political "ideas;" and Henry, or rather his minister Sully, had formed a magnificent scheme for the reconstruction of Europe, which for the liberality, as well as for the boldness and originality of its principles, may bear away the palm from the visionary projects which we have seen agitated in our own days. Against the plan of Charles V. and Philip II. of a universal THEOCRATIC MONARCHY, Sully formed the antagonistic one of a CHRISTIAN REPUBLIC; in which, for the bigotry and intolerance, supported by physical force, that formed the foundation of the Spanish scheme, were to be substituted a mutual toleration between Papists and Protestants, and the suppression of all persecution. Foreign wars and domestic revolutions, as well as all religious

⁶ On this subject see the first part of Richelieu's *Mémoires*, *L'Histoire de la Mère et du Fils*.

⁷ "La nécessité, qui est la loi du

temps, me fait ores dire une chose, ores l'autre."—Ranke, *Gesch. Frankr.* B. ii. S. 102.

disputes, were to be settled by European congresses; and a system of free trade was to prevail throughout Europe. This confederated Christian State was to consist of fifteen powers, or dominations, divided according to their constitutions into three different groups. The first group was to consist of states having an elective sovereign, which would include the Papacy, the Empire, Venice, and the three elective kingdoms of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia. The second group would comprehend the hereditary kingdoms of France, Spain, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and the new kingdom of Lombardy that was to be founded; while the republics or federate States, as the Swiss cantons, the contemplated Belgian commonwealth, and the confederacy of the Italian States, would form the third.⁸ The Czar of Muscovy, or as Henry used to call him, the "Scythian Knè", was at present to be excluded from the Christian Republic, as being an Asiatic rather than a European potentate, as well as on account of the savage and, half barbarous nature of his subjects, and the doubtful character of their religious faith; though he might one day be admitted into this community of nations, when he should think proper himself to make the application.

But as a principal aim, and indeed essential condition, of the scheme, was the abasement of the House of Austria, many political changes were to be effected with a view to attain this end: Naples was to be withdrawn from Spain and annexed to the Papal dominions, while the Duchy of Milan, united with that of Savoy, was to form a kingdom of Lombardy; Spain was to be still further crippled by the loss of her Belgian provinces; the Empire, now become almost hereditary, was to be rendered truly elective; the remains of the Hungarian kingdom were to be strengthened at the expense of Austria, by the addition to it of that Duchy, as well as of the counties of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, besides such districts as could be recovered from the Turks; though the Austrian House was to receive a sort of nominal compensation by the suzerainty of the Helvetian and Belgian republics. We forbear to go further into the details of a scheme which it was never attempted to put in execution. That Henry IV. himself entertained any serious idea of its practicableness may well be doubted; though a plan so well calculated by its grandeur to dazzle the French nation has been regarded by some of the historians of France as the main-spring of all his policy. The feasibility of it was condemned by the statesman-like mind of Richelieu; but it sometimes served

⁸ See Sully, *Economies Royales*, t. viii. p. 253 sqq. (Petitot).

Henry as a basis for negotiation ; and the mere conception of it is worthy of note, as showing a wonderful advance in political and social liberality.

The Spanish branch of the Austrian House was naturally a more immediate object of Henry's solicitude than the Austrian. Philip III. had succeeded, in his twenty-first year, to the Spanish throne, on the death of his father Philip II., to whom, in character, he offered a striking contrast. Soft, gentle, indolent, the conduct of Philip III., as a son, had been marked by extreme obsequiousness ; of which a singular anecdote is related. His father had resolved that he should marry one of the daughters of the Austrian Archduke Charles⁹ ; and sending for the portraits of those princesses, bade his son select his bride. But such was the awe with which the dread impersonation of paternal and kingly authority had inspired the heir of Spain, that with an apathy which seems to have excited something like contempt and indignation even in the cold-blooded Philip II., his dutiful son persisted in submitting to him the decision of the very limited choice with which he was indulged !¹⁰ Such a prince was naturally formed not to rule but to be governed. Immediately after his accession, Philip III. committed the entire direction of affairs to his favourite the Marquis of Denia, whom, to the great indignation of the Spanish grandees, he created Duke of Lerma. That powerful minister possessed but limited abilities, and was utterly unversed in the art of government ; but his manners were courteous and affable, and he had gained the favour of the ecclesiastics by his devotion to the Church.

One of the first acts of Philip III. was to solemnise at Valencia his marriage with Margaret of Austria. About the same time (April 1599) was celebrated the previously arranged marriage of the Archduke Albert and Philip II.'s daughter, the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia ; and in September they returned to the Netherlands, where they assumed the title of the "Archdukes." Albert now adopted all the formalities of the court of the Escorial ; assumed the Spanish dress and manners, and required to be served on the knee ; a proceeding which gave great offence to the plain and unceremonious Flemings. As Philip II. had reserved the liberty of garrisoning Antwerp, Ghent and Cambray with Spanish soldiers, the money and troops of Spain, notwithstanding the nominally independent sovereignty of the Archdukes, continued to be employed in Belgium as in the preceding reign. Albert, during his absence in Spain, had left Mendoza, Marquis of Guadalupe,

⁹ A son of Ferdinand I.

¹⁰ Watson, *Philip III.* vol. i. p. 3, note.

commander in the Netherlands, who undertook some operations on the Rhine; but the campaign of 1599 presents little of importance. Prince Maurice of Nassau, the leader of the Dutch, was reckoned the ablest general of the day; but he was suspected by the leaders of the republican party in Holland of a design to seize the sovereignty, and, with a view to that object, of endeavouring to prolong the war; and they therefore appointed a deputation to watch his movements; among whom Olden Barneveldt was the foremost. The Seven United Provinces had now reached a great height of prosperity. Their navy was one of the best in Europe; they were aided by Scotch and English troops; and though the peace of Vervins had deprived them of the open support of France, yet Henry IV. continued, as we have said, secretly to assist them.

A mutiny in 1600 among the Spanish and Italian troops of the Archdukes, occasioned by their pay being in arrear, seemed to present a favourable opportunity for striking a blow, and after taking some towns and fortresses, Maurice laid siege to Nieuport in Flanders. The Archduke Albert, accompanied by his consort, hastened to the relief of that important place, when Clara Eugenia appeared on horseback before the Spanish troops, soothed them by her condescension, and animated them by her courage; and pointing to her costly earrings, she declared that she would part with them sooner than the men should go without their pay. On the other hand, Prince Maurice, who was accompanied by his youthful brother, afterwards the celebrated Frederick Henry, had prepared for the most determined resistance, and had sent away his transports in order that his soldiers might have no alternative but victory or death. His difficulties were increased by beholding the defeat of Ernest of Nassau, his stadholder in Gelderland, who had endeavoured to form a junction with him. Maurice's position was assailed, July 2nd, by Albert and his Spaniards; but they were defeated with great loss, when all the Spanish artillery and baggage, and 100 standards, fell into the hands of Maurice. In this battle Sir Francis Vere commanded the Dutch van. Maurice, however, did not deem it prudent to pursue the siege of Nieuport; he soon afterwards returned into Holland, and no other memorable action took place during this campaign.

The Dutch still occupied Ostend, and as their sallies from that place occasioned much annoyance to the Flemings, they requested the Archduke Albert to attempt the reduction of it; a task which had baffled the skill of the Duke of Parma. Nevertheless, Albert, early in 1601, consented to begin a siege which is among the longest and most memorable recorded in the annals of warfare.

Ostend was defended by Sir Francis Vere¹¹, who, having lost the greatest part of his garrison, amused the enemy with a pretended capitulation till he had received reinforcements; and he frustrated a rash and desperate assault of the Spaniards, by causing the sluices to be opened, and thus drowning large numbers of the assailants. We cannot detail all the incidents of this siege, which lasted till 1604. In 1601, Henry IV., who, in consequence of an affront offered to the French ambassador at Madrid, was at this time meditating open war against Spain, repaired to Calais, in order to encourage the Dutch by his neighbourhood; and at the same time Queen Elizabeth went to Dover, in the hope that the French King might be induced to pay her a visit at that place. Fear of giving umbrage to the Catholic powers deterred Henry from crossing the channel, but he sent his minister Rosni, who, in his conversations with the English Queen, was surprised to find that she had anticipated in many points his plans for the abasement of the House of Austria. The interview, however, had no practical result; the Pope hastened to make up the quarrel between France and Spain; but Henry gave Elizabeth to understand that if they did not unite their arms they might at least join their diplomacy; and he continued to send money secretly to the Dutch, and to wink at the succours forwarded by the Hugonot party to Ostend.

Albert did not make much progress in the siege of that place; he was hindered sometimes by the operations of Maurice, sometimes by the mutinies of his own troops, as well as the difficulties naturally belonging to the undertaking. In 1602 the Spaniards in the Netherlands were reinforced by the arrival from Italy of 8000 men under the celebrated general Ambrose Spinola, a Genoese nobleman of large fortune, who, as well as his brother Frederick, was devoted to the Spanish cause. Ambrose mortgaged his large possessions in Italy in order to raise the succours just mentioned; while Frederick appeared on the Flemish coast with a fleet fitted out at his own expense, and inflicted much loss on the Dutch commerce; enterprises, however, in which he met a speedy death.

Queen Elizabeth, who had succoured the Dutch with 6000 men, expired before the siege of Ostend was brought to a conclusion. The Spaniards had retaliated by aiding the rebellion in Ireland, but she lived to see its happy extinction. Her death (April 4th 1603) was a great loss, not only for the Dutch and the Protestant cause, but also for Henry IV., who, besides counting on her assist-

¹¹ The States relieved Vere at the end of five months by another governor.

ance in his struggle with the House of Austria, was loath to see the crowns of England and Scotland united on the same head. Henry, however, despatched Rosni into England to endeavour, if possible; to persuade Elizabeth's successor, James I., to act in concert with France with regard to the affairs of the Netherlands. It was a difficult task. Prejudiced by his maxims respecting the divine right of kings, James looked upon the Dutch as rebels and traitors, and seemed inclined to listen to the advances of the Spanish Court, though he rejected those of the Pope with all the signs of the most bitter aversion. The Dutch had also sent Barneveldt, together with the young Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau, to congratulate James on his accession, and to solicit a renewal of the English alliance. James at length agreed to despatch some troops into the Low Countries, whose pay was to be furnished by France, though a third of it was to go in reduction of the debt due from Henry IV. to England (June 25th 1603). Rosni also sounded the English monarch on his grand scheme for the reorganisation of Europe, and James, who was fond of speculation, seemed to enter wonderfully into the spirit of it; yet in the very next year he concluded a formal peace with Spain (August 18th 1604).¹² James, however, refused to deliver up to the Austrian Archdukes Flushing, Briel, and Rammekens, places which the United Provinces had assigned to Elizabeth as security for their debt; and though he offered his mediation to make the States accept a fair and reasonable peace, yet he appears to have reserved to himself, by a secret agreement, the right of assisting them.¹³ The treaty was limited to Europe, and James could not prevail upon the Spanish Court to open the Indies to British commerce. The discovery of the great Gunpowder Plot in the following year inclined James more towards the French alliance, and in February 1606 a treaty of commerce was concluded between France and England.

Meanwhile the siege of Ostend still continued. Albert, weary of the enterprise, had devolved the conduct of it on Spinola, who at length succeeded in lodging his troops in the outworks; and the Dutch, despairing of the defence of the town, resolved to compensate themselves for its loss by the capture of Sluys, which surrendered on capitulation to Prince Maurice. By one of the articles, the Dutch stipulated for the surrender of all the Spanish ships, including ten galleys, which from this port had so much infested their trade; and soon afterwards, as Ostend seemed no

¹² Rymer, t. xvi. p. 585 sq.; Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 32 sq.

¹³ Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii. pp. 330, &c.

longer tenable, they instructed the commandant to capitulate (September 20th 1604). The contending parties are said to have lost 100,000 men during this siege, which was now in its fourth year. Spinola, on entering the town, gave the commandant and his officers a magnificent entertainment, by way of marking his estimation of their conduct.

The fall of Ostend had but little influence on the general progress of the war, which we shall here pursue to its conclusion. The brunt of the struggle was next year transferred to the borders of Overijssel and Gelderland; but the campaign of 1605 offers little of importance. At the close of it, Spinola, who was ill supported by the Spanish Court, found it necessary to proceed to Madrid to hasten the supplies of troops and money which Philip III. and Lerma were very slow in furnishing. On his way back he was seized with a fever, which prevented him from reaching the Netherlands till July 1606, and the only event of much importance that year was the capture by him of Rheinberg (October 1st). At the conclusion of this campaign negotiations were opened for a peace, of which Spain, and even Spinola himself, was now very desirous. The same result was ardently wished for by a large party in the United Provinces, at the head of which was John of Olden Barneveldt, Pensionary of Holland, the first statesman and patriot of his age; and he at length prevailed upon Prince Maurice, who wished to continue the war, to enter into his views. The States, however, resolved not to treat unless their independence was acknowledged, a condition very unpalatable to the pride of Spain and the Archdukes. A subterfuge was at last hit upon. John Neyen, a Flemish Franciscan, who had studied in Spain, and was now Commissary-General of his order in the Netherlands, was sent to Ryswick (February 1607), whence he was introduced secretly of an evening to Prince Maurice and Barneveldt at the Hague. The monk slyly evaded a direct recognition of the Dutch republic, by declaring that he was empowered to treat with "a free people;" nor would he accord to Maurice, whose eldest brother was still alive in Spain, the title of "Prince," but only that of "Count of Nassau." Nevertheless, a truce of eight months, to commence on the 4th of May, was agreed upon, in order to conduct the negotiations; though not for a permanent peace, which would have been insufferable to Spanish pride, but only for a prolonged truce. The Hollanders, however, refused to suspend hostilities by sea, and while the negotiations were pending, Admiral Heemskirk was despatched from the Texel to the coasts of Spain and Portugal with a formidable fleet, and instructed not only to watch over the

Dutch ships returning from the Indies, but also to "inflict on the Spaniards all the damage in his power. Heemskirk sailed to the Bay of Gibraltar, where the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-one large ships under the command of Admiral Davila, was drawn up in order of battle under the guns of the fortress. Upon this formidable array the Dutch commander bore down in full sail; the Spanish admiral at his approach retired behind his other ships, pursued by Heemskirk, who, as he neared the Spaniard was killed by a cannon ball; but Davila also soon shared the same fate. The officer who succeeded him in command, seeing that the fleet had sustained considerable loss, hoisted a white flag; but the Dutch, animated with an uncontrollable fury against the Spaniards, would not recognise it, and continued the fight till they had almost destroyed the Spanish fleet, and killed 2000 of the crews. Then, after repairing at Tetuan the damage they had sustained, which was comparatively trifling, they again put to sea in small squadrons in order to intercept and capture the Spanish merchantmen (April 1607).

This bloody and decisive victory had a great effect in lowering the pride of the Spaniards, and rendering them more tractable; they found their commerce ruined, and were fain to ask quarter of the "Beggars of the Sea." Yet when the ratification of the truce arrived from Spain, it was not satisfactory. The independence of the United Provinces was not recognised; the instrument was signed, *Yo el Rey* (I, the King), a form used only towards subjects, and it was not sealed with the Great Seal. At the entreaty of the Archdukes, however, the Dutch consented to recall their fleet till a satisfactory ratification should be obtained within a given period.

King James felt at first some alarm at the negotiations between the Archdukes and the States; but he was at length satisfied with the explanations of Caron, the Dutch ambassador; and he sent Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Richard Spencer to assist at the deliberations. It was now necessary for France to take a decided part. Henry deemed it prudent to join England in mediating a peace between Spain and her revolted subjects; and in August 1607 the President Jeanpin was sent into Holland with instructions for that purpose.¹⁴ Spinola was at the head of the Spanish embassy, whom Maurice brought in his own carriage to the Hague; but the negotiations were chiefly conducted by Jeannin and Barneveldt.

The discussions were long and stormy, and the provisional truce had often to be prolonged. Neyen the Franciscan endeavoured

¹⁴ See on this subject the *Négoc. du Président Jeannin* (Petitot, t. xii.).

to corrupt Aersens, the Dutch secretary, by offering him a splendid diamond for his wife, and for himself a bond of Spinola's for 50,000 crowns. Aersens communicated the offer to Prince Maurice, who advised him to accept it, and then to give up the bribes to the Council of State; and at a later stage of the proceedings, Olden Barneveldt produced these bribes to Verreiken, the minister of the Archdukes, and covered him with confusion. The leaders of the patriot, or anti-Orange party, among whom we may distinguish, besides Barneveldt, Ladenberg, Hogerbeets, and Hugo Grotius, Pensionary of Rotterdam, were willing not to haggle too closely about the terms; but the war party, which adhered to Maurice of Nassau, and which included the army and navy, the East India Company, the populace of the larger towns, and a considerable proportion of the clergy, appeared to recover its influence, and towards the end of 1608 the negotiations were on the point of being broken off. Holland especially, where Maurice was all-powerful, and Zealand, where his estates lay, and where he almost ruled as a prince, were loud against a peace; and Zealand even threatened to give herself to England, unless the French would declare against Spain. Philip III. through his ambassador Don Pedro de Toledo, had endeavoured to detach Henry IV. from the Dutch cause, by renewing his proposals for a matrimonial treaty between the families. Soon after the conclusion of the peace between Spain and England, Philip had tried to impress upon Henry that France and Spain, instead of opposing each other, should combine to dictate the law to Europe, and had suggested that they should cement their alliance by a double union between their children; for Henry had now a son and daughter. There was a large party in France in favour of this alliance, and Henry himself appeared to listen to the proposal, but he was dissuaded from it by Rosni, the constant opponent of the House of Austria. The project when now renewed met with no better success. Early in 1609, Jeannin, seconded by the English ambassadors, succeeded in extorting some important concessions from the Spaniards; and he prevailed on the Dutch States to appoint a large deputation to accept the proffered terms. Accordingly a body of 800 deputies assembled at Bergen-op-Zoom to treat with the Spanish plenipotentiaries; and at last, on the 9th of April 1609, a truce was signed for a term of twelve years. In the preamble to the treaty, the Archduke acknowledged that both in his own name and in that of the King of Spain, he treated with the Dutch States as with a free people. The treaty was founded on the basis of *uti possidetis*. Spain now yielded on the question of the Indian trade, which had been one of the chief sub-

jects of dispute; disclaiming any intention of hindering the Dutch in their commerce with any parts of the two Indies not occupied by the Catholic King, or of molesting them in their possessions in the Moluccas. The Spaniards were also compelled to yield respecting the navigation of the Scheldt, and the ruin of Antwerp was consummated for the benefit of the ports of Holland and Zealand. Great regard was shown in this treaty for the interests of the family of Nassau. It was provided, that none of the descendants of William, Prince of Orange, should be liable for any debts he had contracted between the year 1567 and his death; and that such of his estates within the territories of the Archdukes as had been confiscated should be restored. The States took care that Maurice should suffer nothing by the conclusion of the war; and they also augmented the appointments of Prince Frederick Henry and of Count William Louis of Nassau.¹⁵

By this treaty was virtually terminated, after a war of forty years, the struggle of the Dutch for independence, though a like period had still to elapse before it was formally recognised by Spain. Up to this period the Dutch had enlarged their Union by the addition of the two important provinces of Overijssel and Groningen; they had extended their boundary on the Flemish side by the conquest of Sluys, Hulst, and several other places, constituting what was afterwards called Dutch Flanders; on the frontiers of Brabant they had conquered several strong towns, including Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Bois le Duc; by means of Lillo and other forts they had obtained the command of the Scheldt; they had attacked, and vanquished in their own harbours, the powerful navies of Spain, and had interrupted and shared her commerce at the furthest extremities of the globe.

Meanwhile Henry IV. had been pursuing his policy of weakening and annoying the House of Austria, which seemed to involve him in the grossest contradictions; for while he courted the German Protestants, he endeavoured at the same time to stand well with the Pope; and at home he showed more favour to the Roman Catholics than to the Hugonots, as being both more able and more willing to extend and confirm the royal authority. Hence, in 1603, he had recalled the Jesuits, and had intrusted to a celebrated member of the society, the Père Cotton, the difficult and delicate task of directing his conscience; he had endowed several Jesuit colleges, and permitted that order to instal themselves at Paris, though not to lecture publicly. Henry's former friends, the

¹⁵ Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 99 sqq. There is a summary of the chief articles of the treaty in Watson's *Philip III.* vol. i. p. 384 sqq.

Hugonots, had indeed become his chief domestic enemies. The Duke of Bouillon, their principal leader, had long been intriguing with the malcontent French nobles, and with Spain; and in 1606 Henry had appeared before Sedan with an army and compelled the Duke to surrender that place for a term of four years. But Henry's policy compelled him to inconsistencies even in the treatment of his rebellious vassals; and for fear of offending the Protestant princes of Germany, he granted Bouillon a complete pardon, allowed him to retain his offices and honours, and suffered him to instal himself at court.

At the same time Henry endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the Pope. On the death of Clement VIII., March 5th 1605, the influence of France had been exerted in the conclave to procure the election of Cardinal Alexander de' Medici, a relative of the French Queen; 300,000 crowns were expended in the purchase of votes, and Alexander assumed with the tiara the title of Leo XI. But in less than a month the death of Leo occasioned another vacancy. It was supplied by the election of Cardinal Borghese, who took the name of Paul V. (May 16th 1605). Bellarmine, the great theologian of the Jesuits, had nearly obtained the tiara; but his profession was against him; the Sacred College feared that, if the Society of Jesus once succeeded in seizing the throne of St. Peter, they would never relinquish it.¹⁶ Originally an advocate, Borghese had risen through every grade of the clerical profession; but he had lived in seclusion buried in his studies, and his character was but little known. After his accession a great change was observed in him. He had conceived the most extravagant ideas of the grandeur of his office, and began his administration with acts of extreme rigour. He endeavoured to break down all the restraints which the Italian governments had placed on the pontifical authority in the relations of Church and State, and in most instances he succeeded in extorting concessions; but Venice opposed a formidable resistance.

In that republic a little knot of liberal thinkers had been formed, at the head of whom was Fra Paolo Sarpi, the celebrated historian of the Council of Trent. Endowed with great originality of mind, Sarpi appears to have anticipated some of the doctrines of Locke; but it is difficult to describe the exact nature of his religious tenets; they seem to have approximated to those of the Reformation, and by some he was considered a Protestant in disguise. It is at all events certain, that he was a most determined

¹⁶ See Bayle, art. *Bellarmin*.

enemy of the secular influence of the Pope; and Cardinal Borghese a nephew of Paul V. is said to have hired some assassins who attempted to poignard him.

The contumacy of Venice soon gave occasion to open strife. The government having instituted a prosecution against two ecclesiastics, the Pope launched against the republic an interdict in all its ancient forms (April 17th 1606). The Signory replied by a proclamation, in which they expressed their resolution to uphold their sovereign authority, and ordered the clergy to continue divine service, without regard to the Papal interdict; a command which was universally obeyed, except by the three orders of the Jesuits, Capuchins and Theatines, who, persisting in their fidelity to the Pope, were banished from the Venetian territories. Paul V. now meditated open force against the refractory republic, when Henry IV., to whose designs the friendship both of Venice and the Pope was needful, interposed his mediation. At his instance the Venetians made several concessions; but, supported by Spain, they resolutely refused to receive back the Jesuits, and Paul was compelled to concede the point; a mortifying lesson for that haughty and violent Pontiff.

Shortly after the affair of this interdict, Henry, in pursuance of his plans against the House of Austria, began to sound the Pope concerning the liberation of Italy from Spanish domination, and the wresting of the Imperial crown from the Hapsburgs. Agreeably to his grand European scheme he held out to Paul the bait of Naples; and though that Pontiff did not venture to give his direct consent, Henry trusted that the first victory would secure it. With the same views he also made advances to Venice and the Duke of Savoy. Venice promised her aid in consideration of receiving a portion of the Milanese; and she was also to have Sicily, if the allies succeeded in wresting that island from the Spaniards. The Duke of Savoy was attracted with the prospect of Milan and the crown of Lombardy. Charles Emmanuel's eldest son was to marry Elizabeth of France, Henry's eldest daughter; and the Duke was to claim Milan in right of his wife—he had married a daughter of Philip II. of Spain—and by way of compensation for Belgium and Franche Comté, bestowed upon his sister-in-law Clara Eugenia. France, or at all events Sully¹⁷, affected to renounce all her pretensions in Italy, and to seek nothing but the honour and glory of rescuing that peninsula from foreign domination; only Gaston, Duke of Anjou, Henry's third son, an infant

¹⁷ Rosni had been created Duke of Sully and peer of France early in 1606.

two years old, was to be affianced to the heiress of Mantua and the Montferrat. Henry, however, had not quite the disinterested views of his minister. His policy may be said to have survived by tradition to the present day, for it embraced a plan which we have just seen realised by one of the overthrowers of his dynasty: namely, to round off the French territories by the cession of Savoy, and perhaps also of Nice, by the Duke of Savoy, in return for the assistance of France in conquering Milan. In fact, Henry's scheme anticipated that reunion of *nationalities* — to adopt the term in vogue — by which ambition now covers her views of aggrandisement under the cloak of natural equity. Henry aimed to unite under the sceptre of France all who spoke the French tongue, a design which would ultimately include Lorraine, Belgium, and Franche Comté; and he had already begun to stir in this matter with regard to Lorraine, by demanding for the Dauphin the hand of the Duke of Bar's only daughter by his deceased wife, the sister of the Queen of France; a demand which the Duke had not ventured to refuse.¹⁸

These plans were connected with another for striking a blow in the heart of Spain itself, which, however, was defeated by an unforeseen and surprising occurrence. Spain still contained many thousand families of the Moriscoes, not only in Granada, but also in Valencia and Aragon, and even in Castile and Catalonia. Henry IV. had early in his reign opened secret communications with these discontented subjects of the Spanish crown, which were directed by the Marquis de la Force, governor of Béarn; and in a memorial addressed to the French King, the Moriscoes affirmed that they could raise an army of 80,000 men.¹⁹ In 1605 a French agent employed in these intrigues had been detected and hanged in Valencia; a circumstance which served still further to inflame the bigoted hatred with which the unfortunate Moriscoes were regarded by the Spanish Court. The distorted Christianity which it had been attempted to inculcate upon that people during the last century had made no real progress, though forced conversions were accomplished; for the monks despatched to preach the Gospel to them, by way of supporting their arguments, were accompanied by the hangman. The Archbishop of Valencia had long endeavoured to persuade Philip III. to expel all the Moriscoes from Spain, or send them to the galleys, and educate their children in the Christian faith; the Archbishop of Toledo, who was brother to the Duke of Lerma,

¹⁸ For these negotiations see Sully, *Economies Royales*, and the *Mémoires* of Bas-sompierre and Fontenai-Mareuil.

¹⁹ See *Mémoires* of La Force, t. i. p. 219 sqq. (ed. La Grange, 1843).

and Grand-Inquisitor, went still further, and demanded the death of all the infidel race, without distinction of age or sex. The humanity, or the self-interest of the lay nobility, the estates of many of whom would be ruined by the massacre or banishment of the Moors, opposed for a while the execution of these barbarous measures, nor did the Court of Spain deem it prudent to resort to them, while engaged in the war with the revolted Netherlands; but, scarcely had a peace been concluded with the United Provinces, when an edict was published for the expulsion of the Moors from Valencia. An insurrection which the Moriscoes had attempted in the mountains was suppressed, and more than 130,000 of them were compelled to embark, and thrown upon the coast of Africa, where three fourths of them perished of hunger and fatigue. The remainder succeeded in reaching Oran and Algiers.

On the 9th of December appeared another edict directing the embarkation of the Moors of Granada, Murcia, and Andalusia; and on the 10th of January 1610 a third for the expulsion of those of Aragon, Catalonia and Castile. These last were driven towards the Pyrenees, and were forbidden to carry with them either money or bills. Some 100,000 of them²⁰ passed into France, either by crossing the mountains, or taking their passage to Marseilles; but, in spite of the former tamperings of the French government with them, they did not fare much better than those expelled direct from the Spanish ports. Henry IV. published, indeed, an ordinance (February 22nd 1610) which, however, was soon recalled, directing that they should be received and suffered to remain, but, after making profession of Catholicism, an alternative which they had already rejected in their native homes; and that vessels should be provided for such of them as wished to depart. It was thought that large numbers of them would have been willing to embrace Protestantism; that form of Christianity, as we have already had occasion to observe, harmonising much better than the Roman Catholic worship with the horror of idolatry which characterises the followers of Islam; but Henry was afraid to take a step which would have shocked the religious prejudices of the mass of the nation, by making so large an addition to his Protestant subjects. Many of the Moriscoes became the victims of the fanatics through whose districts they passed; the greater part of them were detained for months on the French coast for want of transport, and were reduced to a state of indescribable distress by the inhumanity

²⁰ It must be observed that the accounts of the number of Moriscoes expelled from Spain are very discrepant, and range from 160,000 to a million.

and extortions of the officers appointed to superintend their embarkation; and when at last they contrived to get on board their vessels, numbers of them were robbed and even precipitated into the sea by the sailors, while many more expired of misery and privation. So numerous, it is said, were the corpses thrown into the sea, that the inhabitants of Marseilles abstained from eating fish, and gave the name of *Grenadines* to the sardines, as having banqueted on the flesh of the unhappy Moors.²¹

Thus was consummated at a vast immediate expense²², and at the price of inflicting an incurable wound on the future prosperity of Spain, that bigoted system of inhuman persecution which had been carried on since the administration of Ximenes. At the time of the expulsion of the Moors, Henry IV. was meditating open war against the House of Austria, both in Germany and Spain; and he was in hopes that he should be able to attack Philip III. soon enough to obtain the services of some of the Moriscos. He was organising two large armies destined to enter Spain at the opposite sides of St. Sebastian and Perpignan; 14,000 men under Lesdiguières were ordered to join the Duke of Savoy in the operations contemplated in Italy; while Henry himself was preparing to lead another army to the assistance of the German princes in the affair of the Duchy of Juliers. But in order to explain this last transaction it will be necessary to resume from an earlier period the history of Germany.

Brought up in Spain, gloomy, fanatical, addicted to abstruse studies, fonder of observing the stars²³ in his retirement at Prague than of attending to the affairs of his dominions, the Emperor Rodolph II., though himself unfit to govern, was yet loath to devolve any share of his power on his eldest surviving brother, Matthias, the heir-presumptive of his power; who, though himself not the model of a ruler, was better fitted than Rodolph by his manners and his German education to conduct the affairs of the empire. It was with reluctance that Rodolph had been at length compelled to intrust the administration of Hungary and Austria to Matthias, who, in the discharge of these functions, had, without

²¹ Bouche, *Hist. de Provence*, t. ii. liv. x. p. 850; Viardot, *Hist. des Arabes et des Mores d'Espagne*, t. i. ch. vii.

²² The cost of transporting the Moors of Valencia alone amounted to 800,000 ducats. Sir F. Cottington's letters to Trumbull (published in Winwood's *Memoirs*, vol. iii.) contain many details respecting this persecution.

²³ Rodolph's observatory at Prague was

successively superintended by two famous astronomers, Tycho Brahe and Kepler. The latter, who was invited to Prague in 1600, passed a year as Tycho Brahe's assistant; but the two philosophers did not live on the best terms, as Kepler's observations were often at variance with the theories of his principal. On Tycho's death, in October 1601, Kepler was appointed his successor.

the approbation of the Emperor, made concessions to the Hungarian Protestants, and concluded with the Turks the peace of Sivatork already mentioned. In order to carry out these measures, Matthias had, indeed, by a family compact, virtually deprived Rodolph of his power. In April 1606 he summoned to Vienna his younger brother, Maximilian, who had been some years governor of the Tyrol, and his two cousins, the Archdukes Ferdinand and Leopold of Styria²⁴; who, by a formal act, dated 25th April 1606, declared Matthias head of the House of Hapsburg, on account of the mental unsoundness betrayed from time to time by Rodolph.²⁵ To this act, which was kept secret, the Archduke Albert, governor of the Netherlands, the only other surviving brother of the Emperor, also acceded. Matthias was already contemplating the deposition of Rodolph, and a year or two afterwards he openly manifested his hostility by convening the Austrian, as well as the Hungarian, States at Presburg (February 1st 1608), which by an Act of Confederation agreed to support Matthias. This was, unquestionably, a revolutionary movement, and Rodolph ordered the Austrian and Hungarian States, thus unconstitutionally united, to separate; but he was not obeyed. Long negotiations ensued between the Emperor and Matthias, which, however, led to no result. It was evident that the differences between the brothers must be decided by arms. The bigoted government of Rodolph had caused the greatest discontent in Bohemia and Moravia; the latter province was in a state of open revolt. Matthias, by the advice of his minister, Cardinal Klesel, entered it with an army, and advanced to Czaslau in Bohemia, where, after convoking the combined States of Austria and Moravia, he invited those of Bohemia also to a general assembly on the 4th of May. Rodolph parried this blow by summoning the Bohemian States to Prague, though, as the majority of them were Protestants, he could expect no favourable result; and meanwhile Matthias advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of that capital. Here he permitted the States to conduct the negotiations with the Emperor, or rather, to name their terms; and on the 29th of June 1608 a treaty²⁶ was concluded, by which Rodolph ceded Hungary to Matthias, with the title of King, as well as the archduchy of Austria above and below the Enns. Matthias also received the title of King-Elect of Bohemia, with the consent of the Bohemian States; who expressed

²⁴ Sons of the Archduke Charles II., a younger brother of the Emperor Maximilian II., and founder of the Styrian branch of the Austrian family.

²⁵ Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iii. S. 169.

²⁶ In Glafey, *Pragmatische Gesch. Böhmens*, S. 665 ff.

their wish that he should immediately undertake the government of Moravia. On the other hand, Matthias took upon himself Rodolph's debts in Hungary and Austria, and abandoned to him his own share of Upper Austria.²⁷

Neither the Bohemians, however, nor the States of Hungary and Austria were content with these capitulations. The latter insisted upon the confirmation, nay, even the extension of the religious liberties granted to them by the Emperor Maximilian II., nor would they do homage to Matthias as their new sovereign till he had complied with their demands. After long negotiations Matthias found himself compelled to yield, and on the 19th of March 1609 he signed a capitulation conceding complete religious toleration. The Bohemian Diet, which had been assembled to declare Matthias successor to the crown of Bohemia, had also demanded the re-establishment of all their ancient privileges in matters of religion, which had been much curtailed during Rodolph's reign, through the influence of Spain and the Jesuits, and Rodolph had referred the settlement of the question to a future assembly. When this met, Rodolph's councillors refused to recognise any other Protestant sect than that of the Utraquists, although many of the leading men in Bohemia, as Count Schlick, Count Thurn, and the eloquent Wenzel von Budowa, were either Lutherans or belonged to the freethinking fanatics called *Picards*. The Diet, finding that they could obtain no concessions, appointed a provisional government of thirty directors to sit at Prague; they raised an army, and named Count Thurn, Leonard von Fels, and John von Bubna to the command of it; and in June 1609 they published the articles for the maintenance of which they had resorted to these violent and extraordinary measures. Rodolph, who had neither troops nor money, by the advice of the Spanish and Saxon ambassadors, agreed to a capitulation, with the secret determination of evading it; and on the 12th of July 1609 he signed the celebrated letters patent (*Majestäts Brief*) which were the immediate occasion of the Thirty Years' War. By this instrument complete religious liberty was allowed to all sects separated from Rome, of whatever denomination; they were admitted to the university of Prague; they received permission to build new churches, to appoint consistories, and even to choose protectors, a thing at variance with all good government; and all ordinances which the Emperor or his

²⁷ The northern part of the Tyrol was called *Upper Austria*. *Lower Austria* comprehended the district above and below the Enns. *Inner Austria* comprised

Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the county of Görz. *Further Austria* was what is now called the Vorarlberg.

successors might hereafter issue in contravention of this charter, were declared beforehand null and void.²⁸

There was a prince, afterwards destined to obtain the Imperial sceptre, who regarded all these concessions to the Protestants with the most lively abhorrence. The Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, whom we have already had occasion to mention, possessed energy and talent, and an autocratic, if not exactly a noble, disposition; he had been bred up in the principles of Spain and the Jesuits, and he looked upon the uprooting of Protestantism as the special and solemn vocation of his life. In this respect he trod in the footsteps of his father Charles, who, at the beginning of the Catholic reaction, had committed to the flames 12,000 Lutheran Bibles and other books. In like manner Ferdinand, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had effected holocausts of heretic works, at Grätz and Laibach, and in the former place founded a convent of Capuchins on the spot where they had been consumed. He resorted to *dragonnades* against his refractory Protestant subjects; and even in some towns erected, *in terrorem*, gallowses in the market-places, though he seems not actually to have used them.

In his cousin²⁹ and schoolfellow, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, afterwards the Elector Maximilian I., Ferdinand found a strenuous coadjutor of kindred principles; and both were destined to become leading figures in that great war of bigotry and intolerance which disfigured the first half of the seventeenth century. In other respects Maximilian possessed good talents, and was one of the best rulers Bavaria ever had. An act of aggression, which at once gratified Maximilian's religious prejudices and augmented his dominions, had no little influence in producing that state of things in Germany which rendered possible the Thirty Years' War.

Donauwörth, a free Imperial city in the Circle of Suabia, but to which the Dukes of Bavaria asserted some ancient pretensions, had adopted the Protestant confession; but it held within its walls a small minority of Catholics, through whom the Jesuits were endeavouring to foment a reaction. In 1606 the abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Holy Cross thought fit to marshal in the streets processions conducted with all that gorgeous pageantry in which the Romish Church delights, though such things had before

²⁸ Dumont, t. v pt. ii. p. 115. An abstract in Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iii. S. 201 ff. The *Majestäts Brief* allowed Protestants to have churches and burial-grounds in the royal towns; and it was an attempt, nine years after, to extend this privilege to cathedral and abba-

tial towns, that gave rise to the disturbances which led to the Thirty Years' War.

²⁹ Maximilian was the son of Duke William V. of Bavaria, brother of Ferdinand's mother, Mary.

been tolerated only in a quiet way. Disturbances followed; the monks and clergy were hooted and assaulted by the populace; and Maximilian, by perseverance, at length procured from the Aulic Council a decree by which Donauwörth was placed under the ban of the empire, and the execution of the sentence intrusted to himself (August 1607). As the inhabitants showed no signs of submission, Maximilian, in November, after publishing the ban with the customary solemnities, despatched some troops to take possession of the town; together with four Jesuits and two barefooted friars to bring the inhabitants to a proper sense of religion. A demand was then made for the expenses of executing the ban, which were estimated so high as to render payment impossible; and thus Donauwörth from a free Imperial Protestant city was converted into a Catholic provincial town of Bavaria.

The "Troubles of Donauwörth" are important in general history only by their consequences. The German Protestant princes had, in 1603, entered into an alliance at Heidelberg to protect themselves from the innovations daily made by Austria and Bavaria, and being alarmed by the proceedings at Donauwörth, convened an assembly at Ahausen, an ancient convent in the territory of Anspach. Here the Elector Palatine, Frederick IV., and Christian of Anhalt, who had summoned the meeting, were met by Joachim Ernest and Christian, the two Margraves of Brandenburg-Anspach and Brandenburg-Culmbach, together with the Count Palatine, Philip Louis of Neuburg, and the Duke John Frederick of Würtemberg; and they formed, for a period of ten years, a defensive alliance, which obtained the name of the PROTESTANT UNION (May 4th 1608.)³⁰ The objections which they took against the proceedings at Donauwörth were, that it was not competent to the Aulic Council³¹ to pronounce sentence against a free Imperial city, such power residing only in the diets and the Imperial Chamber; and further, that the execution of the ban had been intrusted to a prince of the Circle of Bavaria, whilst the decree was against a state of the Circle of Suabia. By the Act of Union, the allies agreed to provide an army and a common chest, and they named the Elector Palatine to be their director in time of peace; but in case of war,

³⁰ The Act will be found in Sattler's *Gesch. Württembergs*, B. vi. Beil. 4. There is an abstract of it in Menzel, B. iii. §. 173.

³¹ The Aulic Council was established by Maximilian I. As the members of it were all named by the Emperor, it was of course subservient to his will; and he endeavoured to draw under its jurisdiction

cases which should have been decided by the Imperial Chamber. But its authority was constantly disputed by the German States, and did not obtain entire recognition till the peace of Westphalia; after which its power went on continually increasing. See Pfeffel, sub anno 1612 (t. ii. p. 98 sq.).

any prince whose territory should be attacked, when the general affairs of the Union were to be directed by a council of war. At subsequent meetings held at Rothenburg on the Tauber and Halle in Suabia, the Margrave Joachim Ernest was appointed general of the Union out of the territories of the allied princes, with Christian of Anhalt for his lieutenant. The Union was eventually joined by fifteen Imperial cities, including Strasburg, Ulm, and Nuremberg, by the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse, and by John Sigismund, the new Elector of Brandenburg.

This alliance on the part of the Protestants provoked a counter one of the Catholics, organised by Maximilian of Bavaria. At his invitation the plenipotentiaries of the Bishops of Würzburg, Constance, Augsburg, Passau, Ratisbon and other prelates assembled at Munich in July 1609; and the Catholic States of the Circles of Suabia and Bavaria agreed to enter into an alliance which afterwards obtained the name of the HOLY LEAGUE. The alliance purported to be only a defensive one; but in case of need great powers were intrusted to Maximilian as its director, who had raised a little standing army, under the command of Baron Tilly, already notorious by the cruelties which, in the service of the Emperor, he had committed against the Protestants. In August the League was joined by the three spiritual Electors; and subsequently an alliance was made with the Pope and subsidies demanded from Spain.

Thus the great religious parties of Germany were formally arrayed against each other; for open violence nothing was wanting but the occasion, and this was afforded by a dispute which arose respecting the succession to the Duchy of Juliers.

On the 25th of March 1609 had died, without issue, John William, Duke of Juliers, Clèves and Berg, Count of La Marck and Ravensberg, and Lord of Ravenstein. Numerous claimants to the succession of Juliers arose, of whom the most important were the following four: 1. The Albertine, or now Electoral, House of Saxony, which founded its pretensions on a promise of the reversion of the Duchies of Juliers and Berg given by the Emperor Frederick III. in 1483. 2. The Ernestine, or Ducal, House of Saxony alleged, besides this promise common to both branches of the family, the marriage contract between the Elector John Frederick and Sybilla of Clèves and Juliers (1526); which had been confirmed by the Emperor Charles V., the Diet of the Empire, and the provincial States of the three Duchies. 3. John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, claimed by right of his wife, Anne of Prussia, daughter of Mary Eleanor of Juliers, eldest sister of the

last duke, as well as by the letters patent of Charles V., 1546, confirmed by his successor in 1566 and 1580, which appointed the duke's sisters to the succession. 4. Philip Louis, Count Palatine of Neuburg, who also pleaded the claim of his wife, Anne of Juliers, younger sister of the deceased duke, by whom he had a son, Wolfgang Louis.

The whole question, therefore, turned on the following points: Whether the contested duchies were solely male fiefs, or female as well? Whether the reversion of the House of Saxony, founded on the assumption of their being male fiefs, was to be preferred to a subsequent privilege in favour of the sisters of the last duke? Whether such a privilege, first granted in 1526, could be opposed to the marriage contract of 1546? and lastly, Whether the daughter of the eldest sister could contest the claim of the son of the youngest sister? ³²

In the present posture of affairs the question of this succession derived its chief importance from the circumstance that, though Protestantism had spread around them, the Dukes of Juliers had always remained firmly attached to the orthodox Church, thus constituting one of the few large Catholic powers among the temporal princes of Germany. As the various claims had arisen from the awards of his predecessors, the Emperor Rodolph II. evoked the cause before the Aulic Council, as the proper tribunal in all feudal disputes; and to this course the Elector of Saxony, always the subservient friend of the House of Austria, readily consented. But as the policy of Saxony was of great moment in the wars and quarrels that were about to desolate Germany, it will here be proper to give a brief account of that electorate, and of the religious and political views by which it was governed.

That unfortunate strife between the Lutheran and Calvinist divines, to which we have before alluded, and which divided the German Protestants into two hostile camps, had nowhere been attended with more disastrous effects than in Saxony. During the latter portion of the sixteenth century the Elector Augustus had introduced a sort of inquisition into his dominions; and by the Confession of Faith styled the *Concordien-Formel*, or Formula of Concord, published in 1580, had, as it were, erected Lutheranism into a Protestant Papacy. The confession was forced upon clergymen and schoolmasters; those who refused it were turned out by hundreds from office and bread; Melanchthon himself was abused in his grave, and the adherents of his principles were designated

³² Pffefel, *Hist d'Allemagne*, t. ii. p. 238 sq.

by the names of *Philipists* or *Crypto-Calvinists*. So absurdly intolerant was Augustus that he actually caused a medal to be struck in commemoration of his victory over four theologians, whom he had reduced to silence by persecution! Calvinists were regarded as children of perdition, to be exterminated from the earth; and from this period Saxony approximated much more nearly to the doctrines of Rome than to those of the Reformed Church.

Christian I., the successor of Augustus, was rather more moderate. He died in 1591 leaving a minor son, Christian II.; but before he was buried the Saxon nobles rose against his Chancellor Krell and his party, who from their moderation were suspected of Calvinism. Many of them were persecuted and banished; Krell himself was thrown into prison, where he was kept ten years; and after repeated torture was at length executed in 1601. Christian II. was distinguished only by his sottishness; he is said to have drunk two large pitchers of wine daily³³, till he was suddenly carried off in July 1611; when he was succeeded by his brother, John George, whose conduct, as we shall have occasion to relate, contributed greatly to enhance the sufferings of Germany during the Thirty Years' War.

As the Emperor naturally preferred such good friends and semi-Catholic princes as the Saxon Electors to the other claimants of the inheritance of Juliers, he made no difficulty in granting to Christian II. the eventual investiture of the litigated fiefs; but, till a definitive judgment should be pronounced, he sequestered them into the hands of his cousin Leopold, Bishop of Passau, the brother of Ferdinand of Styria. This step, however, proved fatal to the Saxon cause. The Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neuburg, reckoning on the support of France and the United Provinces, resolved to make common cause; and regardless of the Emperor's prohibition to the subjects of the duchies to acknowledge any sovereign till the Imperial decision was awarded, they jointly occupied those territories, and assumed the title of "Princes in possession."

The reliance which the Protestant princes placed on Henry IV. was not unfounded. As we have said, that monarch had long been engaged in intrigues with them; and in the autumn of 1602, Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, surnamed "the Learned," had visited his court *incognito* with the view of effecting a German Protestant League under the protectorate of France. Schemes

³³ Joh. Eremita, *Itinerarium Germ.* ap. Menzel, B. iii. S. 218,

were agitated of procuring the Imperial crown for Henry, or else for the Duke of Bavaria, who, with all his fellow-feeling for the House of Austria in matters of religion, harboured a secret jealousy of their greatness. The support of Bavaria would have brought with it that of all Catholic Germany; but the times were not yet ripe for action. Maurice and Henry, however, parted on the best terms; the latter assured the Landgrave that, in his inmost soul, he was still devoted to "the religion," and that he should make a fresh public confession of it before he died³⁴, assurances which contrast strongly with those which he was always giving to the clergy, the French parliaments and the Court of Rome, and forcibly illustrate Henry's own admission that the law of necessity made him say one thing while he meant another.

Henry's views induced him easily to listen to the applications of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine for assistance, and on his representations the provincial States of Berg, Clèves, La Marck and Ravenstein consented to put their fortresses into the hands of those princes, but on condition that the Roman Catholic worship should be maintained. The city of Juliers, on the other hand, which was under the influence of the Margravine of Burgau, fourth sister of the late duke, declared for the opposite party, and admitted the captain of the Archduke Leopold, who had already assembled an army, and who was supported by the Belgian Archdukes (December 1609).

It has been attempted, by means of Henry's amorous foibles, to throw a false air of romance over the last great political act of his life; and the most recent historian of France has, in his eloquent pages, gravely ascribed Henry's projected expedition to Juliers to his new love for Charlotte de Montmorenci.³⁵ It is true that, at the age of fifty-five, Henry had conceived a passion—if such a term can fitly be applied to the numerous amours of the volatile monarch—for Charlotte, then in all the bloom of seventeen: with the view at once of gratifying and concealing his inclinations, he had given her in marriage to his cousin, the Prince of Condé, whom he called his nephew; a young man of sullen unsocial temper, suspected of shameful vices, and supposed to be no genuine scion of the illustrious house whose name he bore. Condé, however, proved not so compliant as his "uncle" had hoped and imagined; he carried off his young wife into Picardy; and Henry, to obtain a sight of the object of his adoration, committed many follies ill

³⁴ It is the Landgrave himself who relates this anecdote. See *Correspondance de Henri IV. avec Maurice le Savant*,

edited by Rommel, ap. Martin, t. x. p. 521.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 555.

becoming a gray-haired lover: travelling the country in disguise, and moving the pity, or contempt, of Charlotte, by handing her into her coach in the garb of a servant. The jealous husband, in a gloomy November night, compelled his young spouse to enter his carriage, conducted her into Belgium, and placed her under the protection of the Archdukes Albert and Clara Eugenia; whilst he himself took shelter at Cologne, and afterwards set off for the Court of Philip III. On his way thither he published in Lombardy an absurd manifesto, denouncing the grievances of the French people, which he affirmed he had studied in their cottages, and he accused Sully of a design to usurp the crown!

Inflamed at once by disappointed love, the ingratitude of a relative, and the treason of a subject, Henry had warned the Archdukes not to shelter his "nephew," under pain of incurring his hostility. Albert and Clara Eugenia, according to their custom, beat about till they had received instructions from the Court of Spain; which, while it affected to interpose between Henry and Condé only for the good of both parties, recommended the Archdukes to give the fugitives an asylum. But that this was the real cause of war cannot for a moment be supposed. We have already seen that, however addicted to women, Henry was not weak enough to sacrifice to them his policy and the interests of France.³⁶ Instead of being the inspiration of love, his conduct on this occasion was guided by the advice of the cold and politic Sully; who pointed out that now, when the House of Habsburg was hampered by its domestic quarrels, was the moment to strike a blow; and he contrasted the disorder of the empire with the unity of France, and the prosperous state of her finances. Long, indeed, before the flight of Condé the French arsenals had resounded with the din of preparation, and negotiations had been opened which embraced the greater part of Europe. Early in 1610 Henry concluded at Halle in Suabia a treaty with the German Protestant Union to uphold the rights of the inheritors of Clèves, and to drive from Juliers the Archduke Leopold. France promised to raise 10,000 men; the confederated princes as many more; the Dutch, who entered warmly into the affair, in the hope of seizing the Spanish Netherlands, engaged to provide 17,000 or 18,000 men; the King of Denmark favoured the cause, and even the unwarlike English monarch, James I., embarked in the quarrel and promised a contingent of 4000 men.

The views of Henry IV. and Sully embraced the wresting of the

³⁶ On this head he was entitled to adopt the saying of Aristippus: *ἔχω τὴν Λαῖδα, οὐκ ἔχομαι ὑπὸ τῆς Λαίδας.*

Imperial sceptre from the House of Austria; a scheme that appeared to be feasible only by enticing the Duke of Bavaria with the hope of obtaining it. The Kings of England and Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Elector Palatine had consented to accept a Catholic Emperor, but with guarantees for religion; the vote of Ernest of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne, uncle of the candidate, might be reckoned on; but a fourth vote was still necessary to secure a majority. The only other Protestant Elector was Christian of Saxony, a Lutheran, but as we have said devoted to the Imperial House. It was resolved, therefore, that if he obstinately adhered to that alliance, and continued to betray the common cause of Protestantism, the act by which Charles V. had deprived John Frederick of the Saxon Electorate was to be declared null and void, and that dignity was to be restored to the Ernestine branch of the House of Saxony. It was hoped that the resistance of the Imperial family would be paralysed by the distracted condition of their dominions, and that anti-dynastic revolutions might be excited in Hungary and Bohemia, and national princes substituted in those countries for the ruling house. French and German envoys were employed to propagate these schemes even in Transylvania and Wallachia; while from the north the King of Sweden and his son had assured Henry of their good wishes. It does not appear, however, how far Maximilian of Bavaria himself had entered into this plan for transferring to him the empire, although Sully positively asserts that he gave his consent to it³⁷; yet it is certain that he remained perfectly quiet at the time of the French King's projected invasion, notwithstanding that the members of the Protestant Union had taken up arms.

The preparations of Henry IV. were on the grandest scale. Besides the armies destined for Italy and Spain, as already mentioned, he had prepared, instead of the 10,000 men promised to the German princes, an army of more than 30,000, which he intended to lead in person to Juliers. The plan of the campaign was to seize all the passages of the Meuse, and to surprise Charleroi, Maestricht and Namur, while at the same time the Dutch were to blockade the Flemish harbours; the Belgian democracy was to be invited to rebellion; the nobles who possessed any jurisdiction were to be expelled; and a republic was to be proclaimed. A junction was to be formed at Duren or Stavelo with the German princes and Maurice of Nassau; in case of prompt success in the north, Franche Comté was next to be attacked; and then, according to

³⁷ *Mémoires*, t. viii. p. 229 (Petitot). Cf. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iii. SS. 130, 176.

circumstances, the King was either to march into Italy or Bohemia, and to call upon the Germans to decide the great question about the empire.

The Pope, alarmed at these mighty preparations, endeavoured to frustrate them by bringing about an accommodation. The Emperor and the King of Spain were disposed to make large concessions; the Belgian Archdukes granted a passage to the French army, and agreed to send back the Princess of Condé; and even Henry himself felt some natural hesitation on the brink of so momentous an enterprise. His plans had been differently received in France, according to the tempers and views of men. They were of course regarded with an evil eye by the old fanatical Catholic party, whose resentment he dreaded. The Jesuits were at work spreading sinister rumours; it was said that the King meant to destroy the Catholic religion in Germany; the cries of the soldiers were commented on, who declared that they would follow the King anywhere, even against the Pope; and sermons were daily delivered containing invectives against the Edict of Nantes, the government and the person of the King. Nay, even the Queen herself, and her favourite Concini, were in secret correspondence with Madrid.

The cares of Henry were aggravated by a presentiment of his own approaching fate. Unacquainted with fear on the battle-field, he dreaded the knife of the assassin; obscure rumours of conspiracies were floating about, and he communicated to Sully his conviction that he should be murdered on the occasion of the first great public solemnity. Such an occasion was approaching. On the 20th of March 1610, Henry had issued a decree conferring the regency on his consort, Mary de' Medici, during his absence from the kingdom, but subject to a council of fifteen persons, with whom all the effective authority would lie. As the Queen, like any other member of it, had only a single vote, Mary's self-love was sorely wounded by this step; but she used the conjuncture to persuade Henry to complete the long-deferred ceremony of her coronation, although he grudged both the expense of that pageant and the delay which it would cause in his departure.

And now everything was arranged for carrying out that grand scheme of policy which Henry had so long been meditating. The troops had begun to move; the Queen had been crowned with great pomp at St. Denys by the Cardinal de Joyeuse, May 13th; her solemn entry into Paris was fixed for the 16th; and three days afterwards the King was to set off for the army. But on the 14th, while passing in his carriage from the Rue St. Honoré into the

Rue de la Ferronnerie, its progress was arrested by two carts; and at this moment a man mounted on the wheel and stabbed the King with a knife between the ribs. Henry threw up his arms, exclaiming "I am wounded;" and the assassin seized the opportunity to repeat the blow more fatally, by stabbing him to the heart. He never spoke more. The murderer was seized by the King's suite, and turned out to be one François Ravailiac, who had passed a noviciate in the convent of the Feuillants at Paris, and had afterwards been a schoolmaster in his native town of Angoulême. In his examination he assigned as his motives for the deed, the King's having neglected to convert the Hugonots, and his design of making war upon the Pope; that is, in Ravailiac's notion, on God himself. In this view his crime was the result of fanaticism, inflamed by the discourses and sermons which he heard; but the Spanish Court, Mary de' Medici, and Concini, gained so much by the act, that there were not wanting those who suspected them to be privy to it; together with the Duke d'Epemon, who was in the coach with Henry at the time, and to whom the town of Angoulême belonged. Nay, it is even said that Ravailiac, during the last dreadful tortures of his execution, denounced their names; but the papers containing his depositions were suppressed.³⁸ These charges, however, rest on no certain foundation.

Thus perished Hénry IV., and with him his extensive projects, at a time when his robust constitution, at the age of fifty-seven, still promised many years of life. The main features of his character will have been gathered from his history, for his virtues and defects were alike without concealment. In the more private intercourse of life his tastes and habits were of the simplest kind. He preferred the bagpipe and the hautboy to more refined and artificial music; he loved to mix and talk with the people in the taverns or ferry-boats whither his hunting-parties led him; and when campaigning, he would sit with the soldiers and partake of their black bread. He frequented the fairs and markets, and often made purchases, but he always offered the lowest price, and it was observed to be of no advantage to deal with the King.³⁹ Some parts of his conduct it would be difficult to defend; but it may be easier to rail at his faults and weaknesses than to imitate his virtues.

³⁸ See Michelet, *Henri IV. et Richelieu*.

³⁹ Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.* B. ii. S. 100.

CHAPTER III.

No sooner had the murder of Henry IV. been perpetrated, than the Duke d'Epemon, who had been an eye-witness of it, hastened, in his capacity of colonel-general of the infantry, to appoint the guard at the Louvre, and to occupy with troops the principal places of the capital. The ministers of the late King, Sillery, Villeroy, and Jeannin, with whom d'Epemon and Guise agreed, advised Mary to seize the regency before the princes of the blood should have time to dispute it with her; and d'Epemon proceeded to the convent of the Augustinians, where the Parliament had been assembled, and overawed it by his language. That body, however, was of itself sufficiently inclined to exert a privilege which did not constitutionally belong to it. Henry had been assassinated at four o'clock in the afternoon; before seven, the Parliament brought to Mary de Medici an *Arrêt* conferring upon her the regency; to which, indeed, she had already been appointed by Henry, though for a different purpose, and with less extensive powers.

In these proceedings, Sully, the prime minister of Henry, was conspicuous by his absence. At the time of the King's murder, Sully was waiting for him at the arsenal; instead of Henry came a gentleman of his suite, bringing the knife, still reeking with his blood. Sully's first impulse was to mount his horse and ride towards the Louvre; in the Rue St. Honoré he was met by Vitri, the captain of the guard, who, with tears in his eyes, implored him to go no further; it was rumoured; he said, that the plot had been hatched in high places, had many ramifications. Sully turned his horse's head and shut himself up in the Bastille; whence he sent a message to his son-in-law, the Duke of Rohan, then in Champagne, to hasten to Paris with the 6000 Swiss whom he commanded. But the Queen sent to assure Sully of her confidence; and on the following morning, he appeared at the Louvre; Mary brought to him the infant Louis XIII., and while Sully embraced the heir of his late friend and master, the Queen besought him to serve the son as he had served the father. Deceitful words! Concini was already director of Mary and the state. On the same morning, the regency of the Queen was solemnly confirmed in a *Lit de Justice*,

at which the youthful King presided, and in infantine tones appointed his mother to be his tutor. Not many weeks after we find him imploring the guardian he had himself appointed not to apply the horsewhip too severely¹; for personal chastisement was among the means of his education.

The regency of Mary de' Medici was not unpopular. She was now in the meridian of womanly beauty; a well developed person and a majestic air procured for her the admiration of the Parisians, and in her progresses through the metropolis she was received with the acclamations of the people. But they also lamented the loss of Henry, whose merits were not appreciated till he was dead. It was difficult to save Ravailiac, when proceeding to execution, from the fury of the populace; his remains, instead of being burnt pursuant to his sentence, were seized by the crowd and torn to pieces; even the peasants of the neighbourhood carried off portions of them to burn in their villages. The Sorbonne, at the instance of the Parliament of Paris, issued a decree condemning the principles from which the assassination had proceeded, and the Parliament itself ordered the book of Mariana, in which that Jesuit sanctions regicide, to be burnt. Yet Henry had courted that sect, apparently to propitiate their power of doing him mischief. To gratify his confessor, Père Cotton, he had appointed by his will that his heart should be entombed in their church at La Flèche, and one morning early, before Paris was awake, several of their order carried it off secretly in a coach, escorted by many of the nobility on horseback. It was a prize, as L'Estoile maliciously observes, for which they had long been waiting.²

Mary de' Medici had stolen a march upon the princes of the blood, whose characters did not render them very formidable. Condé, as we have seen, was absent in Italy; of his two uncles, one, the Prince de Conti, was almost imbecile; the other, the Count of Soissons, who had absented himself from the court, was entirely venal. He arrived in Paris on the 17th of May; but abandoned all his pretensions for a sum of 200,000 crowns, and an annual pension of 50,000. Henry of Condé, first prince of the blood, was, as already related, in a state of rebellion against Henry IV.; but he protested his devotion to the young King, and finding that he should be well received, returned to Paris in the middle of July, when most of the nobility, who were disgusted with the conduct of Concini, and the other rapacious favourites by whom the Queen was surrounded, went out to meet and welcome him; and he

¹ Michelet, *Henri IV.* p. 203.

² *Journal de Louis XIII.* t. v. p. 8 (Petitot); Cf. Michelet, *Henri IV.* p. 206.

entered the capital at the head of 1500 gentlemen.³ But Condé was as meanly venal as his uncle. At his first interview with the Queen, Mary was all grace, the prince all submission. The treasure amassed by Henry IV. in the Bastille for his projected war supplied Mary with unlimited means of seduction; and the county of Clermont, a pension of 200,000 livres, the Hôtel de Gondi, with 30,000 crowns to furnish it, together with a seat in the Council, converted Condé from a rival into a subject. The Queen also gained the leading nobles by giving them pensions and governments⁴; the people, by remitting several unpopular ordinances and taxes; the Hugonots, by confirming the Edict of Nantes. Her new situation seemed to have roused a fresh spirit in her. She was up at sunrise to receive her privy council; she devoted the whole morning to business; after dinner she admitted to an audience all who demanded it, and in the evening she discussed her affairs with confidential friends.

But there was one man who was not to be gained. Sully viewed with aversion both the domestic and foreign policy of Mary, so contrary to all his former projects: he resolved to retire, and in October, during the *sacre* of Louis XIII. at Rheims, he obtained leave to visit his estates, and set off with a determination never to return. His administrative talents were soon missed; nothing went right in his absence, and, at the pressing solicitation of Mary and her ministers, he again returned to the helm. He was now about fifty years of age, in the full maturity of his powers, and ambitious to employ his talents in those schemes for the benefit of France which had so long engrossed his attention; but he experienced a furious opposition from the rapacious courtiers and nobles; his life was even threatened, and in January 1611 he found himself compelled finally to relinquish office. From this time till his death in 1641, at the age of eighty-two, his life was passed in retirement on his estates of Rosni, Boisbelle, Sully, and Villebon; and it was reserved for him, at length, to see his plans realised in part by Richelieu.⁵

Except in one point the policy of Henry IV. and his great minister was entirely abandoned. The Queen had always been in

³ *Mém. d'Estrées* (in Petitot, 2^{de} sér. t. xvi. p. 189). If the Queen had not persuaded some gentlemen to remain with the King, says Pontchartrain (*Mém.* t. i. p. 418), not one would have stayed in Paris.

⁴ Jeannin admitted to the States-General in 1614 that pensions, which under Henry IV. had been less than two millions per annum, then figured for a sum

of 5,650,000 livres! See the *Relation des Etats-Gén.* in the *Arch. Curieuses*, 2^{de} sér. t. i.; Cf. Fontenai-Mareuil, t. i. p. 134.

⁵ For Sully and his fall, see, besides the *Economies Royales*, the *Mémoires* of Fontenai-Mareuil, of Pontchartrain, and of the Duke de Rohan.

favour of a Spanish alliance, and was particularly desirous of the Spanish match proposed during the lifetime of her husband; and in these views she was supported by Concini, his wife La Galigai, and the Duke d'Epemon. Even the ministers Silleri, Villeroi, and Jeannin, were for conciliating Spain; but at the same time they recommended that the alliances with England, Holland, the German Protestant princes, and the Turks, should be confirmed; and though three fourths of the army of Champagne were disbanded, they persuaded the Council, in spite of the opposition of the Jesuits, that the treaty of Halle should be carried out. It was a sort of compromise between the parties, and the last concession to the policy of Henry IV.

The bishop and Archduke, Leopold, had already begun to think of treating for the surrender of Juliers, when the news of Henry IV.'s assassination determined him to a vigorous resistance; and Rauschenberger, his commandant in that city, had succeeded in defending it not only against the two German princes but also against Maurice of Nassau, who had appeared before it in the last week in July. In August, however, the besieging forces were joined by some 14,000 French, under the Marshal de la Châtre, with the Duke of Rohan for his lieutenant, and on the first of September Rauschenberger found it necessary to capitulate. A prince of the House of Brandenburg now obtained the government of Juliers and its territory, although the Emperor Rodolph had, in June, formally invested with it Christian II., the Elector of Saxony.⁶ The Archduke Leopold continued to maintain some troops in Alsace, which committed terrible disorders, till the Union sent an army against him, compelled him to dismiss his troops and enter into the treaty of Willstatt. The Elector Palatine, Frederick IV., one of the chief leaders of the Protestant Union, died in September 1610, leaving by his will the Duke of Zweibrücken (Deux Ponts), a Calvinist, the guardian of his minor son, Frederick V.; although the Duke of Neuburg, a Lutheran, was his nearest relation.⁷ The Duke of Deux Ponts now became a director of the Union.

In the Palatinate, as in Saxony, the contest between the Lutherans and Calvinists had been long and violent, but had terminated in the predominance of the latter. The old Electoral Palatine line had died out in 1559 with Otho Henry; who was succeeded by Frederick III., founder of the line of Simmern.

⁶ Menzel, B. iii. S. 210.

⁷ Frederick V.'s mother was the celebrated Louisa Juliana, whose life has

been written by Spanheim (*Mémoires de Louise Juliane Electrice Palatine*. Leyden, 1646).

Frederick had been bred a Lutheran, but, in 1560, he declared himself in favour of the doctrines of Calvin, and caused them to be embraced by his subjects. He was the first sovereign prince who adopted the tenets of the Reformed Church. Frederick IV. who had enjoyed the electorate since 1592, became the principal leader of the reformed party. His unfortunate son, Frederick V., was bred up under the Duke of Bouillon at Sedan, at that time a kind of second metropolis and citadel of Calvinism.

Meanwhile in France the politics of the Court had completely changed. The idea began to spread that the union of France and Spain, the two greatest monarchies of Europe, was necessary to the peace and happiness of Christendom; though Mary de' Medici, in adopting it, was guided principally by considerations of domestic policy. She was alarmed at the conduct of the Prince of Condé, who held several governments in France, and who had strengthened himself by connections with some of the chief nobles; as his uncle Soissons, the Duke of Nevers, Lesdiguières, Count Bucquoy, and others, and especially the Duke of Bouillon and his party.⁸ Condé wanted to obtain the chief voice in the executive as well as in the Council, and the promise of the constablership on the next vacancy; but he cloaked his personal ambition by making demands for what seemed the public good. The Queen preserved awhile the peace of France by conciliating Condé and the disaffected nobles by large gifts, governments, and pensions. The Hugonots, who had also begun to stir, and who still formed a very formidable power in the state, it was not possible thus to conciliate.⁹ They demanded to hold their assemblies, as in the time of Henry IV., threatening to do so without leave if permission were not granted; and in May 1611 they had a stormy meeting at Saumur. All these things were motives with the Queen for pressing the alliance with Spain. The Spanish Court was also anxious for it; and the Duke of Feria had been despatched to Paris with the friendly message that all grounds for hostility had vanished on the death of Henry IV. The negotiations for the marriages between Louis XIII. and Donna Anna, the eldest Infanta of Spain, and between Louis's eldest sister, Elizabeth of France, and Don Philip, Prince of the Asturias, were not, however, brought to a conclusion till August 1612. In these contracts, Don Philip renounced

⁸ Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount Turenne, had obtained the duchy of Bouillon by his marriage with Charlotte de la Marek.

⁹ About the year 1600 they possessed 760 parish churches, and about 200 forti-

fied towns; they counted in their ranks 4000 of the nobility, and could easily bring into the field an army of 25,000 men. *Relazione* of Badoer, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 440.

all future pretensions to the French crown, and Donna Anna gave up all claim to the Spanish inheritance.¹⁰ With the marriage treaties another was also arranged by which each government engaged not to support, either directly or indirectly, the rebellious subjects of the other; a point of great importance to France, but of very little moment to Spain since the conclusion of the truce with Holland.

This alliance was most important to the general politics of Europe. The friendship of the two leading Catholic powers was welcome to the clergy, and especially to the Pope, who had done all he could to promote it. He hoped to derive advantage from it not only with regard to the Protestants but also the Gallican Church: for the peace of Christendom, as it was called by the contracting powers, was identified only with that of the Catholic world.

But, although the Spanish marriages furnished materials for complaint and sedition to the malcontent party in France, the princes met with no support from the people, and the government might have saved the money laid out in buying them. In 1614 Condé, Mayenne, Nevers, Bouillon, and other nobles, attempted an absurd revolt, which was soon put down, and terminated by the peace of Ménéhould, May 15th. In one of the articles, Condé insisted upon the convocation of the *Etats-Généraux*; which the Queen accordingly assembled at Paris in the following October, although the Prince secretly let her know that he was not in earnest in the matter. This assembly of the States is chiefly remarkable as being the last under the French monarchy. It terminated in the dismissal of the *Tiers Etat* (March 1615); their chamber was locked up, and they were forbidden again to meet. Their next assembly, in 1789, gave the signal for the downfall of the French monarchy.

The *Etats-Généraux* of 1614 are also memorable as being the occasion on which Richelieu made his first appearance in public life. Although not yet thirty years of age he was already so distinguished by his talents that he was elected spokesman of the clergy; and he displayed in that capacity, by his masculine eloquence, the genius that was to wield for a period the destinies of France.

Armand Jean du Plessis, the third son of a gentleman of Poitou, who, besides the estate of Plessis, in that province, also inherited the lordships of Richelieu, Beçay, and Chillou, was born at Paris September 5th 1585. His father had been a captain in Henry IV.'s

¹⁰ The definitive treaties, signed August 25th 1612, are in Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 215; Cf. *Arch. de Simancas*, ap. Cæpe-
figue, *Richelieu et Mazarin*, t. ii. p. 116 sqq.

guard, and Armand also chose the military profession; with which view he acquired all the accomplishments of a cavalier, and especially a skill in horsemanship, on which he piqued himself through life. But the family was in straitened circumstances. Henry IV., who loved to reward his old servants, had indeed bestowed on the eldest brother a pension of 1200 crowns, and on Alphonso, the second, the bishopric of Luçon, besides other preferments. But Alphonso, a prey to religious fanaticism, soon resolved to resign his bishopric, and turn Carthusian; and the family, unwilling to see that valuable preferment pass from their hands, procured from the court the nomination of Armand to the see in place of his brother. Armand, with the energy natural to his character, resolved to qualify himself for his new career; and, shutting himself up in a country house near Paris with a doctor of Louvain, he devoted himself for a year or two to the study of theology with an application which is said to have injured his health. The depths of learning are not, however, so easily fathomed, nor does Richelieu's genius seem to have been adapted to the patient toils of the closet; it is at all events certain that some specimens he has left do not convey any high notion of the profundity of his acquirements¹¹, and he was dissuaded by his friends from studies that seemed alike injurious to his health and to his fortunes.

Nevertheless Richelieu entered on his episcopal functions at the early age of twenty-one, after making a journey to Rome for his consecration (April 1607); where he is said to have charmed Pope Paul V. by an elegant Latin oration. After his return to France he appears to have applied himself with some diligence to his episcopal duties, though he paid occasional visits to the court. His election to represent the clergy of Poitou, Fontenai, and Niort, in the States-General of 1614, must have afforded no little gratification to a man of his ambitious temper; and the speech which he delivered in them as the organ of the priesthood laid the foundation of his political fortune.¹² To a modern reader, indeed, it may appear somewhat prolix and old-fashioned; but on the whole it marks an era in the progress of French eloquence, especially by the absence of the tedious and impertinent display of erudition then in vogue. In an eloquent passage he vehemently denounced the exclusion of the clergy from all share in the government; and com-

¹¹ Thus in his *Défense de notre créance contre les quatre ministres de Charenton*, he calls Terentianus Maurus, the well known poet and grammarian, "Le Maure de Terence." See Dreux du Radier,

Bibliothèque Hist. du Poitou, t. iii. p. 374; Cf. Le Clerc, *Vie du Card. de Richelieu*, t. i. p. 5.

¹² It will be found in Petitot, 2^o sér. t. xi. p. 201 sqq.

plained that so debased was the Gallican Church that it seemed as if the honour of serving God rendered its priests unfit to serve the King, His image upon earth. He was to see this grievance remedied in his own person, as he perhaps anticipated; but though he proved well enough that a prelate may be a politician, he overlooked the other side of the question, and neglected to inquire whether the occupations of a statesman are compatible with the duties of a bishop. He concluded his speech with some compliments to the Queen; and by expressing a wish to see the Spanish marriages accomplished, which, though not generally popular in France, were desired by the clergy. After the close of the assembly, he did not return to his diocese, but remained at Paris, in the hope apparently of obtaining some such employment as he had hinted at in his speech; but he had yet to wait a year or two for the attainment of his object.

Just before the meeting of the States-General, Louis XIII., who had entered his fourteenth year, September 27th, had been declared major; a step, by which Mary de' Medici, in losing the title of Regent, only fixed her power on a firmer basis, so long as the King, still by nature a minor, continued to be obedient to her counsels. She was very desirous of effecting the Spanish marriages as speedily as possible, and with that view arranged a journey into Guienne, when the French and Spanish princesses were to be exchanged. On the 9th of August 1615 Condé published a hostile manifesto, in which he demanded the postponement of the marriages till the King was really of nubile years; and being supported by several of the nobles, as well as by the Hugonots, then holding their triennial assembly at Grenoble, he began to levy soldiers. The Parliament of Paris, aware of the support which they might expect from Condé's faction, had also displayed the most refractory symptoms; they had addressed the Queen in a violent remonstrance, and in particular they had complained of the employment in high offices of certain persons, whom they did not name, some of whom were foreigners; but Condé supplied the omission by naming the Marshal d'Ancre, the chancellor, and two or three others. Concini, Mary's brilliant favourite, although he had never borne arms, had been dignified in November 1613 with the *bâton*, and the title of Marshal d'Ancre. Vain, presumptuous, devoid of ability, Concini had by his insolence incurred the hatred of all, and especially of *la robe*, or the members of the Parliament. He had insulted that assembly by keeping on his hat; and he had incurred the rebuke of the venerable president Harlai, in the *Lit de Justice* held after the assassination of Henry IV., by directing

in a loud voice the proceedings of the Queen. Alarmed by the denunciations of the Parliament, backed as they were by Condé, Marshal d'Ancre and his wife implored the Queen to postpone her intended journey; but Mary on this occasion, contrary to her usual custom, displayed considerable ill-humour towards her favourite; bade him repair to his government of Picardy, to maintain there the royal authority; and ordered various measures to be adopted against the attempts of Condé and his confederates. She then took the road to Bordeaux with the King and Court, escorted by a military force under the Dukes of Guise and d'Epemon. Condé and his confederates set off with some 5000 or 6000 men; and the Duke of Rohan, with the same view, took the command of the Hugonot forces in Guienne. But Rohan had been deceived as to their real strength; he was not able to obstruct the Queen's passage; the road to Spain was open, and the double marriage was celebrated by procuration at Bordeaux and Burgos, October 18th. The two princesses were exchanged at Andaye, on the Bidassoa, November 9th 1615. Guise, at the head of 5000 men, conducted the new Queen of France to Bordeaux, and on the 25th of November, the union of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria—strange mixture of the blood of Henry IV. and Philip II.—was solemnised in the cathedral of that city by the Bishop of Saintes.

The principal subject of contention being thus at an end, an accommodation was soon afterwards effected with the malcontents, by the treaty of Loudun, May 3rd 1616, promulgated at Blois in the form of an edict. By a supplementary article, one and a half million livres were assigned to Condé for the expenses of the war, and the other princes received in proportion. The rights and privileges of the Hugonots were confirmed.

After this peace Richelieu was employed by the Queen-mother in conducting some negotiations with Condé, whom the Court wished to gain over, and to convert into a mediator with the great nobles. Richelieu had now obtained through the interest of Leonora Galigai, the wife of Marshal d'Ancre, the place of grand-almoner to the Queen-regnant, Anne of Austria¹⁸, an office of no political importance, but which he afterwards sold for a considerable sum. Richelieu soon afterwards was also made a *Conseiller d'Etat*. He discharged his mission to Condé with success, and persuaded that Prince, who was residing in jealous retirement in Berri, to come to Paris. In November 1616 the Bishop of Luçon was

¹⁸ According to some writers, to the Queen-mother; but in Louis XIII.'s *brevet* constituting him a secretary of state, Riche-

lieu is styled "grand aumonier de la reine *notre très chère et très amée compagne*." Aubéry, *Mém. de Richelieu*, t. i. p. 11.

named ambassador-extraordinary to Spain, on the subject of some differences which had arisen between that Court and the Duke of Savoy. His effects were already packed up, when a change having occurred in the French ministry by the dismissal of Du Vair, the keeper of the seals, Richelieu was appointed a secretary of state in the place of Mangot, promoted to the chancellorship. He marked his entrance upon office by asserting the pre-eminence of the Church, and demanded a special *brevet*, giving him, though a younger man, precedence over the other members of the council. Villerói, compelled to cede to him the post of first secretary, retired, though still retaining the emoluments belonging to that dignity.¹⁴

Richelieu obtained his promotion through the favour and patronage of Marshal d'Ancre and his wife. Long before the bishop's entrance into office, the marshal had been in the habit of telling his friends that he had in hand a young man capable of reading a lesson *a tutti barboni*, to all the old long beards, or dotards, as he called them, the former ministers of Henry IV.¹⁵ Thus Richelieu began his political career as the devoted servant of the Queen-mother, and the instrument of her Spanish policy; a course directly opposed to his subsequent views after he had obtained the entire management of the affairs of France. By one class of French historians this has been viewed as a blot on the judgment and consistency as well as on the patriotism of the great statesman¹⁶; whilst others have acquitted him of these charges, but at the expense of his honour and humanity. According to these writers, the Bishop of Luçon accepted place only with the view of cheating Spain, and deceiving and supplanting his patron Concini¹⁷; and of this defence it must at least be said that some parts of Richelieu's conduct show him not incapable of the motives on which it is founded. These, however, must remain in obscurity, if, according to the dictum of Michelet, even the Cardinal's own memoirs are not to be trusted.¹⁸ That self-advancement was his

¹⁴ Richelieu's commission, dated Nov. 30th 1616, expressly provides that his right of *préséance* is not to form a precedent. Aubéry, *Mém.* t. i. p. 15.

¹⁵ Richelieu, *Mém.* liv. vii. After the death of Marshal d'Ancre, a letter of Richelieu's was found among his papers, in which the bishop acknowledged his eternal obligations to the marshal and his wife. Capéfigue, *Richelieu*, &c. t. ii. p. 275.

¹⁶ See Michelet, *Henri IV. et Richelieu*, ch. xxi. who asserts that Richelieu was Spanish to the age of forty, and the rest

of his life anti-Spanish.

¹⁷ "Richelieu ne trahit jamais les devoirs de l'homme d'état envers la grandeur de la patrie; mais il fut malheureusement moins fidèle aux lois de la morale et de l'humanité."—Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xi. p. 107.

¹⁸ "Si l'on veut ignorer solidement et à fond Richelieu, il faut lire ses Mémoires."—Henry IV. et Richelieu, p. 363. The author proceeds to compare them with those of Sulla, Tiberius, and others written, "pour rendre l'histoire difficile."

object can hardly be doubted, yet he was not like the Briçonnets, the D'Amboises, and the Wolseys, of that vulgar class of politicians who seek their own interests only; he had a soul for those of his country also, and in the view of his more capacious genius, the glory of France, the result of his administrative talents, was reflected back upon himself.

Richelieu's patron already stood on the brink of a precipice. Several of the great nobles, at the head of whom were Mayenne and Bouillon, had conspired to take Concini's life, and they had induced Condé to join them. The French nobility, it must be confessed, had much degenerated. The leagues and revolts of the preceding century had, by profession at least, been for great principles, contended for in the open field; they were now miserable intrigues for the sole object of personal aggrandisement. The first princes of the land were ready to sacrifice their principles, and even their ambition, for a sum of money or a government; and now they were leagued together to assassinate a foreigner who offended them indeed by his insolence, but whose greatest crime was that he intercepted some of those emoluments and honours which they coveted for themselves. Condé, however, had neither the firmness nor the discretion necessary for a conspirator; he secretly let Concini know that he could protect him no longer, and both the marshal and his wife set off for Caen. But though Condé spared the favourite, he only pushed with more vigour the plans which he had formed against the Queen and government. His return had been hailed by the Parisians with a loudness of acclamation which had excited the jealousy of the Court. He seemed to partake, and even to eclipse, the authority of the Queen. He was assiduous at the Council, of which by the treaty of Loudun he was the head; the finances were abandoned to his direction; no ordinance was issued without his signature; and while the Louvre was deserted, such were the crowds that resorted to his hotel that it was difficult to approach the gates. He treated the Queen-mother with an insolence which completely alienated her. He attempted to debauch the populace, to gain over the guilds, as well as the colonels and captains of quarters, and to animate the pulpits against the government; and as all his conduct seemed to indicate that he aimed at nothing less than seizing the supreme power, and perhaps even the throne itself, Mary, by the advice of her ministers, resolved on arresting him; which was accordingly effected at the Louvre, whither he had come to pay his respects to the Queen (September 1st 1616). Being sent to the Bastille, he betrayed the meanest pusillanimity, and offered to reveal all the plots

of his accomplices; who, on the first notice of the Prince's capture, had escaped from Paris. Condé's mother, proceeding on foot to the Pont Notre Dame, exclaimed that Marshal d'Ancre had murdered her son, and called on the populace to avenge her. The mob gazed with astonishment and pity on so strange a sight; and Picard, a little red-haired, grey-eyed shoemaker, the demagogue of Paris, who had had a mortal quarrel with Concini, seized the moment to lead them to the hotels of the marshal and his secretary, Corbinelli, which were plundered and destroyed.¹⁹

Meanwhile the Duke of Nevers was meditating open force, and Mayenne and Bouillon were preparing to join him. Concini trembled in the midst of his enormous wealth, and thought of securing it by retiring to Italy; but from this project he was diverted by his wife; and when the confusion and astonishment created by the arrest of Condé had somewhat subsided, he took heart and returned to Paris. After all it was not by the disaffected nobles that he was to be overthrown, but by a domestic revolution in the palace.

Louis XIII., now in his sixteenth year, was beginning to act for himself. As a child he had been sullen and refractory; as a youth he grew up dissembling, distrustful and melancholy. His features were handsome, but the expression of his countenance was at once harsh and irresolute; his eyes and hair were black, his countenance tawny as a Spaniard's, but without the vivacity of the south. He neither loved literature, nor play, nor wine, nor the society of ladies; art touched him somewhat more, especially music, his chief solace. He had shown some ability in the mathematical and mechanical sciences, and had early become a good artilleryman and engineer. Although of an unsound constitution, he was not deficient in bodily strength and activity, and hunting and hawking were his favourite diversions. He blew the horn himself; he knew the names of all his hounds; it was his supreme delight to see the pack assemble before him, or to watch his falcons soar into the air and swoop on the scared and fluttering birds which sought refuge in the trees or under the battlements. Observing his passion for fowling, M. de Souvré, his governor, had placed about him a person particularly skilled in that pastime; a gentleman about thirty years of age, of equivocal descent, the natural son or grandson of a canon of Marseilles and an Italian woman who claimed to belong to the Florentine family of the Alberti. Hence the royal falconer called himself Charles d'Albert, and from a small property on the Rhone,

¹⁹ *Mercure Français*, t. iv. p. 201.

Sieur de Luines. Two younger brothers bore the names of Brantes and Cadenet, from two lordships of such slender dimensions that a hare, says Bassompierre, could leap over them; nor was the nobility of these three Provençal brothers very magnificently supported by a pension of 1200 crowns which Henry IV. had settled on the eldest, who religiously shared it with his juniors.

Luines seemed dull and harmless enough, with no ideas beyond his birds; and Concini had not only tolerated him, but even procured for him the government of Amboise. Louis, however, having on the occasion of his marriage employed Luines to compliment his young Queen Anne at Bayonne, the marshal conceived a jealousy of the falconer; and on the return of the court to Paris, in May 1616, he took no pains to conceal his enmity. From this time Luines used every endeavour to incite the King both against his mother and the Concini; he sought friends on every side; he made an offer to the Spanish ambassador to sell himself for a pension; he entered into correspondence with the malcontent princes, and courted the friendship of Richelieu. This minister had not answered the Marshal's expectations. In placing the bishop in office, Concini had expected to find him a sort of humble clerk, the subservient tool of all his wishes. But Richelieu was made of other materials, and was resolved to act for himself. "It is wretched for a man of spirit," observes Richelieu in his *Memoirs*²⁰, "to be bound to persons who wish for flatterers and not friends, whom we must deceive in order to serve, and who prefer what is agreeable to what is useful; but if this evil is great, it is also common. Under the sway of favourites, there is none whose head does not turn by mounting so high; none who does not wish to convert a servant into a slave, and a councillor of state into a tool of his passions; thus attempting to dispose of the honour, as well as the hearts, of those whom fortune has made his inferiors."

It is probable that the sagacious bishop perceived Concini to be tottering to his fall; it is certain that a violent quarrel took place between them, and the marshal addressed to Richelieu a letter, displaying all the rage of a madman.²¹ The bishop, however, had no concern in Concini's death; the blow came from De Luines alone. That favourite even suspected that Richelieu and his fellow-secretary Barbin, were in a plot against him with Concini; and to avert the apprehended storm, he had proposed to marry one of the marshal's nieces at Florence; but Leonora would not give her consent. This refusal cost her and Concini their lives.²²

²⁰ Liv. viii.²¹ *Ibid.* t. ii. p. 290.²² *Ibid.* liv. viii.

De Luines now redoubled his machinations against the marshal; and he had recourse to a thousand little stratagems and insinuations to ruin him with the King. He set Concini's frequent journeys, arising from the agitation of his mind, in a suspicious light; he represented him as meditating rebellion, and with that view raising an army in Normandy and Flanders; he denounced him as consulting astrologers respecting the King's life. He also poisoned the mind of Louis against his mother, by painting in vivid colours the insupportable dominion she would obtain over him after she had reduced the rebel nobles; nay, he even revived the old Hugonot tales about Catherine de' Medici having killed her children in order to prolong her power; and he pointed out that Mary, like Catherine, was surrounded by Italians, poisoners, and magicians. The impression made by these stories on the young King's mind is evident from a story told by Bassompierre: Louis one day said to him, "I must practise the horn, which I play very well, and shall continue at it all day." Bassompierre remarking that it was bad for the lungs, and had caused the death of Charles IX., the King replied: "You are mistaken; it was not playing the horn that killed him, but his offending his mother Queen Catherine at Monceaux, and quitting her to go to Meaux. And if Marshal de Retz had not persuaded Charles to return to her, he would not have died so speedily."²³

De Luines succeeded by his artifices in persuading the King to consent to Marshal d'Ancre's arrest; his assassination, which Luines had also proposed, Louis would not sanction, except in case he should resist; under the circumstances a mere *salvo* for the King's conscience. The execution of this enterprise Luines intrusted to the Baron de Vitri, a captain of the guard; a resolute man, and an enemy of the marshal's. Vitri was directed to proceed at night to a certain spot, where he would meet some persons who would communicate to him the wishes of the King. Great was Vitri's surprise to find at the appointed rendezvous, Tronçon and Marsillac, men of infamous reputation, creatures of De Luines, together with Déageant, a fraudulent clerk of the secretary Barbin, and a gardener employed at the Tuileries. But Vitri had gone too far to recede, and was induced by the prospect of a great reward to undertake an act which he must have been conscious would result in murder.

Concini occupied a small hotel at the corner of the Louvre towards the Seine, near the Queen's apartments, to which there was a bridge, called by the people "Le Pont d'Amour." On the

²³ Bassompierre, *Mémoires*, t. ii. p. 154 (Petitot).

morning of April 24th 1617, the marshal, accompanied by some fifty of his friends and servants, was proceeding to his wife's apartments in the palace, to wait as usual for the Queen's rising. He had reached the middle of the drawbridge over the fosse of the Louvre, when Vitri, who was accompanied by some twenty gentlemen, seized him by the arm, exclaiming that he arrested him in the King's name. Concini laid his hand on his sword, but immediately fell, pierced by three pistol bullets. His nosegay and one of his clogs fell into the fosse. His followers made a show of resistance; but as the swords of Vitri's band gleamed in the morning sun, suddenly disappeared; and the cry of "Vive le Roi" resounded through the precincts of the Louvre.

Twenty or thirty horses stood ready saddled in the court of the Tuileries to insure the escape of the King and his followers in case the enterprise should fail; Louis, trembling and anxious, was awaiting its result, when Colonel d'Ornano, in breathless haste, informed him of Concini's death. Then Louis, seizing a sword and carbine, presented himself at a window, exclaiming: "Thank you, my friends; I am now a king!"

The tumult had roused his mother from her morning slumbers, and she inquired the cause of it. One of her ladies, thrusting her head out of window, asked Vitri, who was at the head of the guards in battle array, what was the matter? "Madame," replied Vitri, "Marshal d'Ancre is dead." "And who has done this fine deed?" continued the lady. "I," replied Vitri drily, "and by the King's command." "Poveretta di me!" exclaimed Mary de' Medici, on hearing the news. "I have reigned seven years; and now the crosses and the crowns of Heaven are all that remain to me!"

Thus was consummated this revolution of the palace. The King declined to hold any conversation with his mother; her guards were withdrawn from the Louvre and replaced by his own, and several of the doors leading to her apartments were walled up. The marshal's wife Leonora was arrested as she lay in bed, endeavouring to conceal some of the crown jewels; and the plate and furniture of her apartments were seized. The marshal's body was carried into the little tennis-court of the Louvre, where it lay covered with an old cloak, the face exposed, and on the breast a paper inscribed *Traître au Roi*, till nine o'clock in the evening; when it was buried without any funeral rites under the organ loft in the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois.²⁴ Concini's death was cele-

²⁴ *Hist. tragique du M. d'Ancre* (Arch. t. ii. p. 221 sqq.; *Mém. de Richelieu*, liv. Cur. 2^{de} sér. t. ii.); *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, viii.; Capefigue, *Richelieu*, t. ii. p. 308.

brated by the Parisian mob with bonfires; and on the following day his body was dug up and dragged through the streets; a monster roasted and devoured his heart. The conduct of the young Queen, Anne of Austria, was no better than that of the mob. Concini's house had been searched and stripped; the very bed had been taken from under his son, the Count de la Pene, a youth of twelve. He was thought to dance a *saraband* well, and Anne of Austria had the inhumanity to make him perform one before her a few hours after his father's murder! ²⁵ The Parliament and all the municipal bodies went to congratulate the King, whom De Luines had mounted on a billiard table, in order that he might be the better seen: an act afterwards compared to the ancient custom of the Franks in elevating their monarchs on their shields to receive the congratulations of the army on their accession! Flattery perverted the simplest principles of right, and the surname of the "Just" was bestowed upon Louis for having killed a man without a trial.

One of the first acts of the King was to recall his father's old ministers, except the greatest of them all, the Duke of Sully. Richelieu heard of Concini's murder while at the house of one of the rectors of the Sorbonne; and on consulting his colleagues, Mangot and Barbin, it was resolved that, as Richelieu stood best at court, he should go first to receive the King's commands. Accounts vary respecting his reception: De Luines at least showed much apparent kindness, and pressed him to enter the council then sitting. But Richelieu's office was now occupied by Villeroi; and of his two colleagues, Mangot was dismissed and Barbin arrested. Thus was terminated Richelieu's first ministry, after it had lasted about seven months. On the day of Concini's assassination he had sent a message to the Queen-mother to assure her of his devotion, and during the next few years he attached himself to her fortunes.

The revolt of the princes and nobles was terminated by the death of Marshal d'Ancre, and they were pardoned a rebellion which was ascribed to his tyranny. Condé, however, was not released, but was transferred from the Bastille to Vincennes. Louis XIII. bore a great antipathy to his cousin; it would not have been convenient for a third to share the government with the King and his falconer; and the Prince's former friends troubled not themselves about his fate. Mary de' Medici was banished to Blois. Before her departure a formal interview was arranged with her son, in which, while she endeavoured to conceal her tears with her

²⁵ *Manuel de Dupuy*, in *Arch. Cur.* Pontchartrain, t. ii. p. 223.
t. ii. p. 20, 2^{de} sér.; Richelieu, liv. viii.;

handkerchief and fan, she reminded the King, with audible sobs, of her disinterestedness, and the care she had taken of his interests. Louis replied coldly, but with more than his usual stammer, that it was time for him to govern, and that he should always show himself a dutiful son. Then he called his favourite away to a window of the palace, where they feasted their eyes with the spectacle of the departing Queen's *cortège*, as it defiled through the streets and over the Pont Neuf.²⁶

The Parliament of Paris gave their formal sanction to the murder of Concini, which, indeed, was acceptable to all parties, as an act of legitimate power; his possessions were confiscated in favour of Luines; and a criminal prosecution was instituted against the marshal's wife, La Galigai; the principal charge against her being the wealth which she had accumulated by selling the royal favour. But as a conviction on such grounds would not have been capital, she and her dead husband were arraigned on fantastic crimes; they were accused of Judaism and sorcery; of consulting astrologers and soothsayers; of sacrificing a cock and pigeons; of possessing waxen images, talismans and amulets; of drawing the horoscope of the Queen-mother and her children. In the presence of misfortune, Leonora Galigai had thrown off the melancholy vapours which had haunted her in prosperity; and to the charge of having used witchcraft with the Queen, she replied that her sorcery was, but the charm which a strong mind necessarily exercises over a weak one.²⁷ She was condemned to be executed on the Place de Grève, and met her fate with the greatest fortitude. On seeing the multitude assembled to behold her execution, she exclaimed, "What a crowd to look at a poor afflicted woman!" and added, striking her teeth with her thumb, "I care no more for death than that."

The first acts of Louis XIII.'s government were sufficiently popular. France intervened between Spain and Savoy; a French army under Lesdiguières appeared in Piedmont; the Spanish Court, occupied with the affairs of Germany, hastened to renew a peace; a disarmament was agreed on between Milan and Savoy, and the places taken were restored on both sides. Christina of France, the King's second sister, was given in marriage to the Prince of Piedmont. This policy had been chalked out by Richelieu, but Luines obtained the credit of it. The first care of this fa-

²⁶ *Mercure Français*, t. iv.; Bassompierre, t. ii. p. 150 (Petitot).

²⁷ La Galigai had a supreme contempt both for mother and son. Her usual

epithet for Mary was *balourde*; for Louis *idiot*. Pontchartrain, t. ii. p. 228; Richelieu, liv. viii.

vourite was to push his own fortune. He had recently married Mary de Rohan, daughter of the Duke de Montbazou, afterwards known by her genius for intrigue. Her artful graces, and the well-directed artillery of her eyes, obtained for her some influence over the cold and melancholy Louis, and helped to advance the fortunes of her husband, who obtained the government of the Isle of France.

Luines put the Queen-mother under military surveillance at Blois, and surrounded her with spies, who reported all her words and actions. It must be confessed that Richelieu seems to have been little better than one of these. He had procured a written leave to accompany the Queen; he would not accept the post of chief of her council till he had obtained permission from Paris; and during the month which he passed with Mary at Blois, he rendered to Luines from time to time an exact account of her proceedings.²⁸ But all this circumspection did not save him from suspicion. He received a hint from the King that he would do well to retire to his diocese, where he seems to have employed himself in theological studies. Even there, however, suspicion still pursued him, and in April 1618 he was directed to take up his residence at Avignon.

The Queen-mother was treated with the greatest indignity at Blois. The town was surrounded with troops; her rides and walks were circumscribed, and she could receive no visitors without express permission. The marriage of her second daughter had been arranged without asking her consent or even informing her of it. Luines and the King talked of shutting her up in the Castle of Amboise, or even forcing her into a convent. Mary resolved on making her escape; and by means of the Abbé Rucellai, an intriguing Italian and a priest of the Oratory, she persuaded the Duke d'Epemon to assist her in her design. On the night of the 22nd February 1619, the Queen descended a rope-ladder from a window of the castle, and crossing the bridge over the Loire, found an escort of cavalry and a carriage and four mules waiting for her, which conveyed her to Loches, a town of which D'Epemon was commandant. Here she wrote a letter to the King to justify the step which she had taken, and on the following day she proceeded to Angoulême.

The Court was filled with consternation. The Queen, it was thought, would not have ventured to fly unless she could count on the support of a large party of the nobles; which, however, was far from being the case. In their alarm, the King and Luines lent a

²⁸ Richelieu, liv. viii.

ready ear to the counsels of Father Joseph, a Capuchin monk, the devoted friend of the Bishop of Luçon; who advised them that the best way to appease the Queen and prevent her from adopting violent courses, would be to despatch Richelieu to treat with and pacify her. Du Tremblai, Father Joseph's brother, was accordingly sent to Avignon, with the King's autograph letter to Richelieu, intreating him to repair to Angoulême; and he immediately set off for that place. Richelieu exhorted the Queen to moderation; in April an accommodation was effected which placed Mary in a much more favourable position, and in the following August the King met his mother at Tours, when a cordial reconciliation seemed to be effected.

The government of Luines was as favourable to both branches of the House of Austria, and consequently to political and religious despotism, as that of the Queen-mother could have been. In Spain, the fall of the Duke of Lerma had astonished all Europe (1618). To defend himself against the jealousy and hatred of the nobles, Lerma had procured from the Pope a cardinal's hat, which in case of extremity would insure him a retreat at Rome; and as another resource he had surrounded the King with persons whose fortunes depended on his own; as Don Rodrigo de Calderona, and the Duke of Ossuna, and especially his own son, the Duke of Uzeda, whom he had instructed in the arts with which he might enchain Philip. But Uzeda repaid his father with the basest ingratitude. It was observed that Philip was no longer so familiar with Lerma after that minister had become a Cardinal; and Uzeda at the head of a party of the nobles began to conspire his father's ruin. Complaints were made against Lerma's government; the King's confidence in him was alienated, and his friends and partisans were dismissed from Court. Lerma, however, still clung to office till Philip sent him an autograph letter of dismissal. D'Uzeda succeeded to most of his father's places, and conducted the government during the last years of Philip III.'s reign; to whom he rendered himself agreeable by diverting his melancholy with fêtes, processions, tournaments and bull-fights.

Luines courted the favour of the Spanish Court by denouncing to it the plot of the Duke d'Ossuna, Viceroy of Naples, to seize the Two Sicilies, and thus lost the opportunity of delivering Italy from the Spanish yoke. After the overthrow of the Duke of Lerma's ministry in Spain, D'Ossuna, fearing that he should be recalled by the new government, formed the design of making himself King of Naples and Sicily, and with that view entered into negotiations with the French Court and with the Duke of

Savoy. Luines at first entertained the project, but changed his mind and acquainted the Spanish cabinet with it; D'Ossuna was recalled and arrested, and languished in prison the remainder of his life. A little before, D'Ossuna, together with Don Pedro di Toledo, governor of Milan, and the Marquis of Bedmar, had been engaged in a conspiracy to bring Venice into the power of the Spanish crown; for which purpose, D'Ossuna hired, as his principal agent, Jacques Pierre, a celebrated French pirate. In August 1617 Pierre proceeded to Venice, and pretending to have had a quarrel with D'Ossuna, induced the Venetians, by the vehement hatred which he displayed against the viceroy, to give him a command in their navy. Another Frenchman, Renault de Nevers, also took an active part in the plot; and in nocturnal interviews with Bedmar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, they arranged all their proceedings. D'Ossuna was to despatch a fleet from Naples, commanded by one Elliott, an Englishman, while the governor of Milan was to assemble his forces on the Venetian frontiers. But the execution of the plot was delayed by a violent storm, which dispersed the Spanish fleet; and, meanwhile, some of the conspirators, and especially one Jaffier, warned the Signory of their danger. Many persons were in consequence apprehended, and more than fifty executed.²⁹

The period was now arrived that was to desolate Germany thirty years by a war carried on in the name of religion. The policy of the French Court assisted the initiation of that tremendous effort of bigotry and despotism. Characters like William the Silent and Henry IV. still formed rare exceptions amidst the general reign of intolerance; nor must the reproach be confined exclusively to the Roman Catholics. We have already adverted to the bigotry displayed by the Saxon Lutherans; it found its counterpart among the Calvinists of Holland; where, stimulated by political rancour, it gave rise to the worst excesses. Among the reformed ministers of that country had arisen Arminius (Jacob von Harmine), who had dared to question the terrible doctrine of predestination and absolute decrees. A storm of reprobation arose against the innovator, who however died quietly in his bed in 1609, though his doctrines were destined to prove fatal to others. His tenets had prevailed in the university of Leyden, and had been adopted by most of the higher and educated classes, and among them by Olden-Barneveldt,

²⁹ The reality of this plot has been questioned by Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxxi. but without adequate reason. See Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xviii.; Ranke,

Über die Verschwörung gegen Venedig im Jahre 1618. The story has been related and embellished by the Abbé de St. Réal, *La Conjuration contre Venise*.

the illustrious Pensionary of Holland, and Hugo Grotius; but by the masses they were viewed with a fanatical abhorrence, fanned and excited by the rigid Calvinist clergy. The latter party, from one of their chief divines named Gomarus, obtained the name of *Gomarists*, while their opponents were called *Arminians*; and subsequently, from a paper which they addressed to the States of Holland in 1610, *Remonstrants*. The storm first broke upon the head of Vorstius, the successor at Leyden to the chair of Arminius, who, at the instigation of the British monarch James I., was driven from Holland but escaped with his life; though the royal theologian had charitably hinted to the States, *that never heretic better deserved the flames*.³⁰ Barneveldt was not so fortunate, to whose fate political rancour likewise contributed. Erastianism, or the doctrine of the supremacy of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, formed part of the tenets of the Arminians; and in accordance with it the magistrates of Holland, Over-Yssel, and Utrecht proceeded to control the excesses of the Gomarists and to make some changes in the mode of nominating the pastors. This excited the anger of the Stadholder, Maurice of Nassau; who had long entertained a secret hatred of Barneveldt for having thwarted him in his ambitious designs. They had continued opposed to each other even after the conclusion of the Spanish truce, and especially on the subject of an alteration which Prince Maurice wished to make in the constitution. The government of the United Provinces was vested in the States-General, which consisted of deputies from all the provinces assembled at the Hague, under the presidency of the Stadholder. The number of deputies which each province sent to the States-General was undefined, and indeed immaterial as every province had only a single vote. The States-General had no power to make laws for the separate provinces, which were governed by their own; but they determined all those questions which concerned the general interests of the confederacy. In this assembly Olden-Barneveldt had great influence. By virtue of his office of Pensionary of Holland he was a constant member of it; he had a right to propose subjects for deliberation; and, as Holland paid more than half the taxes raised for the republic, his voice had of course great weight. In order to obtain a more unrestricted power, Maurice had proposed that the States-General should only have a voice respecting peace and war, and that all other affairs should be conducted by a Council of State, of which he himself should be the president, but Barneveldt had frustrated

³⁰ King James's *Works*, p. 355.

this design. These and other things of the like kind had embittered Maurice against the Pensionary, and the religious disputes seemed to offer an opportunity of revenge. Maurice had with him the army and the mob; a cry arose that the points in dispute should be settled by a national council; and, in spite of the opposition of the Arminian provinces (Holland, Utrecht, and Over-Yssel), a synod was summoned at Dort. Before it met, Barneveldt, Grotius, and a few more were arrested at the Hague, and all the Arminian magistrates were arbitrarily deposed (August 1618). All the reformed churches in Europe had been invited to send deputies to the synod of Dort, which was attended by English, German, and Swiss ministers. By this assembly the Arminians were condemned without a hearing; 200 of their pastors were deposed and 80 of them banished (May 1619); but such a victory was not enough for Maurice, who thirsted after Barneveldt's blood. He and Grotius were arraigned before a tribunal composed of their personal enemies or the most virulent of the Gomarists; and Barneveldt, who had done more than any man, except perhaps William the Silent, to found the liberties of his country, was condemned to death on the charge of having intended to betray it. The verdict pronounced against him was, that he had deserved death for having sought to dissolve the union between the provinces, and because he had vexed the Church of God, by asserting that each province had the right to order its own religious constitution; also because he had hindered the exercise of true religion, raised troops of his own power, hindered the execution of sentences pronounced by courts of justice, and accepted presents from foreign powers. Maurice, who had the prerogative of mercy, insisted that the venerable statesman and patriot should solicit him for a pardon; but to this Barneveldt would not condescend. He was beheaded May 13th 1619. Grotius was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but escaped in 1621 through the devotion of his wife, and took refuge at Paris, where he composed his famous work on international law (*De jure belli et pacis*). This act must ever remain a blot on the character of Maurice of Nassau³¹; and he afterwards expiated it by loss of popularity and remorse of conscience.

In Germany the persecutors and the persecuted were more evenly matched, and the struggle could not be decided without a long and almost internecine war, in which most of the European powers became involved. But in order to understand the state of parties

³¹ Maurice had assumed the title of "Prince of Orange" after the death of his brother, Count Büren, in 1618.

in that country, and the causes which immediately led to the Thirty Years' War, it will be necessary to resume from an earlier period a brief view of German history.

It was soon discovered that the Emperor Rodolph intended not to observe the *Majestäts Brief*, or letters patent to the Bohemians, which had been extorted from him; and that he was endeavouring to deprive his brother Matthias of the succession to the crown of Bohemia. Nothing could be more wretched than Rodolph's administration. He was surrounded at Prague by valets, painters, and alchymists; ambassadors or councillors who attempted to consult him on business could not obtain an audience for months; all offices were sold, but the purchasers were soon turned out to make room for other buyers; and the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of a vice-chancellor and a corrupt secretary.³² After much negotiation between Rodolph and his brother Matthias, matters were at length brought to a crisis between them by the proceedings of the Archduke Leopold, who, after being driven from Alsace³³, had marched his troops into his diocese of Passau, where they subsisted by plundering all around, and especially by robbing the merchants on their way to Linz. Leopold kept these troops together on pretence of the affair of Juliers; but their true destination, as Matthias well knew, was to wrest Austria and Moravia from him; and afterwards Bohemia from the Emperor Rodolph. At last, in December 1610, the district of Passau being exhausted, a large body of these mercenaries crossed the Danube into Upper Austria, committing all sorts of violence, robbery, and devastation. On Matthias preparing to march against them from Vienna, Leopold threw off the mask, and proceeded with his hordes to Prague, where, contrary to the wish of the citizens, they were admitted by Rodolph. During the two or three months that they held possession of Prague, they treated it like a town taken by assault; but on the approach of Matthias and his army, in March 1611, they deemed it prudent to withdraw to Budweis. Rodolph now became a sort of prisoner of the Bohemian provisional government, consisting, as we have said, of thirty directors, ten from each estate, to which had been added a council of nine, three from each estate, chosen by the people as their representatives. Count Thurn, one of the leaders of the patriot party, took possession of the castle with his forces, telling the Emperor that he had come to guard him. Rodolph sent an humble message to his brother, offering him lodgings in the castle; to which Matthias, or rather his minister, Cardinal Klesel, replied,

³² See Hurter, *Ph. Lang, Kammerdiener Kaiser Rodolphs II.*; Von Hammer, *Leben des Card. Klesel*, B. ii.

³³ Above, p. 461.

that he had been invited to Prague by the States, but that he would always behave like a faithful brother. Matthias entered that capital in great pomp, March 24th 1611. The reign of Rodolph in Bohemia was now of course at an end. The States assembled on the 11th of April, demanded of Rodolph to be released from their allegiance; but they also required from Matthias that on receiving the crown he should confirm all their rights and liberties. Rodolph resigned with reluctance a power which he had not known how to use, and, from a window that looked out upon the town, uttered a solemn curse on Prague and all Bohemia. Matthias took possession of the Hradschin, and on the 23rd of May received the crown and the homage of the Bohemians; recognising, however, their right to elect their kings, and engaging to observe the charter granted by Rodolph. Matthias remained in Prague till near the end of August without having once seen his brother; and on his return to Vienna he married Anne, daughter of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol. He was now fifty-five years of age.

Rodolph, whose derangement had rendered his deposition necessary, did not long survive these transactions; he expired January 20th 1612, and in the following June Matthias was elected Emperor in his place. The Protestant cause gained little by the change. Matthias was almost as incompetent as his brother; and, if Rodolph was governed by Spaniards and Jesuits, Matthias was led by Klesel and other fanatical opponents of toleration. The beginning of his reign was marked by fresh religious disturbances in Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary; while the matter of Juliers still afforded the most dangerous materials for dissension. The Elector of Brandenburg, on the death, in 1613, of his brother, the Margrave Ernest of Brandenburg, who governed Juliers for both the "princes in possession," placed the government of it in the hands of his own son, George William. This arrangement was by no means satisfactory to the Count Palatine of Neuburg and his son Wolfgang; and the latter now took a step unexpected even by his father. The Count Palatine had consented to the marriage of his son, whom he deemed to be still a Protestant, with Magdalen, a younger sister of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria; but Wolfgang, as the Pope knew, had already secretly gone over to the Roman Catholic faith; and he therefore readily granted a dispensation for the marriage, which was necessary, not only on account of relationship, but also of the presumed heresy of the bridegroom. The nuptials were celebrated at Munich in November 1613, and of course created an open enmity between the Neuburg and Brandenburg families. In the spring of 1614 Wolfgang occupied Düssel-

dorf, drove out the officers of the Brandenburg government, and seized as many other places as he could; then, after a well-acted comedy of conversion, he publicly embraced the Roman Catholic faith: an act which is said to have given his sick old father such a shock as to occasion his death in the following August. About the same time John Sigismund, the Elector of Brandenburg, also changed his religion, and from a zealous Lutheran became a Calvinist.

Previously to these events Frederick V., the young Elector Palatine, had been betrothed to the English Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I., and in 1612 the wedding was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in London. In honour of the nuptials, Jonson and Davenant wrote masques, which were set to music by Lawes; while Inigo Jones, assisted by the most eminent painters, contrived the scenery.³⁴ Frederick's guardian, John II., Duke of Zweibrücken, or Deux-Ponts, had made an alliance with England in the name of the German Protestant Union, of which he was director; and also, in the same capacity, negotiated a treaty with the Dutch Republic for a term of fifteen years, which was signed at the Hague in May 1613.

Of the two great parties into which at this time we find Germany divided, namely, that of the Protestant Union and that of the Catholic League, the former, consisting of the Calvinistic princes and states, was incontestably the more powerful, and formed a kind of state within the state. Besides the English and Dutch alliances, it counted on the support of Venice and the Swiss reformed cantons; and a meeting of its members at Rothenburg in 1611 had not only been attended by ambassadors from these countries, and from Holland, but also by envoys from the Emperor Rodolph as well as from the malcontent members of his family. On the other hand, the power of the Catholic League was paralysed at that period by the quarrels of the Imperial house and by the dissensions between Maximilian of Bavaria and the Archbishop of Salzburg, as well as by a sort of schism of the spiritual Electors, who established a Rhenish section of the League, of which they made the Elector of Mentz director. Maximilian of Bavaria, indeed, had been on the point of abandoning the League altogether, when in 1613 the dissensions in Juliers already mentioned, an insurrection of the Protestants in Austria, and a correspondence between Matthias's minister Klesel and the Elector of Mentz, induced him to revive it. Maximilian regarded the government of

³⁴ James I. appears to have expended his unfortunate son-in-law on the Bohemian throne. Harte, *Gust. Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 239. would have gone some way to maintain

Matthias, as conducted by Klesel, with no favourable eye; and he was particularly embittered against that cardinal for having hindered him from applying the funds of the League to his own use. Klesel was equally detested by Ferdinand and Leopold of Styria; and indeed his government had conciliated neither Protestants nor Catholics. The German Lutheran princes and states seemed to stand aloof from both parties; but the Elector of Saxony, now John George, was in fact sold to Austria and the Jesuits, and hoped to be invested by the Emperor with Juliers; while the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt also courted Matthias, in the hope of plundering the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

Some religious disturbances at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a quarrel between Cologne and the Protestant town of Mühlheim, afforded Wolfgang of Neuburg a pretence to solicit the Emperor to call the Spaniards into Germany. Matthias, in spite of the protest of the Elector of Brandenburg, had caused these disputes to be settled in a partial manner by his Aulic Council, and he intrusted his brother the Archduke Albert, in the Netherlands, with the execution of the decree. Albert obtained the permission of the Court of Spain to use the Spanish troops in this affair; and in 1614 he despatched Spinola with them to Aix-la-Chapelle and Mühlheim. After expelling the Protestant Council from Aix-la-Chapelle, Spinola proceeded to Mühlheim. On his march he was joined by Wolfgang of Neuburg with 5000 foot and 800 horse; Mühlheim made no defence, and Spinola, after destroying its fortifications, proceeded to take possession of Juliers. Early in September he laid siege to Wesel, which he took in three days; but, as this was a regular attack on the allies of Holland, Prince Maurice, who was in the neighbourhood with a small army, immediately occupied, in the name of the House of Brandenburg, Rees, Emmerich, Kranenburg, and Gennep. Thus a German territory, disputed by German princes, was occupied by the Spaniards for one party and by the Dutch for the other; the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg resided at Clèves; and the Count Palatine of Neuburg at Düsseldorf, while the members of the German Union contented themselves with producing long papers and speeches.

Meanwhile, the Emperor Matthias, whose government occasioned great discontent in every part of his dominions, was growing daily weaker and weaker both in body and mind. Neither he nor his brothers had any legitimate offspring; and the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria was straining every nerve to obtain the succession both to the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria and to the Empire. The Archdukes Maximilian of the Tyrol and Albert of Belgium,

as well as Philip III. of Spain, supported Ferdinand's claim; for though Philip believed his own pretensions to be preferable to those of the Styrian line, he waived them in favour of Ferdinand, seeing that the state of Germany required the hand of a strong and able ruler. In 1616, Maximilian and Albert tendered to Matthias the resignation of their claims in favour of their cousin Ferdinand; and though Cardinal Klesel did all he could to oppose the nomination of that prince, Matthias found it necessary to comply with the wishes of his brothers. In June 1617, Ferdinand received the crown of Bohemia with the consent of the States, and in the following year (July 1st 1618) he was acknowledged in Hungary as the successor of Matthias.

Ferdinand, who could when he pleased assume a winning mildness and affability, had made a favourable impression on the Bohemians; but the clergy and nobles of his party soon effaced it by their persecuting and intolerant conduct. The Bohemians were not long in discovering their discontent. The Emperor Matthias, having in 1617 proceeded to Vienna, left at Prague a government consisting of seven Catholics and three Utraquists. Among the Catholics were William Slawata and Von Martinitz, two men notorious for their fanaticism. A dispute having arisen respecting the building of some churches by the Utraquists, who pleaded the sanction of Rodolph's letters-patent for what they had done, they addressed a warm remonstrance to Matthias, to which he replied by an angry rescript, denouncing the leaders in the matter as insurgents, and threatening to punish them as such. The malcontents, excited by this step, found a leader in the fiery Count Thurn, who had just received a mortal offence by being deposed from the dignity of Burg-graf of Karlstein, to which was attached the custody of the Bohemian crown and of the charters of the kingdom. When the Imperial rescript arrived in Prague, the four members of the government then present in that capital, namely, Slawata, Martinitz, Adam von Sternberg and Diepold von Lobkowitz, caused those members of the States who had signed the remonstrance to be summoned before them, and communicated to them the Emperor's answer; when the Remonstrants observed that they would come again in a month with a reply. Accordingly on the 23rd of May 1618 they appeared surrounded by a large body of men, among whom were some of the first nobles of the land, all completely armed; and they marched straight to the castle where the four ministers were waiting to receive them. After surrounding the castle with their followers, so that nobody could escape, they consulted in the Green Chamber as to what they should do; when Count Thurn, in an animated address, persuaded them that

so long as Slawata and Martinitz lived they could hope for nothing but persecution. His speech was received with loud applause, and he and his companions then proceeded to the audience chamber, where Von Sternberg addressed them with friendly words, and intreated them to lay aside their demonstrations. "We have nothing to allege against you and Von Lobkowitz," exclaimed Kolon von Felz; "we complain only of Slawata and Martinitz."—"Out at window with them, after the good old Bohemian fashion," cried Wenzel von Raupowa. No sooner said than done. Sternberg and Lobkowitz were conducted out of the apartment, and five nobles, seizing Martinitz, precipitated him from one of the windows; after which they seemed to stand aghast at their own deed. "Here you have the other," cried Thurn, pushing to them Slawata, who was exhausting himself with deprecations and excuses; and Slawata followed his companion. Then came the turn of Fabricius, the secretary of the government. The window was at a considerable height from the ground, yet all these men were almost miraculously saved by falling on a large heap of rubbish which stood directly under it. Slawata alone was somewhat injured by a contusion on the head. Fabricius immediately jumped on his feet and hastened off to Vienna, to carry the news to the Emperor. Martinitz and Slawata were carried off by their servants to the house of Von Lobkowitz the chancellor, whither they were pursued by Thurn and his people; but the beautiful Polixena von Lobkowitz interceded for them and saved their lives. Martinitz afterwards escaped in disguise to Munich. Under the conduct of Thurn a regular revolt was now organised in Bohemia; a government was appointed consisting of thirty Directors, and steps were taken to form a union with the Protestants of Austria and Hungary.

The news of this affair produced a perfect storm of hatred against Cardinal Klesel. That minister, who had great cunning as well as ability, and completely controlled Matthias, endeavoured to conciliate both sides. To please King Ferdinand he advised the immediate suppression of the rebellion; whilst, on the other hand, he despatched some envoys into Bohemia to promise that the *Majestät's Brief*, or letters-patent granted by Rodolph, should be observed, and to negotiate with Count Thurn for the settlement of the dispute. As he was evidently doing all he could to hinder the preparations against the rebels, it was resolved to get rid of him; and in July 1618, on the occasion of a visit which he paid to the Hofburg, the residence of the Austrian princes, he was seized, his scarlet robe and hat were taken from him and exchanged for black ones; and he was then conducted by a by-way to the Schotten-Thor

where a coach and six, escorted by 200 cavalry, that was in waiting for him, conveyed him to Schott-wien. Hence he was carried in a litter surrounded by troopers, through Styria and Carinthia, to the castle of Ambras near Innsbrück, belonging to his enemy the Archduke Maximilian; and it was not till 1627, that, through the intercession of the Pope, he was permitted to return to his bishopric:

In Bohemia Proper only three towns, Pilsen, Budweis, and Krummau, had remained faithful to the Emperor; but the annexed province of Moravia refused to join the rebellion, and offered its mediation; which the insurgents declined, and pressed forwards with a considerable army towards the Austrian frontiers. The Silesians had also refused to declare against the Emperor; but they sent 3000 men to maintain "the cause of religion." By means of Spanish gold, the Emperor Matthias, or rather King Ferdinand, contrived to raise two armies of mercenaries, one of which was under the command of Count Bucquoi, a Walloon general of note, while the other was intrusted to Henry Duval, Count of Dampierre. Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, expecting to profit by the misfortunes of Ferdinand and Matthias, evaded their pressing applications for assistance. The Bohemians, on their side, applied for aid to the young Elector Palatine, Frederick V., as director of the Union; but it was not till October (1618) that Count Mansfeld was despatched to them with 1000 horse, raised with the money of the Duke of Savoy. Bucquoi and Dampierre had already entered Bohemia in August; but Dampierre was defeated at Czaslau and Bucquoi at Budweis, by Count Thurn. In November, Mansfeld laid the foundation of his military fame, by capturing, after an obstinate resistance, Pilsen, the most important town in the kingdom after Prague. The Bohemians, under Count Schlick, hung upon the retreating army of Bucquoi, carried off his cattle, his booty, and his military chest; and, pressing over the Austrian borders, seized the town of Swietla.

Matthias seemed now to stand in a critical position. The attitude even of the Austrian States was threatening; they had refused to raise troops for the Emperor's defence, nor would they allow ammunition or provisions required for his service to pass through their territories. In vain during the winter King Sigismund III. of Poland by threats, and the Elector of Saxony John George I. by persuasions, had endeavoured to make the Bohemians lay down their arms. In the midst of this state of things the Emperor Matthias suddenly died, March 20th 1619, and Ferdinand succeeded to his dominions.

At the time of Ferdinand's accession, Budweis was the only

town held by the Austrians in Bohemia. The new monarch attempted to conciliate his subjects in that kingdom; he proposed a truce, and offered to confirm all their rights, privileges, and liberties; but the Bohemians could not trust a prince led by the Jesuits, which order they had driven from the country in the preceding June, and the insurgents did not even deign to answer his letter.³⁵ At first the campaign seemed to go in favour of Ferdinand. Count Thurn had proceeded into Moravia with the main body of his army, with the intention of annexing that province and afterwards Austria; and he occupied the towns of Znaim, Brünn, Iglau, and Olmütz; but, while he was thus engaged, Bucquoi re-entered Bohemia, and took town after town. It was at this time that Albert von Wallenstein afterwards the renowned and dreaded leader of the Thirty Years' War, attracted the notice and favour of Ferdinand II., by the bravery with which, at the head of only a single regiment, he opposed the Bohemians. Born in 1583, of a family belonging to the Bohemian gentry and of the Utraquist faith, but of German extraction, Waldstein, or Wallenstein³⁶, having been left an orphan at the early age of ten, was sent by a Roman Catholic uncle, to Olmütz, to be educated by the Jesuits, by whom he was of course converted. He had afterwards studied at Padua, then, after Bologna, the most renowned university of Europe, where he acquired a good knowledge of Italian, at that period, like French at present, the fashionable language.³⁷ On a journey which he made through the principal states of Western Europe, including England, in company with a young friend, and under the superintendence of Peter Verdungus, a celebrated astrologer and mathematician, Wallenstein imbibed from the latter that fondness for astrology which marked his future life, and which was still further increased by the lessons which he received at Padua from Argoli, the Professor of Astrology, or as we should now say, of Astronomy, who also initiated him in the mysteries of the Cabbala. Wallenstein had already served the Emperor Rodolph in Hungary, and the Archduke Ferdinand in a war with Venice, where he had distinguished himself by relieving the town of Gradiska. Subsequently he had acquired a large fortune by marrying a Moravian countess, the daughter of Carl von Harrach, Imperial chamberlain and privy-councillor.

³⁵ *Theatrum Europæum*, Th. i. S. 180.

³⁶ Waldstein is the true family name, and still continues to be borne by the members of it in Bohemia.

³⁷ When the papers of the Imperial general Grönsfeldt, written in French,

were taken at the battle of Hessisch Oeldorf in 1633, there was only one man among the officers of Duke George of Luneburg able to read them. Von der Decken, *Herzog Georg von Lüneburg*, ap. Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. iii. S. 286.

After obtaining possession of Moravia, Thurn marched into Austria, and on the 5th of June 1619 he appeared in one of the suburbs of Vienna; in which city both the Catholic and Protestant States of the Duchy were assembled round the Emperor. At this moment the fate of centuries lay in Thurn's hands; but, instead of pushing his way into the city, he suffered himself to be amused for six days with parleys. In this crisis Ferdinand II. displayed considerable energy and determination, and when pressed to save himself and his children by flight, he refused to quit his capital.³⁸ At the expiration of six days, as a deputy named Thonradel was pressing Ferdinand, with threats, to sanction a confederation with the Bohemians, St. Hilaire, who had been despatched by Dampierre with 500 horse, entered Vienna by the Water-Gate, which Thurn had not been able to secure. At the sound of their trumpets the deputies hurried from the palace, and Ferdinand immediately issued directions for vigorous measures. Thurn remained for some days longer before Vienna and bombarded it, till he was recalled by a message from the Directors at Prague; to the effect, that Bucquoi, having defeated Count Mansfeld at Budweis, June 10th, and afterwards formed a junction with Dampierre, was now threatening the capital of Bohemia.

No sooner was this danger over, than Ferdinand hastened to Frankfort in order to his formal election as German Emperor; which was hurried on, in order to put an end to the vicariate of the Elector of Saxony and of the Elector Palatine, the latter of whom was desirous of excluding the House of Austria from the Imperial throne. The Palatine had turned his eyes on the Duke of Bavaria; but Maximilian was not dazzled with the prospect of the empire, nor inclined to contest it with his old friend Ferdinand. All the Electors gave their votes for Ferdinand, and even the Palatine's ambassadors, though they at first raised some objections, ultimately joined the majority. As the Electors were leaving the *Römer*, or Imperial Chamber, tidings that the revolted Bohemians had chosen the Elector Palatine for their king occasioned a great sensation at Frankfort. The Emperor Ferdinand II. received the Imperial crown with the usual ceremonies, September 9th; but his reign was inaugurated with the prospect of that bloody struggle that was to last thirty years.

³⁸ According to a story told by the Emperor's Jesuit confessor Lamormain, in his treatise *De virtutibus Ferdinandi II.*, Ferdinand in his doubt threw himself before a crucifix, which uttered the

words, "Ferdinande, non te deseram." The miraculous image was afterwards preserved in the Imperial Treasury. Menzel, B. iii. S. 340.

CHAPTER IV.

THE acceptance or rejection of the Bohemian crown was a question of the most vital importance, not only to the Elector Palatine himself, but to the whole German Empire, and naturally occasioned the deepest anxiety to the youthful Frederick V. It could not but be foreseen that, if he should accept it, a war, of which no man could foretell the end, must inevitably ensue between the great parties already organised against each other by the confederacies of the Catholic League and the Evangelical Union. In this perplexity, Frederick summoned a meeting of the princes of the Union at Rothenburg on the Tauber, and submitted the matter to their consideration. The opinions of the assembly appeared to be equally divided. The Margraves of Baden and Anspach, and Prince Christian of Anhalt, advised Frederick to accept the proffered crown; while the Landgrave of Hesse, the Margrave of Culmbach, and the Duke of Würtemberg, dissuaded him from it. Frederick now hastened back to Heidelberg and took anxious counsel with his friends. Not only were the divided opinions of the Union itself calculated to stagger him in his course, but he had also received a written warning from the whole Electoral College not to engage in so rash an undertaking. Frederick had also privately consulted Maximilian of Bavaria, who, in a friendly and father-like letter, remarkable for its good sense and the keen view it took of the actual state of Germany, strongly dissuaded him from his ambitious views; and even politely hinted that he could not stand quietly by and see Bohemia wrested from the House of Austria. On the other hand Frederick was encouraged to persevere by Christian of Anhalt, who had been a kind of tutor to him, and to whose advice he attributed great weight; as well as by his minister Camerarius, and his wife the Princess Elizabeth.¹ The latter especially, whose violent and ambitious character, combined with considerable talent, has procured for her the reputation

¹ His court-chaplain, the well-known author Scultetus, has also been charged with persuading Frederick to accept the

crown; but he denies in his Autobiography that he had anything to do with it.

of a princess of spirit, vehemently incited him to the enterprise; and is said to have asked him why, as he had had courage enough to woo a king's daughter, he had none to stretch out his hand and seize a sceptre which seemed offered to him by Heaven? ² From his father-in-law James I., however, he could expect but little assistance; for though that monarch would gladly have seen his daughter a queen, his pacific policy forbade him to appeal to arms for such an object; and he gave no decided opinion on the matter.³ But from two other foreign princes, Maurice of Nassau, the hereditary enemy of the House of Austria, and Bethlem Gabor⁴, the Protestant Voyvode of Transylvania, Frederick received assurances of support.

Frederick himself, now only twenty-two years of age, was naturally ambitious; in temper grave, melancholy, and proud, so that he would eat in company with none but princes, he had commanded the tables at which the councillors and nobles dined in his father's time to be removed.⁵ It may be, too, that the doctrine of predestination, which formed part of his faith, had some influence in determining his judgment; his wife, at least, appears to have used that argument with him⁶; and he seems to have been guided by passages in the Prophets and the Apocalypse, and by the aspect of the stars. Thus by his own weakness, the ambition of his consort, and the injudicious advice of his friends, he was lured to his destruction. Towards the end of October 1619 he proceeded to Prague, and on the 4th of November he solemnly received the Bohemian crown.

Circumstances seemed at first to favour the ambitious enterprise of Frederick. Bethlem Gabor, who was in alliance with Count Thurn, had, during the Emperor's journey to Frankfort, declared war against his representative, Leopold; had occupied in a very short time Upper Hungary, where the malcontents flocked to his standard

* Puffendorf, *De Rebus Suecicis*, lib. i. § 27.

² Afterwards, however, James expressed his disapprobation of the course taken by Frederick, and instructed his ambassador not to give him the title of King. In a letter to the Chancellor of the Palatinate Camerarius writes: "Niemand schadet *nostræ causæ* mehr dann König in gross Britannien, *sua cunctatione et trictis philosophicis*."—Londorp, Th. i. S. 987.

⁴ The Transylvanians having a custom of subjoining the Christian name to the surname, instead of prefixing it, the proper appellation of this prince according to European custom would be Gabriel

Bethlem. Harte, *Gust. Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 213, note.

⁵ *Relatione di Germania*, 1617, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 461.

⁶ "Weil Gott alles dirigirt, und sonder Zweifel dieses also geschickt habe, so stelle sie ihm anheim, ob er die Krone zu acceptiren für rathsam befinde; auf welchen Fall sie bereit sei, dem göttlichen Berufe zu folgen, und dabei zu leiden, was Gott verordnen werde; ja, auf den Nothfall alle ihre Kleinodien und was sie sonst in der Welt habe, aufzusetzen."—*Letter of Elizabeth*, in Moser, ap. Menzel, B. iii. S. 359.

in great numbers; and had thence pressed on into Lower Austria, so that Leopold even found himself hampered at Vienna, and was forced to recall Bucquoi from Bohemia (October 1619). Gabor had betrayed the native treachery of his character in the way in which he obtained possession of his dominions.

After the death of Stephen Bocskai without heirs in December 1606⁷, who, by the peace of Sitvatorok, had been established as Voyvode of Transylvania, that dignity, after a short enjoyment of it by Sigismund Rakoczy, came to Gabriel Bathori, who was elected by the Transylvanian States, though not without some contentions between the Emperor and the Porte. But Gabriel Bathori acted so tyrannically, that, at length, even the Protestants of Transylvania rose against him and appealed to the Porte. Unluckily for himself, Bathori employed Bethlem Gabor to mediate for him with the Pasha of Temesvar. Gabor made the Pasha large presents, and still larger promises; and through his influence the Grand-Seignior ultimately invested Gabor with Transylvania, October. 1613; and a few days after Bathori was murdered by some of his own officers. Although these proceedings were viewed with displeasure at Vienna, neither the Emperor nor the Hungarians were inclined to go to war with the Turks. Gabor was recognised; the Porte sent a splendid embassy to Vienna, and in July 1615 a new peace was concluded there for twenty years on the basis of that of Sitva-torok. Gabor, with the aid of the Turks, was now seeking to wrest from Ferdinand the crown of Hungary, though he had declined that of Bohemia.

The news of his proceedings in conjunction with Count Thurn reached Ferdinand II. at Munich, where, on his return from Frankfurt, he was staying with Duke Maximilian; and he immediately applied to that Prince for the assistance of the League, which was readily accorded on the conditions set forth in the treaty of Munich. Of these conditions it is necessary to our purpose to mention only two. By the third article of the treaty, the Emperor and the House of Austria engaged all their possessions to indemnify the Duke against any loss of territory that he might sustain in the war, as well as all expenses in excess of his ordinary contributions to the League; while by the fifth article any portion of the Austrian territories that Maximilian might succeed in wresting from the enemy was to remain in his possession till he should have been remunerated for all the damages and extraordinary expenses that he might have incurred.

⁷ See above, p. 388.

The fortunes of the Austrian House seemed desperate when Count Thurn, who had followed the retreat of Bucquoi, now stood for a second time in the same year, before Vienna, united with Gabor, and at the head of an army of 80,000 men. Bucquoi had broken down the bridge over the Danube, and thrown himself into Vienna, where also the Emperor had arrived, but without any troops. The capture of that capital might at once have decided the war; but circumstances prevented the allies from maintaining the siege. Neither Thurn nor Gabor had money to pay their troops; the want of provisions was such that 2000 Bohemians are said to have died of hunger⁸, and news was brought to Gabor that in his absence his general, Ragotski, had been defeated in Transylvania by the Imperialists (December 1619).

Meanwhile the Palatine Frederick was playing the king at Prague. He did nothing but amuse himself with skating-parties and other entertainments throughout the winter; and, as it was the only one that he passed in Bohemia, he obtained the name of the "Winter King." Neither did his manners, nor those of his consort⁹, recommend him to his new subjects; but all these matters would have been of little importance had he possessed the energy and talent requisite for the station at which he had so ambitiously grasped. Especially he betrayed a want of dignity and self-assertion to which the Bohemians had not been accustomed in their sovereigns. Early in December he had convened the members of the Union at Nuremberg, at which assembly Count Hohenzollern presented himself as ambassador from the Emperor, and was admitted without question. At his entrance the assembly rose to meet him, King Frederick among the rest, though sitting in royal state under a canopied throne; when the Count, without ceremony, advanced and occupied the King's vacant throne, who was compelled to take a seat on the Count's left.¹⁰ The Union, however, did nothing but send ambassadors to Munich, to treat and parley, after the good old German fashion, with Maximilian; although these men must have seen the warlike preparations making in Bavaria, and that Spain and the Jesuits were zealously supporting the League. On the other hand the members of the League, who met at Würzburg in December, voted an

⁸ Khevenhiller, Th. ix. S. 696.

⁹ Elizabeth is said to have offended the Bohemians by her British pride, and to have shocked their prejudices by her low dresses, which left the bosom ex-

posed. *Letter of Camerarius*, in Londorp, Th. i. S. 861.

¹⁰ Slawata, *Hist. MS.*, ap. Menzel, B. iii. S. 367.

army of 25,000 men, and invested Maximilian with the control of all their funds. Neither could Frederick look for assistance from abroad. His father-in-law would do nothing; Prince Maurice was too much engaged with the affairs of Holland to attend to those of Bohemia; and in January 1620 Bethlem Gabor had concluded a truce with the Emperor till the 20th of September, in order to negotiate a peace¹; an interval which enabled Ferdinand to seat himself firmly on the Imperial throne.

It was fortunate for the Emperor that France was at this time governed by the counsels of Luines, who had been gained by the promise of a rich heiress of the House of Piquigny, a ward of the Belgian Archduke's, for his brother Cadenet. Hence Louis XIII., although pressed by Venice, Holland, and Savoy to resume the plans of Henry IV., would attempt nothing against the House of Austria at this critical juncture; on the contrary, in reply to an Imperial embassy which arrived in France towards the close of 1619, French ambassadors were despatched into Germany, who, in the spring of 1620, did all they could to assist the Catholic League. France was, indeed, at this time occupied by a domestic rebellion. Luines, in order to satisfy his grasping ambition; had conciliated Condé, Guise, and Lesdiguières, but set the rest of the nobles at defiance, and refused to pay their pensions. The consequence was a revolt, headed by Mayenne, Longueville, Vendôme, and his brother the Grand-Prior, the Count of Soissons, the Dukes of Nevers and Retz; while other nobles joined the Queen-Mother at Angers. But the rebellion was quenched by the vigorous measures of the Court before it could grow to a head; the troops of the Queen were defeated at Pont-de-Cé (August 1620); yet she obtained from the King the same terms as in the preceding year; a reconciliation was even effected between the two courts, and Richelieu married his niece, Mademoiselle de Pont-Courlai, to Combalet, a nephew of Luines. The most remarkable result of this rebellion was the annexation of Béarn to the crown of France. The Hugonots of that country, headed by La Force, the governor, had long defied the King and the Pope; but Louis XIII., now finding himself at the head of a considerable body of troops, marched to Pau, and compelled the Parliament of that place to

¹ It appears that this treacherous and inconstant prince was from the beginning prepared to betray Frederick. In an anonymous letter to that Elector, published in 1620, we find: "I have enclosed two original letters that passed from him (Bethlem) to the Grand-

Vizier, the latter of which is dated since his alliance with the Bohemians (November 24th 1619), and there you may see he makes no ceremony of betraying you to the Turks upon a proper occasion." —Harte, *Gust. Adolph.* vol. i. p. 244.

register an edict reuniting Béarn and Basse Navarre to France. But to return to the affairs of Germany.

Frederick V. seemed bent on alienating the hearts of his new subjects. Calvinism had but few followers in Bohemia; and neither the Utraquists, nor the Lutherans, could endure churches with naked walls, and without an altar and its adjuncts; yet Scultetus, the court divine, ordered the crucifixes and other ornaments to be cleared out in an indecent manner from the cathedral; and he published a book against the Bohemian mode of worship, which of course occasioned endless bitter replies and controversies. At the same time Frederick offended his two best generals, Count Thurn and Ernest of Mansfeld, by placing them under Christian of Anhalt and Count Hohenlohe, who possessed no military talent. Meanwhile Maximilian of Bavaria, who was the soul of the Catholic party, induced the Pope to contribute some considerable subsidies; he secured the neutrality of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt; and he advised the Emperor to publish some threatening warnings before the breaking out of the war. Hence the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse Cassel was the only prince of any importance who ventured openly to embrace Frederick's cause. The new Elector George William of Brandenburg had indeed acknowledged Frederick as King of Bohemia, but from the disturbed state of his own dominions, he declined to take any active part in his affairs. The only other princely house, besides Anhalt, that adhered to Frederick, was that of Weimar, great-grandsons of the unfortunate Elector John Frederick. By the advice of the President Jeannin, the Duke of Angoulême, the French ambassador in Germany, brought about such a treaty at Ulm, where the Union was assembled, between that body and the League, as neither the Emperor nor Maximilian could have expected (July 3rd). A mutual peace was established, but the conditions were so framed as to leave the League free to act with regard to Bohemia and Austria. Both sides were to allow the passage of troops into Bohemia, and the Union consented, on the proposition of Bavaria, to omit the Archdukes Albert and Isabella Clara Eugenia from the treaty; though they were members of the Empire, as sovereigns of the Circle of Burgundy; and though the evangelical princes must have perceived the drift of this proceeding to be that Spinola might enter the Palatinate, and that the whole weight of the war might fall on the King of Bohemia.¹² As, in addition to all this, the Elector of Saxony declared for the

¹² The treaty is in *Londorp, Acta Publica*, Th. ii. S. 48.

Emperor, promised to occupy Lusatia and to defend Silesia, and as Sigismund III. of Poland sent 8000 Cossacks¹³ to the aid of Ferdinand, the contest was already virtually decided before the army of the League appeared in Bohemia.

Preparatory to the Bohemian war, the Emperor, before the end of 1619, endeavoured to conciliate his Protestant subjects in Austria, and, with the consent of the Pope¹⁴, he offered entire religious freedom to the States of Lower Austria, on condition that they should renounce their alliance with the Bohemian rebels; and though they at first hesitated they were soon reduced to obedience. Immediately after the treaty of Ulm, Maximilian, with the greater part of the army of the League, had occupied Upper Austria, which was made over to him as security for his expenses. Towards the end of August he began his march towards Bohemia; and being joined by Bucquoi and his forces, the united army amounted to 32,000 men, to whom Frederick could oppose little more than 20,000.

In Maximilian's army¹⁵ Tilly held the second command; a name only inferior to that of Wallenstein in the annals of the THIRTY YEARS' WAR. John Tscherklas, Count Tilly, whose uncouth name is said to be a compound of Herr Klass, or Nicholas, was a native of Brabant; but having been bred up at the court of the Infanta at Brussels he affected something of the Spaniard. This ferocious soldier was remarkable by his morality and religion. If business had broken in upon his usual hours of prayer, the lost time was made up at night; and he had the reputation of inviolable sobriety and chastity.¹⁶ He was a little man, and Marshal Grammont, who once saw him at the head of his army on the march, describes him as mounted on a white Croatian pony, and dressed in a green satin doublet with slashed sleeves, and trousers of the same material. On his head he had a little cocked hat, with a drooping plume of red ostrich feathers that reached down to his loins; round his waist a belt two inches broad, from which hung his sword, and a single pistol in his holsters; which, as he informed

¹³ The name of *Kosack* or *Cossack* is of Turkish origin, and signifies *robber*. It was at that time applied to bands of freebooters in Poland, who were quite distinct from the Cossacks of the Ukraine, to whom the ominous appellation has since been transferred. Engel, *Gesch. der Ukraine und der Kosaken*, §§ 53, 56, 116, in the *Hallische Allg. Weltgesch.*

¹⁴ Khevenhiller, Th. ix. p. 1175.

¹⁵ René Descartes, the celebrated meta-

physician, was in the Bavarian army as a volunteer. For the Thirty Years' War may be consulted: Westenrieder's *Gesch. des dreissigjährigen Krieges*; and Barthold's *Geschichte des grossen deutschen Krieges* for the latter half of it, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus. Schiller's work on the same subject will be read rather for its style than its facts.

¹⁶ Zschokke, *Baierische Gesch.* B. iii. S. 221.

Grammont, he had never fired, though he had gained seven decisive battles.¹⁷

The most disgraceful part of these transactions for the German princes was, that they stood by and saw their country spoiled by the Spaniards; for Count Khevenhiller, Ferdinand's ambassador at Madrid, prevailed upon Philip III. to lend him the assistance of Spinola and the Spanish troops in the Netherlands before the twelve years' truce with the Dutch should have expired. Except for the meeting which the Elector John George I. of Saxony and the Landgrave Louis V. of Hesse Darmstadt held in March 1620 at Mühlhausen with the Electors of Mentz and Cologne, and with some confidential counsellors of Maximilian, when John George and the Landgrave promised to stand by the Emperor now and for ever, Spinola would never have ventured so far from his base of operations, as to enter, as he did in the autumn of that year, the Lower Palatinate with 20,000 Spanish and Flemish troops, while the army of the Union retreated before him, first from Oppenheim and then from Worms. Early in November the Spaniards ravaged all the fertile districts between the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Nahe, and pressed on into the Weterau. The Dutch, observed by another Spanish army under Velasco, faithfully observed their truce with Spain, which did not expire till April 1621, and thus allowed time enough for the overthrow of Frederick, the warmest supporter of the synod of Dort. At the same time the Elector of Saxony entered Lusatia with his army, thus depriving the Bohemian king of all hopes of relief from that province and from Silesia. James I. did nothing for his son-in-law except allow Colonel Grey to raise some 3000 men, who were disembarked in the Elbe in May 1620; but they were inhospitably received, especially at Berlin, and, being attacked with sickness, few succeeded in reaching Bohemia. Thus Frederick's expectations were deceived on all sides. His fall, which could not perhaps have been averted, was hastened by his own misconduct. The troops of the Emperor and the League were in a terrible state of destitution and sickness; the Bavarian army alone lost 20,000 men, and Tilly himself, exclaiming, "I am dying of hunger," is said to have snatched an apple from the hand of a Carmelite.¹⁸ Although the Bohemian army was in as bad a condition, it is possible that Frederick, by remaining within the walls of Prague, might have worn out his enemies; but he was advised to offer them battle on the White Mountain, within a few miles of that capital. His army, commanded by Christian of Anhalt and

¹⁷ *Mém. de Grammont*, t. i. p. 12 sq. (ed. 1717.)

¹⁸ Zachokke, *Baierische Gesch.* B. iii. S. 225. Anm.

Count Hohenlohe—for Count Mansfeld, his best general, disgusted at being postponed to those commanders, kept aloof at Pilsen—was routed and almost annihilated in a single hour (November 8th 1620). In the forenoon of that eventful day, Frederick had heard a sermon by Scultetus, and had sate down to dinner with his Queen, when news of the attack was brought. He mounted his horse with the intention of proceeding to the field; but from the ramparts he beheld that his army was already routed; horses were running about without their riders, and officers and soldiers were clambering up the fortifications in order to enter the city. At a council at which Digby the English ambassador assisted, it was resolved that the King and Queen should fly, for neither the troops nor the townspeople could be trusted. But whither? In grasping at the shadow Frederick had lost the substance. The Lower Palatinate, with the exception of Lautern, Mannheim, Heidelberg, and Frankenthal, was already in possession of Spinola and his Spaniards. Early in the morning of the 9th November, therefore, Frederick took the road to Breslau with his family, and with such haste and confusion that he lost his Order of the Garter. On the same day the Imperialists entered Prague, and shortly afterwards the Bohemians signed a retraction and swore afresh allegiance to Ferdinand II.¹⁹

Frederick was received with respect at Breslau; the States of Silesia manifested a friendly disposition; but the ex-King saw no hope of making head against his opponents, and on the 3rd of January 1621 he quitted Breslau for the March. Elizabeth, who was pregnant, gave birth to Prince Maurice at Küstrin, January 6th; and after she had recovered from her accouchement, the exiled sovereigns proceeded into Holland. On the 23rd of January, Frederick, together with Prince Christian of Anhalt, the Margrave John George of Brandenburg Jägerndorf, and Count Hohenlohe were put under the ban of the Empire. An offer was made to Elizabeth some years after, that, if her eldest son were permitted to receive his education and religion at Vienna, matters might be accommodated, and that he might espouse one of the Emperor's daughters; but though she was advised to accept this offer by her brother Charles I., Elizabeth replied "that she would sooner cut her son's throat with her own hands."²⁰ Her grandson was destined to mount the throne of England.

Forty-three Bohemian gentlemen who had not been fortunate

¹⁹ Harte, *Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 245.

²⁰ *Ibid.* vol. i. Introd. Essay, p. xlix., and *Hist.* p. 290.

enough to escape were condemned at Prague; twenty-seven of them were executed in June 1621, and the remainder sentenced to lighter punishments. Thirty more who had fled, and among them Count Thurn, were put under ban and deprived of their estates. A systematic plan, which we shall here pursue to its conclusion, was now adopted by Ferdinand II. to root out Protestantism in Bohemia and the annexed States, as well as in his Austrian dominions. Soon after the battle of Prague, all Calvinists were expelled the city. In May 1622 a mandate was issued, directing, under the severest penalties, all who had taken any part in the disturbances to acknowledge their guilt before the Stadholder, when 728 landed proprietors appeared, and sued for mercy. The lives of these men were spared, but their property was confiscated either wholly or in part, and incorporated with the Imperial possessions, or made over to those who had adhered to the Emperor and to the Catholic religion. After the Diet of Ratisbon in 1623, Ferdinand II. went into Bohemia, the Papal nuncio Caraffa preceding him by a day's journey. The feelings and prejudices of the Bohemians were now insulted in the most wanton and childish manner. The sepulchre of Ziska at Czaslau was destroyed; at Prague, the stone cup, which in the time of George Podiebrad was placed in the Tein-Kirche, or principal Hussite church in the Altstadt, was removed; the bones of Rokyzana and of the Utraquist bishop Augustine Lucian were dug up and burnt in the churchyard. The use of the cup in the Lord's Supper, which had been conceded by Pope Pius IV. in 1564, after the Council of Trent, to subjects of the Austrian dominions, was now forbidden. On the other hand, the revenues transferred during the predominance of Protestantism were restored to the Catholic churches and convents; but to fill these last it was necessary to send for monks from Poland. In 1626 a mandate was issued forbidding those who would not return to the Catholic faith to exercise any trade or profession. These proceedings of course excited partial disturbances, but the times were over when the Bohemians could hope to resist the Imperial power. Yet 30,000 families, and among them 185 of noble or knightly rank, adopted the alternative allowed to them of quitting the kingdom. The places of the emigrants were filled by Germans. Many peasant families, however, secretly retained their religious faith; and when a century and a half later, in the reign of Joseph II., religious freedom was proclaimed, the numbers who declared themselves Protestants excited much surprise. Ferdinand II. attempted not, however, to infringe the civil rights of the Bohemians; on the

contrary, in May 1627, he confirmed all their privileges, except the *Majestät's Brief* or letters-patent of Rodolph; from which he tore off the seal and cut away the signature: and to gratify the national pride of the Bohemians, and provide them another hero in place of Ziska, he caused statues to be erected, especially on bridges, to John Nepomuk; who, according to tradition, had by order of the Emperor Wenceslaus been thrown into the Moldau in 1393, for refusing to reveal what had been intrusted to him by the Empress in confession. Nepomuk was canonised by the Pope in 1629. Ferdinand proceeded in a similar manner with his Protestant subjects in Upper and ultimately in Lower Austria; as well as in the States annexed to Bohemia, though in Silesia, some traces of Protestantism were preserved, through the care of the Elector of Saxony.

James I., besides that his theory of the divine right of kings caused him to regard with displeasure the acceptance by his son-in-law of the Bohemian crown, was also unwilling at this time to break openly with the House of Austria, in consequence of the prospect held out to him by Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, of a marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the second Infanta of Spain; yet as the English nation and parliament manifested the most enthusiastic interest in the cause of the Palatine, which they identified with that of Protestantism, he could not with decency withhold all assistance from that unfortunate prince in endeavouring at least to maintain him in his hereditary dominions. Towards the end of 1620, James raised a considerable English force, which, uniting with the Dutch under Prince Frederick Henry, marched into the Palatinate, and succeeded in defending Frankenthal, Heidelberg, and Mannheim against Spinola, who was in possession of all the other towns and was ravaging the open country. Had these forces been adequately supported by the German Union, the restoration of Frederick in the Palatinate might probably have been effected; but the Elector of Mentz, and Louis Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, persuaded the Duke of Würtemberg and the Margrave Joachim Ernest of Brandenburg to join them in concluding a treaty with Spinola, April 12th 1621, by which Frederick was left to his fate and the Palatinate abandoned to the Spaniards. These princes engaged that Union should meddle no more with his affairs; and indeed, after a last meeting at Heilbronn in May 1621, that confederacy was dissolved. The only princes who staunchly adhered to the Palatine's cause were Count Ernest of Mansfeld, Prince Christian of Brunswick, and George Frederick Margrave of Baden Durlach.

After the battle of Prague, Mansfeld had maintained himself awhile against the superior forces of Maximilian and Tilly, first in Bohemia and then in the Upper Palatinate²¹; and at last succeeded in escaping the united forces of both by a masterly retreat through Nuremberg, Windsheim and Rothenburg into the Lower Palatinate; and, at his approach in September 1621, the Spaniards were compelled to raise the siege of Frankenthal. The truce between Spain and the United Provinces having now expired, Spinola with the main body of the Spanish army had been compelled to descend the Rhine in order to defend the Netherlands; and Gonzales de Cordova, who had been left behind with the remainder, had been engaged in a severe struggle with the troops of the Palatine and with the English; but nothing decisive was done, and Tilly, approaching by the Bergstrasse, and devastating everything before him from Ladenburg to Mosbach, in vain summoned Heidelberg to surrender (October 21st 1621). During the autumn and winter the contending armies supported themselves by ravaging the Palatinate and the surrounding countries. Christian of Brunswick, in an attempt to penetrate into the Palatinate from Westphalia, was defeated in the Busecker Thal, in the Weterau, by the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt in conjunction with the Bavarians, and compelled to return into Westphalia.

Frederick at length determined to join his people, who were fighting so bravely for him; and in April 1622 he proceeded from the Hague to Heidelberg. In Mansfeld and George Frederick of Baden Durlach he found most disinterested friends. The former had resisted very tempting offers from the enemy, while the Margrave had, at his own expense, raised for Frederick a considerable army. The united forces defeated Tilly at Mingolsheim with great loss, April 17th 1622; but knew not how to use their victory. Mansfeld and the Margrave did not agree; and having separated their armies, while Tilly and Gonzales had united theirs, the Margrave was defeated, after a well-fought battle, at Wimpfen, May 6th, his army was dispersed, and he himself compelled to seek refuge at Stuttgart. This reverse deterred the Duke of Würtemberg from taking part with Frederick. This latter prince, who was with Mansfeld's army, resolved on a bold attempt to join Christian of Brunswick, and making a sudden rush from Mannheim seized the capital of Hesse Darmstadt. The Landgrave and his son were captured in their flight; but after a month's detention were liberated at the intercession of the German princes, though on hard

²¹ The Upper Palatinate adjoined the western frontier of Bohemia, with Amberg for its capital.

conditions. Christian, who was no friend to the clergy, had maintained his army in Westphalia at the expense of the Church as well as of the inhabitants, and had recruited it by holding out the hopes of plunder. At Paderborn he converted the golden statue of St. Liborius into coins bearing the superscription, "The friend of God, and enemy of the priests." He did the same with the twelve silver apostles, remarking that he should thus help them to go forth in the world and convert the heathen. In May, Christian had again marched through Fulda into the Weterau; but he was not remarkable for military talent, and instead of forming a junction with Mansfeld, he encamped at Höchst. Here he committed another blunder by accepting a battle offered to him by Tilly, to whose eighteen guns he could oppose only three, besides being deficient in cavalry. The consequence was a signal defeat (June 20th). Half of his troops were left on the field; a part of the rest were dispersed, or perished in the Main and its morasses; and with the remainder he contrived to join Mansfeld in the Bergstrasse. Their united forces were still equal to those of Tilly; but at this juncture James I. persuaded his son-in-law to give up the contest, in order to become, like himself, the victim of the Spaniards, who had persuaded James that if Frederick would humble himself, and resign for a brief period his territories into the Emperor's hands, he would be pardoned and reinstated. Accordingly, in July, Frederick dismissed Christian and Mansfeld; who, while retiring from the Palatinate, were pursued by Gonzales de Cordova, and defeated in a bloody skirmish, in which Christian lost his arm; but he succeeded in reaching Holland with part of his troops. Mansfeld sought refuge in East Friesland.

Frederick, who retired first to Sedan, and afterwards again into Holland, soon discovered how miserably he had been cheated. Long negotiations had been opened at Brussels, under the mediation of the British monarch; but, whilst they were going on, Frederick was deprived both of his electoral dignity and of the Upper Palatinate. Duke Maximilian, who, as we have said, was in possession of Upper Austria, which he claimed to hold under the treaty of Munich till he should have been reimbursed his expenses, had brought in an account of thirteen million *gulden*; and Ferdinand II. resolved to satisfy him at the cost of the unfortunate Palatine. At a Diet held at Ratisbon, in January 1623, in which but few German princes took part, the Emperor persuaded the Catholic members to transfer the Upper Palatinate, together with the electoral dignity, to Maximilian; who, in spite of the protests of Saxony and Brandenburg, was solemnly invested with the

Electorate, and the office of *Erztruchsess*, or Imperial head-waiter, March 6th 1623. The Count Palatine, Wolfgang of Neuburg, though a Catholic, also loudly expressed his discontent at this transaction, which deprived him of his claims to the Electorate as next of blood; but he was appeased, after the German fashion, with words.

Meanwhile Tilly completed the conquest of the Lower Palatinate. Heidelberg surrendered September 15th 1622, and the Castle on the 19th; on the following day, Tilly laid siege to Mannheim, which place, though bravely defended by Sir Horace Vere, was compelled to capitulate, November 1st. Frankenthal held out till the following spring. By the instructions of his master Maximilian, Tilly acted with the greatest harshness towards the Protestants of the Palatinate; they were deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical property was restored to the Roman Catholics. Tilly also seized the library at Heidelberg, famed among the learned throughout Europe for its collection of manuscripts. Many cart-loads of these were despatched to Munich; and Maximilian afterwards sent the greater portion of them to Rome, as a present to the Pope.

Thus the unhappy Palatine was irretrievably ruined, chiefly through the selfish anxiety of his father-in-law, James I., to effect a match between his son and the Infanta; a union highly unpopular among the English people, who, on the other hand, were anxious to venture their blood and treasure in support of Frederick and the Protestant cause. In 1621 James had indeed addressed a long Latin letter to Bethlem Gabor (Oct. 19th), beseeching him, if possible, to reduce Hungary, and proceed next year into Bohemia; and promising, with the full consent of his parliament, a subsidy of 80,000*l*.²² That fickle-minded leader, however, who had gained some successes and suffered some reverses in Hungary, concluded a peace with the Emperor at Nikolsburg, January 7th 1622; by which he renounced Hungary and the title of king, in consideration of receiving in that country seven *Gespanschaften*, or counties, and the town of Kaschau, together with the principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor in Silesia, and a yearly pension of 50,000 florins.²³ In 1623, however, Bethlem Gabor resumed the war against the Emperor, relying on the assistance of the German Protestants, as well as of the Turks: the history of which last people begins about this period to be again so much mixed up with that of Europe as to demand a brief retrospect of their affairs.

²² Letter from the Hamilton MSS. in Hormayr's *Archiv*. ap. Menzel, B. iii.

²³ The treaty of Nikolsburg is in Ka-

tona, t. xxx. p. 709 sqq., and in Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 407.

The unimportant reign of Sultan Achmet I., with whom Austria had concluded the peace of Sitvatorók, was closed by his death, November 22nd 1617. Nothing can more strongly testify the sunken state of the Turkish power, than that it was possible to raise from a dungeon to the throne Achmet's imbecile brother, Mustapha I. It was one of the pastimes of this prince to throw gold to the fishes of the Bosphorus; but the Kisklar-aga persuaded the Divan that the precious metal would be better employed in furnishing the donatives customary on a new reign. After three months' enjoyment of the sceptre, Mustapha was led back to his prison, and, on the 26th of February 1618, Osman II., a boy of fourteen, the eldest of seven sons of Achmet, was saluted Padishah by the venal troops. Osman, however, displayed a spirit and ambition beyond his years.²⁴ Strong and active of body, and inured to all soldier-like exercises, Osman was a bold rider and an unfailing marksman with the bow; but with all his energy, he lacked the perseverance without which nothing great can be accomplished, while his meanness alienated from him the hearts of the rapacious janissaries.

Osman longed to flesh his maiden arms in a war with Poland, between which country and the Porte bickerings had for several years prevailed; and he esteemed its conquest so easy, that he divided the spoil beforehand. Desolating incursions had been made by the Tartars into Poland, by the Cossacks into the Turkish dominions, which in 1620 ended in open war. Poland was then ruled by the Swedish prince Sigismund III., of whom we shall have to speak further on. Caspar Gratiani, Voyvode of Moldavia, had courted the favour of Sigismund by sending to him the intercepted letters addressed by Bethlem Gabor to the Porte, complaining of the incursions of the Polish Cossacks and freebooters. Gratiani was deposed on the discovery of his proceedings; but he would not yield without a struggle: he called upon the Poles for assistance, who sent him an army of 50,000 men. Against these, posted in a fortified camp near Jassy in Moldavia, Iskander Pasha, governor of Silistria, led a force of double their number, composed of Osmanlis and Tartars; and, on the 20th of September 1620, a grand battle was fought, in which 10,000 Poles were slain. The remainder, after a useless attempt to defend their entrenched camp, retreated towards the Niester; in the passage of which river most of them perished. Gratiani himself had fallen in the retreat.

It was this success that incited Osman to attempt the conquest

²⁴ See his character in Sir Thomas Roe's *Negotiations*, p. 43.

of Poland, against the advice of his ministers, and even the wishes of his army; and in the spring of 1621, clothed in a suit of mail which had belonged to Soliman the Magnificent, he placed himself at the head of 100,000 men. But the march proved difficult and destructive; the mercenary troops were alienated by Osman's reluctance to pay the customary gratuity; and it was the end of August before the Turks arrived on the Niester. Here Sigismund had encamped 40,000 Poles and Cossacks, and 8000 Germans sent to him by the Emperor; while another army of reserve of 60,000 men, under the Crown-Prince, lay at Kamienieck. A first assault on the Polish camp was attended with some success: but the following ones were repulsed, although in the sixth and last the Sultan in person led one of the storming columns. A Polish winter set in early; men and horses perished by thousands; a mutiny broke out, and Osman, after opening negotiations for a peace, began his retreat. On the 28th of December 1621 he entered Constantinople in triumph; for, though he had lost 80,000 men, he pretended to claim a victory. But his ill-success, his unpopularity with the army, the dearth of provisions, and the strictness of his police, which he superintended in person, by visiting the wine-houses and other places of resort, soon produced symptoms of revolt among the Janissaries. As these degenerate troops²⁵ were averse to the warlike schemes meditated by Osman, he resolved to destroy them. The scheme he formed was bold and well designed, and, if successful, might have revived the sinking fortunes of the Turkish empire. Under pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca, Osman was to raise a large army at Damascus, march with it to Constantinople; and annihilate the refractory Janissaries; but his preparations, and some incautious words, prematurely betrayed his intentions. On the 18th of May 1622, on the report that the Sultan's tent was about to be transported to Scutari, the Janissaries, associating themselves to the Spahis, rose in rebellion, repulsed with insults their Aga and other officers, who had been sent to hear their complaints; and demanded from the Mufti a categorical answer to the inquiry, "Whether it was permitted to put to death those who misled the Padishah, and devoured the substance of the Moslems?" The Mufti having answered in the affirmative, the mutineers hastened to the palaces of the Grand-Vizier and of the Chodsha,

²⁵ " . . . who now, contrary to their institution, being married and fathers of a family, entered into trades, receiving nothing in war more than in peace, *præter pericula et labores*, are not easily

drawn from their own chimneys."—Roe's *Negotiations*, p. 48. Sir Thomas Roe was English ambassador at the Porte, 1621—1628.

who were thought to be the authors of the plan for their destruction; these ministers saved themselves by flight, but their palaces were plundered and destroyed. On the following day the insurrection assumed a still more formidable aspect. The Sultan having refused to give up the six authors of his pilgrimage, though he consented to renounce the pilgrimage itself, an attack was made on the Seraglio; and in the midst of the confusion, a cry of Mustapha Khan for sultan, echoed by thousands of voices, became the watchword of the revolution. The unhappy Mustapha, wasted to a shadow by want of air and food, and expecting death rather than a crown, was dragged from his obscure dungeon, carried to the throne room, and saluted Padishah. Osman, contemplating flight when it was too late, abandoned his Grand-Vizier and Kislär-aga to the fury of the soldiers, by whom they were horribly murdered; the Janissaries, who would listen to no terms, though large offers were made, occupied the Seraglio, and directed all the actions of the Sultana Valide, the mother of the idiot Mustapha; and Constantinople was abandoned to plunder and devastation. Osman, who had fled to the palace of the Aga of the Janissaries, was dragged from his hiding-place, and conducted with abuse and derision first to the barracks of the mutineers, and then to the Seven Towers. On the way, his faithful adherent, Hussein Pasha, was murdered at his feet; and he himself was soon after put to death by order of the Valide and her vizier, Daud Pasha.²⁶

During the second sultanship of the crazy Mustapha I., which lasted considerably more than a year, a peace with Poland was the only event of importance, effected chiefly through the efforts of Sir Thomas Roe. On the 30th of August 1623, a counter-revolution took place at Constantinople. Mustapha was deposed with the consent of the Janissaries, who even renounced on this occasion the accustomed donative, and the eldest surviving son of Achmet I., now fourteen years of age, ascended the throne with the title of Amurath IV. The unhappy Mustapha survived his deposition sixteen years.

James I. during these events, the Spanish match being still in hand, had instructed Sir Thomas Roe to maintain peace between the Porte, the Emperor, and the King of Poland; although, as we have seen, the British monarch had secretly afforded some trifling aid to his son-in-law the Palatine, both by sending him a few troops, and by endeavouring underhand to excite Bethlem Gabor to action. This prince, whom Sir Isaac Wake, the English

²⁶ For this revolution see Antoine Gulland, *La Mort du Sultan Osman*; and the *Despatches* of Sir Thomas Roe.

minister at Venice, characterised as a Janus with one face towards Christendom and another towards Turkey, had in 1623 renewed the war against Ferdinand; and, though he could then count but little on the assistance of the Turks, he entered Hungary, took several places, and even threatened Pressburg, Raab, and Comorn. On the approach of winter, however, he was compelled to dismiss his army; when the Tartars, of which it was partly composed, carried off 20,000 Hungarians into slavery. In May 1624 Gabor again concluded a peace with the Emperor, which did not differ much from that of Nikolsburg. As the Spanish match had now gone off, we find secretary Calvert instructing Roe, May 28th 1624, to do all in his power to keep well with the Transylvanian prince.²⁷

While Sigismund III. of Poland was attacked in the south by Osman and the Turks, he had to defend himself in the north from his relative, the renowned Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden: and as this last country, as well as Denmark, by the part which they took in the Thirty Years' War, were now about to become of great importance in the European system, it will here be proper to take a brief review of their history.

We need not carry our retrospect beyond the Union of Calmar in 1397; by which Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were united together under the Danish queen Margaret.²⁸ The most noteworthy articles of the deed of union were: that the right of electing a sovereign should be exercised in common by the three kingdoms; that a son of the reigning king, if there were any, should be preferred; that each kingdom should be governed by its own laws; and that all should combine for the common defence. But this confederacy, which seemed calculated to promote the power and tranquillity of Scandinavia, proved the source of much discontent and jealousy and of several bloody wars. Margaret was succeeded on her death in 1412 by Eric of Pomerania, the son of her niece. Eric, who was at that time in his thirtieth year, had married in 1406 Philippa, daughter of Henry IV. of England, a princess distinguished for her understanding, goodness, and courage. In 1428 Philippa defended Copenhagen against the combined fleet of Holstein and the Hanse towns, whilst Eric had hid himself in a convent at Sord.²⁹ Eric's reign was turbulent.

²⁷ Roe's *Negotiations*, p. 244.

²⁸ For these countries may be consulted, Mallet, *Hist. de Dannemarc*; Allen, *Haandbog i Fædrelandets Historie* (übersetzt von Faick); Vertot, *Révol. de Suède*;

Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens* (translated from MS. by Leffler).

²⁹ Philippa herself died in the convent of Wadstena, in 1430, without issue. Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. i. S. 197.

In 1438 the Danes, and in the following year the Swedes, renounced their allegiance; and Eric fled to the island of Gothland, where he exercised piracy till his death. The Danes elected in Eric's stead Christopher of Bavaria, son of his sister Catharine by her marriage with John, Duke of the Upper Palatinate; but, after Christopher's death in 1448, the union was dissolved. The Danes now elected for their king Count Christian of Oldenburg; while the Swedes chose Charles Knutson. But in the following year Charles was compelled to resign Norway to Denmark, and in 1457 he lost Sweden itself through an insurrection led by the Archbishop of Upsala. Christian I. of Denmark was chosen in his place and crowned at Upsala, June 19th; and in the following year all the councillors of the three kingdoms, assembled at Skara, recognised Christian's son John as his successor.

Christian I. became a powerful monarch by inheriting Schleswic and Holstein³⁰ from his uncle. He had, however, to contend for a long period with Charles Knutson for the throne of Sweden, and after Charles's death in 1470, with Sten Sture, of a noble family in Dalecarlia, to whom Charles, with the approbation of the Swedes, had left the administration of the kingdom. In October 1471 a battle was fought on the Brunkeberg, a height now enclosed in the city of Stockholm, in which the Danish King was defeated, though he continued to hold the southern provinces of Sweden. Christian died in 1481 and was succeeded by his son John. The Swedes in 1483 acknowledged the supremacy of Denmark by renewing the Union of Calmar; yet, in spite of all his efforts and the domestic dissensions prevailing in Sweden, John could never firmly establish himself in that country. Sten Sture's government had excited universal discontent in Sweden, and he was overthrown by Swante Sture, who though a namesake was no relation. Swante Sture, after some struggles and vicissitudes, succeeded in retaining his hold of power, and on his death in 1512, his son, Sten Sture the younger, was elected to succeed him.

King John of Denmark died in 1513. The education of his son and successor, Christian II., recalls the patriarchal ages, and shows how rude were the manners at that time even of the highest classes in Scandinavia. Young Christian was put to board with one Hans, a bookbinder, till Heinz, a canon, took charge of him, taught him his catechism and to sing in the choir; and he was then handed over to Master Conrad of Pomerania to be instructed in Latin. As he approached adolescence he was lodged in the

³⁰ Holstein was erected into a duchy by Frederick III. in 1474. Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 43. in favour of Christian by the Emperor

palace, where his habits often procured him a beating from his father, for he would scour Copenhagen at night drinking and amusing himself wherever he was invited. In 1502, being in his twentieth year, he was sent into Norway to quell an insurrection, which he effected in the most brutal manner; and during the eight years that he remained in that country he almost annihilated the nobility. At Bergen, where he resided; then the centre of the northern and Hanseatic trade, he fell in love with a girl called Dureke, or the Little Pigeon, daughter of Siegbritte, a huckstress of Amsterdam, who had set up a tavern at Bergen. From these women, who completely ruled him, Christian seems to have imbibed the democratical principles that prevailed in the Netherlands. He was the enemy of the nobles and the clergy, and opposed the oppressions which they exercised in Denmark, and especially over the peasants, who in Jutland and the Danish islands were at that time nothing but serfs. It must be recollected, however, that the constitution of Denmark, as well as of Sweden, consisted then of an aristocracy, or rather oligarchy, of the nobles, which left the king but little real power, and which he of course regarded with aversion. After Christian's accession in 1513 he openly lived with his mistress Dureke, and she and her mother continued to retain their influence over him in spite of his marriage with Isabella, a sister of the Emperor Charles V.

It was during the reign of Christian II. that Denmark first began to have any extensive connections with the rest of Europe. In the year of his accession, he allied himself with the Wendish, or north-eastern towns of the Hanseatic League, whose metropolis was Lübeck; and he subsequently formed alliances with Russia, France, England, and Scotland, with the view of obtaining their aid in his contemplated reduction of Sweden; but he deferred any expedition against that country till a favourable opportunity was presented through Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Upsala, a restless ecclesiastic, who had long been in alliance with the Danes. In 1517 Trolle had levied open war against the administrator Sten Sture, in which Christian supported him with his fleet; but Sten Sture succeeded in capturing Trolle, caused him to be deposed from his archbishopric in a Diet convened at Arboga, and razed to the ground his strong castle of Stäket. In the next year (1518) Christian again appeared near Stockholm with a fleet and army, in which were 2000 French sent by Francis I. Christian was defeated by Sten Sture in a battle near Bränkirka, but he was still formidable, and Sture consented to his demand for hostages till he should have safely returned to his ships. Five noble Swedes were

accordingly placed in his hands, and, among them Gustavus Ericson a young Count who had carried the Swedish banner in the battle; but, with an infamous breach of faith, Christian had no sooner got to his ships than he carried the hostages off with him to Denmark.

The Archbishop of Upsala having proceeded to Rome to complain of Sten Sture, the Pope erected in Denmark an ecclesiastical tribunal, which deposed the administrator and his party, and laid all Sweden under an interdict. This proceeding, however, served to pave the way for the acceptance in Sweden of the Lutheran reformation; though it afforded Christian II. a pretence for getting up a sort of crusade against that country, and levying money both on clergy and laity; and he employed the year 1519 in organising a large army, to which mercenaries and adventurers flocked from all parts of Europe. Early in 1520 this army invaded Sweden, under the command of Otho Krumpe, who caused the Papal interdict to be placarded in all the churches. Sture was defeated and wounded in a battle fought on the ice of Lake Asunden, near Bogesund in West Gothland; and a traitor offered to conduct Krumpe into Upland, by avoiding the *abattis* with which the passes had been protected. At this news Sten Sture, in spite of his wound, hastened to the defence of Stockholm, but expired on the way in his sledge on Malar lake, February 3rd 1520. The Swedes were defeated in a second battle near Upsala, after which a treaty was concluded to the effect that Christian should reign in Sweden, agreeably to the Union of Calmar, but on condition of granting an entire amnesty.

Christian now proceeded to Stockholm, and in October was admitted into that city by Sture's widow, who held the command. Christian at first behaved in a most friendly manner, and promised not only to be a king, but even a father, to the Swedes; yet he had no sooner received the crown than he took the most inhuman vengeance on his confiding subjects. Two bishops, twelve temporal lords, the burgomaster of Stockholm, the town council, and many citizens, were beheaded in the market place without a trial; other executions, often preceded by torture, followed, during a space of four days; and the city was abandoned to be plundered by the soldiers like a place taken by storm. Orders were despatched to Finland to proceed in a similar manner; while the King's progress through the southern provinces was everywhere marked by the erection of gallowses.

These cruelties, for which Christian was reproached by his brother-in-law, Charles V., and which procured for him the name of the Nero of the North, occasioned insurrections in all his do-

minions. That in Sweden was led by Gustavus Ericson, the hostage already mentioned, a young man remarkable alike by his origin, connections, talent and courage; whose family, for what reason is unknown, afterwards assumed the name of Vasa, which was borne neither by himself nor by his forefathers.³¹ During his captivity in Denmark, Gustavus Ericson had been intrusted to the custody of his relative, Eric Baner, a nobleman of Jutland, who confined him in his castle of Kallö. At his keeper's table Gustavus heard of the preparations for a war with Sweden, and was insulted by the boasts of the young Danes, how they would divide the Swedish fiefs, how they would cast lots for the Swedish maidens, so that he could neither rest by day nor sleep by night. He escaped early one morning from Kallö, disguised himself as an ox-driver, and reached Lübeck in safety in September (1519) where he remained eight months. In May 1520, soon after the death of Sten Sture, and when the Danes under Christian were besieging Stockholm, the Lubeckers landed Gustavus secretly at Stensö, near Calmar, but he found among his countrymen no response to his appeals to them to arm, and was compelled to fly. How he spent the summer, disguised and wandering in bye-paths in order to escape his pursuers—for a price had been set upon his head—is not known. It was September before he arrived at Tarna, the estate of his brother-in-law Joachim Brahe in Südermanland; whom, however, he could not dissuade from attending Christian's coronation. Brahe went to Stockholm, which city, as we have said, had been captured in the autumn by Christian, and met his death. The father of Gustavus was among those who had signed the deed (October 30th) conferring the Swedish crown upon Christian, but he was, nevertheless, as well as his son-in-law, one of the victims of that monster. Gustavus heard the news of the massacre at Räfnas, his paternal estate, to which he had proceeded on leaving Tarna, and he mounted his horse and fled (November 5th), attended by a single servant, who robbed and deserted him. Gustavus now took the road to Dalecarlia, a district noted for its love of freedom and hatred of the Danes. Here he worked in peasants' clothes, for daily wages, in hourly danger from his pursuers, from whom he had many narrow escapes; and was once wounded with a lance as he lay concealed under a heap of straw. His adventures are still related in that neighbourhood; the barns in which he laboured, the building near Ornäs

³¹ Geijer, B. ii. S. 1. Modern writers have, however, agreed to give him the name of Vasa, which we shall retain.

The year of his birth is uncertain, but was probably 1496. *Ibid.* S. 3.

where his life was saved by a woman, are preserved as national monuments; the place where he lay hid under an uprooted fir, the hill near Asby surrounded with marshes, where he found an asylum, the cellar in the village of Utmetland, where he concealed himself, are still pointed out.

The news of Christian's inhumanity procured Gustavus Vasa many followers; he was elected as their leader by a great assembly of the people at Mora, and found himself at the head of 5000 men; whom, though undisciplined and armed only with spears, clubs, swords and such weapons as chance afforded, he soon rendered a match for the Danish troops. His situation was not only difficult but embarrassing; for the Danes, besides possessing all the fortresses and castles in the kingdom, had carried off as hostages some of the most distinguished ladies, including the mother and two sisters of Gustavus himself. Nevertheless, in June 1621 he invested Stockholm; but the siege, for want of proper artillery and engineering skill, was protracted two years. During this period his command was legally confirmed in a *Herrendag*, or assembly of the nobles, at Wadstena, August 24th 1521; the crown was proffered to him, which he declined, but accepted the office of Regent.

The Danes were now by degrees almost entirely expelled from Sweden; and Christian II., so far from being able to relieve Stockholm, found himself in danger of losing the Danish crown. He had quarrelled with his uncle Duke Frederick of Holstein; he had offended his own subjects, as well as the German Hanse towns, by his commercial regulations, and especially by an ordinance forbidding the sale of all agricultural produce to foreigners, and directing it to be brought to Copenhagen and there sold to Danish merchants; and he had alienated the nobles by laws, just in themselves, but contrary to the capitulation he had entered into on his accession; among which was, that they should not be allowed to sell their serfs like slaves. He had made enemies of the clergy by prohibiting them from buying farms, unless they should marry like their forefathers. He had also done many acts of barbarity and cruelty; and to escape the odium which they brought upon him, he caused Dietrich Slaghek, whom he had made Bishop of Lund, to be burnt alive as the author of them.

By his connection with the House of Austria, as well as through the influence of Siegbritte, Christian had been led in his commercial policy to favour the Netherlanders at the expense of the Hanse towns; and the cities of Lübeck, Dantzic, Wismar and Rostock now took their revenge by declaring for Gustavus Vasa, ravaging

the Danish coasts, seizing the Danish ships, occupying Bornholm, and plundering Helsingör. The same towns also concluded an alliance with Christian's uncle Frederick, who had formed secret connections with the Danish nobles, and induced them to renounce their allegiance to his nephew, and place himself on the throne with the title of Frederick I. The Union of Calmar was now entirely dissolved. The Norwegians claimed to exercise the right of election like the Danes; and when Frederick called upon the Swedish States to recognise his title, in conformity with the Union, they replied, that it was their intention to elect Gustavus Ericson for their king; which was accordingly done at the Diet of Strengnäs, June 7th 1523. Three weeks after Stockholm surrendered to Gustavus. Bewildered by this revolution, Christian II. had fled from Copenhagen in April, before there was any absolute necessity to do so; for that city, Malmö, Kallundborg, and some other places, did not acknowledge Frederick till the beginning of 1524; at which time the island of Gothland was all that remained faithful to Christian. This monarch then proceeded into the Netherlands, and his consort, the sister of the Emperor Charles V., expired at Ghent in 1525.

Meanwhile, in Sweden, Gustavus was consolidating his power, partly by moderation and mildness, partly by examples of necessary severity. He put himself at the head of the reformation, as Frederick I. also did in Denmark; and he acted with that mixture of softness and dissimulation, combined with boldness in action, which always distinguished him. Luther's doctrines had been first introduced into Sweden in 1519, by two brothers, Olaus and Lawrence Petri, who had studied under the great apostle of reform at Wittenberg. The Petris soon attracted the attention of Gustavus, who gave them his protection, and entered himself into correspondence with Luther. The designs of Gustavus were assisted by the circumstance that, at his accession, all the bishoprics in the kingdom, except two, were vacant; and Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Upsala, who had taken part against him, had been declared an enemy of his country. As in other parts of Europe, the nobles were induced to join the movement from the prospect of sharing the spoils of the church; and in a great Diet at Westerås in 1527, the reformation was introduced. The castles of several bishops were then seized; convents were suppressed, and their inmates turned adrift; and many were inclined to withhold even the lawful tithes of the working clergy, had not the King issued an order for their payment. There seems to have been no great difficulty in introducing the reformation among this simple people, for the

majority of the Swedes were so ignorant, as not to know that they had been converted from Catholics into Lutherans. Gustavus I. always denied that he had introduced a new doctrine; and even under his son and successor, John, a great part of the people still believed themselves to belong to the Roman faith.³² The Reformation in Sweden was not, however, unaccompanied with disturbances on the part of the higher classes, and several years elapsed before it was completely established.

Meanwhile Christian II., a wanderer and an exile, was seeking the aid of foreign princes to re-establish himself on the throne of Denmark. The merchants of the Netherlands whom he had befriended, as well as some of the German princes, were in his favour; and, in 1531, the government of the Netherlands allowed him to raise in Holland an army of 8000 or 10,000 men, who were embarked in Dutch ships with the intention of landing them in the Swedish province of Halland; but the fleet was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Norway, and towards the end of autumn a landing was effected at Opslo. Here, during the winter, Christian was secure from the attacks of Frederick and Gustavus, who had combined against him. Christian had been a convert to Lutheranism, but, as his faith sat easy upon him, he now declared himself the protector of Catholicism in Norway; the whole country, except a few fortified places, declared in his favour, and he was even proclaimed King of Norway.³³ In the spring of 1532, however, when the ice had broken up, a Swedish army entered Upper Norway; the Danish and Wendish fleets landed a large force at Opslo; and Christian, whose men were daily deserting because he had no means to pay them, was compelled to shut himself up in the castle, and enter into negotiations with the Danish commander. By a treaty signed at Aggerhuys, July 1st, it was agreed that Christian should be carried into Denmark, to treat in person with his uncle Frederick; and that he should be at liberty to quit the kingdom if no agreement should be concluded: but such was the hatred of the Danish nobles towards him, that they compelled Frederick to condemn him to perpetual imprisonment, and to give eight written promises to that effect into the custody of four Danish and four Holstein noblemen. The unhappy Christian was immured in the castle of Sonderburg; all the windows of his vaulted chamber were walled up, except one, through which his food was conveyed; and a dwarf was appointed to be his only attendant and companion. In this miserable situation he continued twelve years,

³² Geijer, B. ii. S. 218.

³³ *Ibid.* B. ii. S. 81.

when the rigours of his confinement were somewhat mitigated, and towards the end of his life, which lasted till 1559, he was treated with something like royal dignity; but his health and spirits had been completely broken by his long captivity.

Frederick I. expired at Gottorp, his usual residence, in 1533, when a contest began for the Danish crown. The Diet was assembled, but the election of a king was deferred for a year by the ruling council, or oligarchy, who during the interregnum exercised the supreme power. The city of Lübeck, now governed by two enterprising democrats, Marcus Mejer, and George Wullenwever, seized the opportunity to endeavour to place a protégé of their own on the throne of Denmark, and thus revive the waning power of the Hansa; and they associated in their undertaking the burgomasters of Malmö and Copenhagen. As Duke Christian of Holstein, eldest son of Frederick I., would not submit to the terms which they prescribed as the conditions of assisting him to the throne, they employed Count Christian of Oldenburg to invade Denmark on pretence of restoring Christian II. The count, having raised an army with the money of Lübeck, demanded from the Duke of Holstein the liberation of the imprisoned monarch, and passed over into Denmark with the Hanse fleet. He was favourably received in Malmö and Copenhagen; all Schonen and Seeland submitted to him as the representative of Christian II.; and the peasants of Jutland were also in his favour. Alarmed at these proceedings the oligarchy now chose the Duke of Holstein for their king, with the title of Christian III. (July 1534); but the Count of Oldenburg maintained himself in Denmark throughout the year, till the new sovereign was assisted by the arms of the King of Sweden.

Gustavus was now also at variance with the Wendish Hanse towns. They had, indeed, liberally assisted him in his struggle in Sweden; but they made exorbitant claims upon his gratitude. They demanded that the Netherlanders, with whom Gustavus had concluded a treaty in 1526, should be excluded from the commerce of the Baltic; and Lübeck required with such impatience the repayment of a loan of 28,000 rix-dollars, that Gustavus, to satisfy the demand, was compelled to order every parish to contribute one of its bells. As the strict and vigorous government of Gustavus had occasioned considerable discontent in Sweden, the Lübeckers took advantage of it to declare war against him. Among the malcontents was the King's own brother-in-law, Count Hoya, who fled to Lübeck with his wife and children; where Gustavus Trolle and other dissatisfied nobles gathered round him. All these em-

braced the cause of Count Oldenburg and Christian II., against the new King of Denmark. But as his own kingdom was threatened, Gustavus's army entered the Danish provinces lying beyond the Sound; the Lubeckers were driven out of Schonen, Halland, and Bekingen; in January 1535, Christian of Oldenburg and Marcus Meyer were completely defeated in a battle near Helsingborg; and the Hanseatic fleet was also vanquished by that of Denmark and Sweden. In Denmark Proper, the invaders sustained a disastrous defeat from the King's troops in Funen, in which Gustavus Trolle was mortally wounded, June 1535; and though Copenhagen held out a year, under the extremities of famine, it was at length forced to capitulate. After this defeat the party of the invaders fell to pieces; and Lübeck found it expedient to conclude a peace with Christian III (February 1536). The commercial privileges of the Lubeckers were renewed, and they were invested with Bornholm for another fifty years.

After this war, which was called "the Count's War," Christian III. and Gustavus Vasa put the finishing hand to the Reformation in their respective dominions, and to the temporal power of the clergy. In 1536 Christian caused all the Danish bishops to be arrested on the same day, and then proceeded to confiscate ecclesiastical property. At a personal interview between Christian and Gustavus at Brömsebro near Calmar in 1541, the two monarchs arranged some differences that still existed between them, and a peace of twenty years was concluded. While Sweden in 1540 had with the consent of the States been converted into an hereditary monarchy, Christian III. found himself obliged to weaken his power by dividing Denmark, according to the German fashion, with his two brothers, John and Adolphus. Admonished, however, by the difficulties and dangers which had attended his own election, he took care betimes that his son should be appointed his successor, who was elected in 1542, and on the death of his father in 1559, succeeded to the crown, with the title of Frederick II.

Gustavus Vasa expired in September 1560. Under his sway Sweden had attained to great prosperity, and the latter half of his reign was accounted the happiest time that country had ever seen. He bestowed great care on trade, and especially on mining and working in metals; and he restored public order by a strict police, then very necessary in that country. He was a rigid economist, and, during the Reformation, not only laid his hands on all the plate and movables of the churches and ecclesiastical foundations, but even looked after the copper kettles and tin basins of the convents. He personally engaged in agriculture, mining, and

trade, and lived a long while in rural fashion on his farms in Finland.

After the death of Gustavus, Sweden again fell into confusion, and almost barbarism. His eldest son, who succeeded him with the title of Eric IV., though possessing talents and accomplishments, was subject to occasional fits of mental derangement; and Gustavus, to avert the danger threatened by his reign, had made his other three sons nearly equal to Eric in power. To John he gave Finland, to Magnus, East Gothland, and to Charles Südermannland, in which provinces they ruled with the title of Dukes. But of these brothers Magnus was still more deranged than Eric, while John and Charles were unfeeling and cruel. Eric had been one of Queen Elizabeth's suitors; who, however, with less than her usual coquetry, seems to have written to Gustavus to dissuade his son from a hopeless suit.³⁴ Eric, in one of his insane fits, afterwards married the daughter of a corporal of his guard.

Eric soon found himself engaged in hostilities with the Danes, the Russians, and his three brothers. After the dissolution of the military order of the Brothers of the Sword, which had ruled in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, like the Teutonic Order in Prussia, the Russians attempted to seize Livonia. Magnus, brother of Frederick II. of Denmark, had in vain attempted to protect the Livonians, who now appealed to Eric; and in 1561 the Swedish king landed an army at Revel, and compelled the Russians to a peace. But shortly afterwards Eric fell into a quarrel with his brother John, the Duke of Finland, who, contrary to Eric's will, had espoused Catharine Jagellonica, a sister of the last of the Jagellons; a union which opened to him a prospect of the Polish throne. The archbishopric of Riga having on the death of the Archbishop been made over to Sweden by his coadjutor, but the transfer being disputed by the Poles, Eric called on his brother John to aid him with a fleet and money in taking possession. John, considering himself an independent sovereign, refused to comply, upon which Eric summoned both John and his consort before his tribunal at Stockholm, and, on their refusing to appear, caused the Swedish States to condemn John to death as a rebellious vassal, and besieged and captured him in his castle of Abo, August 1563. John was confined at Gripsholm, where he remained a prisoner four years. A war which broke out with Denmark about the same time, entailed great misery upon Sweden, and the acts of cruelty committed by Eric in his insanity, which had now become more

³⁴ Geijer, B. ii. S. 141.

confirmed, set everybody against him. At last, in one of the paroxysms of his disorder, Eric repaired to the prison of his brother John, fell at his feet, saluted him as his sovereign, and gave him his liberty. The first use that John made of his freedom was to conspire with his brother Charles against Eric. In September 1568, John and Charles having collected around them at Wadstena, all the malcontents of the kingdom, proceeded to Stockholm into which they were admitted by the citizens; Eric surrendered himself, and early in 1569 John caused him to be deposed by the States, and condemned to death; his marriage was declared null and the offspring of it illegitimate. At the intercession of the queen-dowager, Eric's stepmother, his sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment; and John was elected king in his place, January 24th 1569.

The unfortunate Eric survived these events eight years, although John and Charles endeavoured by ill-usage to put an end to his life. He was treated like a common malefactor; and in the autumn of 1574, on the discovery of some plans to effect his release, he was thrown into the frightful tower of Orbyhuys in Upland. Two or three years after, John procured from the clergy a sanction to offer him up "for the good of the people,"—in other words, to murder him; and he was poisoned in some soup, February 1577, in his forty-fourth year.

Frederick II. of Denmark died in 1588, after a long and prosperous reign. Frederick kept a splendid court, patronised art and science, and spent large sums in the astronomical pursuits of his favourite, Tycho Brahe, at Uranienburg. His son and successor, Christian IV., who had been elected in 1586, was still a child; but the reputation of his father shed a glory over his accession, which, however, was destined to fade in the Thirty Years' War. It must be recollected that at this period Denmark continued to hold several of the southern provinces now belonging to the kingdom of Sweden, comprising a fifth part of the inhabitants; and by the peace of Stettin, concluded with the Swedish king, John, in 1570, the possession of Schonen, Halland, Bekingén, Herjedalen, Jemtland, Bohus, and Wyck, was confirmed to the Danes.

King John, and the many friends of his consort Catharine Jagellonica, had in 1587 procured their son to be elected king of Poland, with the title of Sigismund III. This was an unfortunate event for Sweden, from the contests which it afterwards occasioned. Catharine was a zealous Catholic, led by the Jesuits; Sigismund was brought up in his mother's faith; and, what was

worse, the Jesuits were introduced into Sweden. It was generally believed that John himself had turned Catholic; but he was not willing to sacrifice his crown for the Pope: especially as he saw that his brother Charles was endeavouring to form a party as head of the Protestants. John was prudent enough to banish the Jesuits, to dissolve their college at Stockholm, to fill the professorial chairs with their opponents, and to threaten with exile all those who had gone over to the Catholic Church.

King John died November 17th 1592. His brother Charles had been for some time the virtual ruler of Sweden; and, as his nephew Sigismund was in Poland at the time of his father's death, Charles continued to hold the Regency, although the government should have been intrusted to seven councillors. Charles had been endeavouring to deprive Sigismund of the Swedish succession, on the ground of his religion; and he was assisted in his views by the circumstance that both the Poles and the Swedes demanded the constant residence of their sovereign among them. In the autumn of 1593, on the approach of Sigismund with an army, Charles indeed found it necessary to lay down the government, and his nephew received the Swedish crown; but in the following year Sigismund was compelled to return to Poland, and he left his uncle Charles to govern Sweden with royal powers. Charles used his authority to make preparations for seizing the crown. Sigismund returned to Sweden to dispute it with him, but was ultimately defeated in a battle at Stångobro in September 1598. In the following February, the Swedish States conferred the government upon Charles, with the title of "Ruling Hereditary Prince;" and in July they declared that if Sigismund did not immediately send his son Ladislaus into Sweden, to be educated in the evangelical faith, he and his posterity should be excluded from the Swedish crown. Charles now sought to establish his power by numerous cruel executions, chiefly of the nobles; for by the peasants and clergy he was regarded as their deliverer from the papistry of Sigismund, and he even obtained the name of "the peasants' friend." At length, in 1604, Charles, having filled all the chief offices of the kingdom with his adherents, assumed the title of "King Elect, and Hereditary Prince of the Swedes, Vandals, and Goths."³⁵ Gustavus Adolphus, then in his tenth year³⁶, his eldest son by his marriage with Christina, daughter of Duke Adolphus of Schleswic-Holstein, and grand-daughter of Frederick I. of Denmark, was at the same time recognised as Crown-Prince, and his brother

³⁵ Geijer, B. ii. S. 335.

castle of Stockholm, December 9th 1594,

³⁶ Gustavus Adolphus was born in the

O. S.

Charles Philip as Hereditary Prince, with remainder, in default of male issue, to their sister.

The last years of Charles IX. were spent in wars with Russia, Poland and Denmark. Christian IV. of Denmark, who was only eleven years of age at the time of his father's death, did not obtain the government of that kingdom till 1596; and, when it was at length committed to him, he was compelled, like his predecessors, to sign a capitulation, which circumscribed his power even more than theirs. During his minority the Council of State had contested the regency with his mother and uncle, and assigned it to four of their own members: and no attention was paid, except in the duchies of Schleswic and Holstein, to the letters of Rodolph II. pronouncing Christian of age in his seventeenth year. Christian I. had conferred on these provinces the right of choosing their own Regent, and the pretensions of the Danish Council were consequently excluded there.

The first years of Christian IV.'s reign were prosperous. He chose the oldest and most experienced statesmen for his counsellors; he was himself intelligent and industrious; he founded the prosperity of Norway on the ruins of the Hanseatic League, and personally surveyed the coasts of that country to find convenient harbours for trade; nor did Iceland, in its remote and icy ocean, escape his vigilance and cares. The power of Denmark was then superior to that of Sweden, nor was Christian disinclined to use it in a contest with the Swedish king, between whom and himself an ill feeling prevailed. This festered still more rancorously in Christian's breast after Charles IX. had been solemnly crowned King of Sweden in 1608; but the Danish Council, on which Christian was dependent, was averse to open hostilities, and he was constrained to gratify his hatred by fomenting the rebellions of the Swedish nobles. Charles, on his side, was unwilling to engage with his powerful neighbour in a war for which no pretext could be alleged, except the three crowns displayed in the armorial bearings of either sovereign,—the asylum given to Swedish fugitives by Christian,—the contested possession of the Lap Marks,—and of the island of Oesel, alike valueless to both countries. Denmark, however, was longing to extend her possessions beyond the Sound; and in April 1611, after some correspondence between the Danish and Swedish monarchs, which might not disgrace Billingsgate, Christian IV. declared war.

Charles IX. had been disabled by a stroke of palsy from any active exertions, and he committed the conduct of the war to his son Gustavus Adolphus, now in his seventeenth year. The cam-

paign went in favour of the Danes, who took Calmar. Before the end of the year Gustavus became King of Sweden. Charles IX. died in October 1611; and in the following December, Gustavus Adolphus, with the consent of the States, succeeded to his father's title of "King Elect of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals." Gustavus had been well educated. He was master of several modern languages, as well as Greek and Latin; he had been early trained to business, and in the art of war, in which he was to acquire so much renown, he had the advantage of the instructions of two famous generals, Ewert Horn, and the Baron de la Gardie, a French noble. In the report of a Dutch ambassador to the Court of Sweden, two or three years after the accession of Gustavus, he is described as slim and well-formed in person, of a pale and rather long countenance, with light hair and a pointed beard, inclining to yellow. He had the reputation of courage, combined with humanity and good temper, of prudence, vigilance, and industry; he possessed eloquence, and was amiable and affable in his intercourse with everybody; so that great expectations were entertained of him.³⁷ These expectations were not to be disappointed. Under Gustavus, Sweden first made its might felt and respected as a European power; and during the brief period that he took a part in the Thirty Years' War, he was by far its most prominent figure.

Gustavus was naturally impetuous, and easily governed by his ideas; but at his accession he chose for his chancellor and minister Axel Oxenstiern; a man, who though only about ten years older than himself, was already at the age of twenty-eight distinguished as a cold practical statesman, the very model of a diplomatist. By this man were the affairs of Sweden for a long period to be directed. The first step of the youthful monarch, who found himself hampered with a Russian as well as a Danish war, was to endeavour to make peace with Christian IV.; but the Danes repulsed his herald, and would not even concede to Gustavus the title of king. He was therefore constrained to take the field; and in a battle with the Danes, on the frozen lake of Widsjö, he had nearly lost his life; the ice broke under the weight of Gustavus and his horse, and he was with difficulty rescued.³⁸ The war went rather in favour of Denmark; but both sides were exhausted, and in January 1613 a peace was concluded by English mediation. It was in

³⁷ *Journal der Legatie ghedan*, 1615 ende 1616, ap. Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. iii. S. 92. When Gustavus Adolphus is described as *slim*, it was, perhaps, according to the Dutch standard. He was then, however, a youth; but in after life,

though never corpulent, he was large-limbed and bony; so that, when clothed in armour, no Swedish horse could carry him. See Harte, *Gustavus Adolphus*.

³⁸ Geijer, B. iii. S. 86.

favour of the Danes; but Gustavus was anxious to conclude it, in order that he might take a part in the affairs of Russia. That country was now in a state of prostration. The throne was vacant and contested; four impostors, under the name of Demetrius, had successively claimed it; the Swedes had penetrated to Neva and Novogorod, the Poles to Moscow and Smolensk; the successes of the Swedes under De la Gardie had inclined a large party of the Russians to choose Charles Philip, the brother of Gustavus, for their Czar; but early in 1613 Michael Romanoff was elected, the founder of the present HOUSE OF ROMANOFF. The Russian war continued four or five years. Gustavus took a personal share in it, and he and De La Gardie at first gained considerable advantages; but after his failure at the siege of Pleskow, the King of Sweden began to lower his demands, and in February 1617 a peace was concluded at Stolbova, through the mediation of James I., and Gustavus acknowledged Michael Romanoff as Czar. By this peace, the ground on which St. Petersburg now stands, was included in the limits of the Swedish territory.³⁹

After the Russian peace the war with Poland broke out afresh. In the summer of 1621 Gustavus began his campaigns against that country by the siege and capture of Riga. In the preceding year he had espoused Maria Eleanora, sister of George William, the new Elector of Brandenburg. He had previously visited Berlin *incognito*, to judge for himself of his future consort, and he had also proceeded to the court of the Elector Palatine. The Polish war lasted nine years, but to detail its operations would afford neither instruction nor amusement. It was concluded in September 1629 by the six years' truce of Altmark, by which Gustavus retained from among his conquests the towns of Elbing, Braunsberg, Pillau, and Memel. He was preparing to take a part in the Thirty Years' War of Germany, to which subject and the affairs connected with it we must now revert. For that enterprise his campaigns in Russia and Poland had served to qualify him, in which he had not only acquired the experience of a general, but at the cost of more than one serious wound had displayed the most brilliant valour.

³⁹ At the boundary Gustavus caused a stone to be erected bearing the three Swedish crowns and the inscription:

Hic regni posuit fines Gustavus Adolphus
Rex Sueonum; fausto numine duret opus.
Limes positi an. 1617.
Geijer, B. iii. S. 98.

CHAPTER V.

In the year 1624 the struggle in Germany assumed a new aspect, through the interference in it of Denmark and France. The return of Cardinal Richelieu to power, which from this period he continued to hold till his death, gave an entirely new direction to French politics; and it will therefore be necessary briefly to resume the history of that country, as well as of Spain, which played an important part in all the events of this period.

In spite of the good understanding between the French and Spanish courts during the administration of Luines, the grasping policy of Spain in Italy was near producing a war between those countries. Ever since the Spaniards had become masters of the Milanese, they had not ceased to covet the Valteline, which had been ceded to the Grison League by the last of the Sforzas. It was not for its extent or fertility that they desired to possess that country, but because it would secure their communication with the Austrian dominions, as well as the command of the passes leading into the Venetian territories; for the Valteline, a long narrow valley watered by the Adda, extends from the Lake of Como to the frontiers of the Tyrol. After the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War, the possession of this valley became doubly important to facilitate the communication between Spain and Austria; and the religious quarrels of the inhabitants seemed to the Spanish Court to offer a favourable opportunity for seizing it. The natives of the Valteline, mostly Catholics, bore with impatience the sway of the Protestant Grisons, and stimulated by the governor of Milan, they rose against their masters, seized the towns of Tirano, Teglio, and Sondrio, massacred all the Protestants they could lay hands on, and called in the Spaniards to defend them from the vengeance of the Grisons (July 1620). The Spaniards now occupied all the strong places in the valley; and although the Grisons appealed to Bern and Zurich for assistance, yet they were unable to regain the revolted province, as the Catholic forest cantons sided with the Valteline.

The French were already beginning to repent of their policy in Germany, and of the treaty of Ulm, which had enabled Maximilian

to march into Bohemia, and Spinola into the Palatinate. When it was too late, the Count de Béthune, one of Louis XIII.'s envoys, represented to his court the necessity for saving the Palatinate; and Louis was obliged to content himself with making some representations to Ferdinand II. in favour of the Palatine, renewing the alliance with Holland, and despatching Bassompierre to Madrid to require the evacuation of the Valteline. These negotiations were interrupted by the death of Philip III., March 31st 1621, at the age of forty-two. His health had been some time in a declining state, but he is said at last to have fallen a victim to etiquette. The weather being cold a brasier was brought into his apartment, the fumes of which affected his head. A lord in waiting told a gentleman of the chamber to have it removed; the gentleman replied that it was the duty of the steward to do so; but before that officer arrived, the King, who had remained fixed in his seat with all the decorum of Spanish ceremony, was seized with a fever, which degenerated into the purples and carried him off.¹

Philip III., except from his station, was wholly insignificant.

The new King of Spain, Philip IV., who was only sixteen years of age at his accession, began his reign by dismissing his father's minister, the Duke de Uzeda, and substituting for him Don Gaspar de Guzman, Count de Olivarez, who had previously been his favourite, and who continued to govern him, as Lerma had Philip III. The first measures of the new reign were peaceable. Spain, intent upon the English marriage, seemed inclined to join England, in settling the affairs of the Palatinate, and to conciliate the French with regard to the Valteline, the seizure of which had, indeed, been disapproved of by Philip III.; and a treaty for the restitution of that district, which, however, it does not appear to have been the intention of the Spanish Court to fulfil, was signed at Madrid, April 25th 1621.² This treaty had been mediated by the Pope, now Gregory XV. Paul V. had died in the preceding January, and Gregory (Cardinal Ludovisio) was elected February 9th. He was a native of Bologna; a small man, of placid and phlegmatic temper, and a skilful negotiator, but was governed by a brilliant nephew, Ludovico Ludovisio, a zealot for the church.³

Louis XIII. was at this time meditating an expedition against La Rochelle, where the Hugonots, headed by Rohan, were in a state of revolt. Luines, though unversed in military affairs, was to conduct the enterprise, and at the moment of its commencement received the sword of Constable (April 3rd 1621). The campaign

¹ *Mém. de Bassompierre*, t. ii. p. 228 (Petitot).

² Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 395.

³ Ranke, *Papsts*, vol. ii. p. 463.

was at first conducted with some success; but the Royal army was badly led and managed; it failed in the siege of Montauban; and the ultra-Catholic party loudly accused Luines not only of incompetence but even of treason. To efface this disaster, the Constable laid siege to Monheur, a little town on the Garonne, which he was sure of taking, and which surrendered December 12th; but two days after, while it was still being plundered and in flames, Luines expired of a fever, regretted by nobody, not even by the King. He was not deficient in intelligence, but he had neither heart nor mind for the high station into which he had thrust himself. The favourite, but a few days before so powerful, was completely deserted at his death. Fontenai-Mareuil saw his coffin on the road for interment, on which some valets were playing at piquet, whilst their horses were feeding round about.⁴

The war with the Hugonots, which we forbear to detail⁵, was concluded by the peace of Montpellier, October 19th 1622. The Hugonots suffered much by this ill-advised revolt; the only strong places which they succeeded in retaining were Montauban and La Rochelle. Rohan, besides other leaders, asked the King's pardon in his camp; but he received 200,000 livres down, besides large promises, and the governments of Nîmes and Uzez. After the death of Luines, the veteran commander Lesdiguières renounced the Protestant faith for that of Rome, and was rewarded with the sword of Constable, July 1622. In September, Richelieu received from the King's own hands a cardinal's hat, which had been procured for him through the influence of the Mary de' Medici.

The time was now approaching when that prelate, who still remained in the service of the Queen-mother, was to assume the direction of the French counsels. The existing ministry had become exceedingly unpopular. In May 1623 the Parliament of Paris had sent a deputation to the King at Fontainebleau to complain that their mal-administration was the cause of all the misery of France. La Vieuville was sensible of his own incompetence, and he cast his eyes on Richelieu, with whose abilities he was well acquainted, and which he imagined he might use for his own service, without intrusting him with the whole secret of affairs. Louis XIII. had a prejudice against the cardinal, and La Vieuville thought it might be possible to make him the head of an extraordinary council for foreign affairs, without his enjoying the privilege of approaching the King's person. It was one of those schemes often formed by ordinary men for appropriating the

⁴ *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 525 (Petitot).

⁵ It is very fully related by Bassompierre, t. ii.

brains of one superior to themselves ; but in this case, as sometimes happens, La Vieuville had taken a wrong estimate of his tool. Richelieu had no objection to be minister ; but he was resolved to be prime minister. He feigned the greatest reluctance to accept place, though it had been the object of his ambition through life ; he raised all sorts of difficulties and objections ; he pleaded his ill health ; he made his acceptance of office a favour and a condescension ; and, seeing that he was indispensable, he prescribed his own terms.

On the 4th of May 1624, Richelieu for the second time took his seat at the council board, which he was henceforth to retain for life. He was now in his thirty-ninth year. His appearance and address were rather striking and imposing, than attractive or calculated to inspire confidence. His complexion was pale, his hair black and flowing ; his eyes, though large, were lively and penetrating, and their effect was heightened by strongly marked brows. His forehead was high, his nose aquiline ; his well chiselled mouth was surmounted with a mustachio, whilst a small pointed beard completed the oval of his countenance. His features wore an expression of severity ; his walk, though noble, was somewhat brusque ; his discourse wonderfully lucid, though without much charm or attraction.

Richelieu lost no time in casting La Vieuville, his pseudo-patron, from the ministry, whose disgrace was effected in about three months. La Vieuville's manners, as well as his policy, were unpopular. Richelieu, who soon obtained an ascendant over the King, shook his confidence in La Vieuville even while he affected to defend him ; he is even thought to have had a hand in some of the numerous pamphlets that were published against that minister ; and, when he thought him sufficiently shaken, he shouldered him out. On the 12th of August 1624, La Vieuville was arrested at the breaking up of the Council, and committed to the castle of Amboise, on a charge of malversation. No further steps were taken against him, and when it was thought that he was sufficiently harmless he was suffered to escape. Richelieu's reign—for he it was who governed the destinies of France—may now be said to have commenced, although the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld continued to be the nominal President of the Council.*

Richelieu had formed a grand scheme of foreign policy, which may be briefly characterised as a revival of that of Henry IV. and Sully. His Spanish policy had probably never been sincere ; and

* It was not till November 1629 that Richelieu was *officially* declared prime minister. Capefigue, t. iv. p. 45 note.

he is said, when quite a youth, to have submitted to the Chancellor Sillery a plan for the abasement of the House of Austria.⁷ After his accession to the ministry, hatred and fear of Spain were visible in all his actions. The suspicion that Spain was aiming at a universal monarchy had been increased after Philip III.'s death by the addition to the Spanish arms of a globe surmounted with a cross.⁸ With these views, Richelieu naturally sided with the enemies of the House of Austria, and courted the Protestants of Germany, England, and Holland, although he persecuted those of France; a contradiction more glaring in the Cardinal, a high churchman, than in Henry IV. and his Hugonot minister.

Richelieu's first measures were, the renewal of the Dutch alliance; the conclusion of a treaty with England, fortified by a marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and Henrietta, youngest sister of Louis XIII.; and a vigorous interposition in the affair of the Valteline. Scarcely was Richelieu seated in the ministry when a special embassy arrived from Holland to request assistance against the House of Austria; and the Cardinal, in spite of the opposition of his colleagues, concluded at Compiègne a treaty with that republic, June 20th 1624, by which some commercial and other advantages were secured to France.⁹ The negotiations for the English marriage had been commenced before Richelieu's accession to office. The romantic journey of the Prince of Wales and Buckingham to Spain early in 1623; the admiration which Charles conceived for the French Princess Henrietta on his way through Paris; the flattering reception of Henry and Baby Charles, now the two "Mr. Smiths," at the Court of Madrid; the insolence of Buckingham and his offensive gallantries towards the wife of Count Olivarez; and the final breaking off of the Spanish match, if, indeed, it had ever been seriously contemplated by the Court of Spain, are well known to all readers of English history. In the negotiations with France La Vieuville had led the English ambassadors, Lords Carlisle and Holland, to expect that no difficulty would be experienced on the score of religion, who were therefore much surprised to find that on this head more rigid conditions were insisted on than had been required by the bigoted Court of Spain; the number of ecclesiastics who were to attend Henrietta into England was increased; and, while by the Spanish contract the children of the marriage were to be educated by their mother in

⁷ Aubery, *Hist. du Card. de Richelieu*, liv. v. ch. 2.

⁸ *Mercure Franç. t. x. p. 94.* Richelieu even opposed the King of Spain's vainglorious assumption of titles, and

instructed M. de Béthune to move the Pope not to sanction that of Emperor of the Indies. Capefigue, *Richelieu*, t. iii. p. 324.

⁹ Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 461.

the Catholic faith only till the age of ten, Richelieu prolonged the term till their thirteenth year¹⁰: an important clause, which incidentally paved the way for the fall of the Stuart dynasty. The marriage contracts were completed in November 1624. Richelieu brought the Pope to grant a dispensation for the union, partly by threats and partly by the inducement of a secret understanding in favour of the Roman Catholics in England. But though Richelieu warmly advocated this marriage, and entertained the same views as the English cabinet with regard to Germany, he was not yet prepared for open interference in the affairs of that country, but had resolved to confine himself to granting secret subsidies, and conniving at French subjects entering the service of German Protestant Princes. His policy at this moment embraced four principal objects: to incite the English to recover the Palatinate for Frederick; to assist the Dutch in defending Breda against Spinola; to make an attack upon Genoa, the faithful ally of Spain; and to liberate the Valteline, now held by the Pope in favour of the Spanish Court. By this last stroke, and by the capture of Genoa, he intended to cut off the communication between Spain and Austria; by the restoration of the Palatine he would disturb the communications between Austria and the Spanish Netherlands; and by assisting the defence of Breda he would find employment for Spinola's arms. But, what was the most difficult part of his policy, he wished to effect all these things without provoking a declaration of war on the part of Spain, and without absolutely renouncing the engagements which France had entered into with the Duke of Bavaria.

With regard to the Palatinate, it had been agreed with the English ministers that Count Mansfeld should be employed; he was to raise an army in England, and France was to advance six months' pay. Buckingham seems also to have received a promise that Mansfeld should be permitted to march through France with his army. Christian IV. of Denmark, who was now beginning to take a part in the affairs of Germany, was also to be subsidised. Mansfeld, when on his way into England, was received at Paris with the most marked distinction, although the King affected that he would not see him¹¹; but, when in the winter of 1624 he appeared before Calais with a fleet containing 12,000 English troops, he was refused permission to land. The Marquis d'Effiat, the French ambassador, and Brienne then employed in England about

¹⁰ Aubery, *Richelieu*, liv. ii. ch. 2. Cf. Rushworth, pt. i. pp. 88 and 152; Dumont t. v. pt. ii. p. 476.

¹¹ Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*, t. iv. p. 666 (ed. Amst. 1702).

the marriage, struck with surprise and confusion at this breach of faith on the part of their government, repaired to Buckingham to explain and apologise¹²; and the English minister, who had been completely outwitted, having no formal agreement to appeal to, was forced to content himself with a few excuses, and some vague promises of future assistance. The English fleet, after some weeks had been wasted in fruitless negotiations for permission to land the troops, proceeded to Zealand, where it met with no better success; and two thirds of the army were carried off by a contagious disorder arising from the detention.

Richelieu's Italian policy was more open and decisive, but yet coloured with such plausible pretences as might prevent Spain from having any *casus belli*. In October 1622 the Archduke Leopold had repressed a rising of the Grisons against the treaty imposed on them, and had reduced to subjection the greater part of one of the Three Leagues. The Duke of Savoy and Venice were even more vitally interested than France in this state of things; and in February 1623 an alliance had been concluded between these three powers in order to rescue the Valteline from the House of Austria. To avert the blow, Spain had proposed to place the fortresses of the district in the hands of the Pope, who was in fact acting in concert with that power, till the question should be decided; and in May the Valteline was occupied by 2000 pontifical troops. At the same time, however, the Austrians continued to retain their hold upon the Grisons; and La Vieuville, who then directed the counsels of France, had tamely submitted to this temporising policy.

Shortly after this transaction Pope Gregory XV. died, July 8th 1623; and was succeeded by Cardinal Matthew Barberino, a Florentine, who assumed the title of Urban VIII. Barberino, then aged fifty-five, was a vain man, with a great conceit of his own abilities; hence he seldom convened the consistory; and when an argument was once advanced against him in that assembly from the old papal constitutions, he replied, that the opinion of a living Pope was worth more than the maxims of a hundred dead ones. He wished to be regarded as a temporal prince; he was more addicted to profane than spiritual learning; he studied fortification, read the newest poems; nay, pretended to be himself a disciple of the Muses, and turned the Psalms of David into Horatian metres! It was this Pope who made Cività Vecchia a free port; and the consequence

¹² Brienne, *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 392; Richelieu, *Mém.* liv. xv. and xvi.

was that the Barbary corsairs sold there the plunder of the Christians.¹³

Such was the man with whom Richelieu had to deal respecting the Valteline. He determined to call on Venice and Savoy to act on the treaty of 1623. The Archbishop of Lyon, the French ambassador at Rome, was instructed to insist on the evacuation of the Valteline by the papal troops; and when that prelate, thinking Richelieu a novice, pointed out in a long letter the crooked and dilatory policy which it was necessary to pursue at that Court, the Cardinal laconically answered: "The King will no longer be amused; tell the Pope that he will see an army in the Valteline." And lest the ambassador, who was aspiring to the cardinalate, should play false, M. de Béthune, a Calvinist, was sent to supersede him.¹⁴

For the attack on Genoa, which would not only engage the attention of the Spanish troops in the Milanese, but also stop the supplies of money furnished to Spain by that republic¹⁵, France pleaded that she was bound to assist her ancient ally, the Duke of Savoy, in his quarrel with Genoa respecting the fief of Zucarello; but though Richelieu asserted, and pretends in his Memoirs, that this was a lawful cause of war, Jerome Priuli, the Venetian ambassador, at a conference at Susa, rejected the scheme with indignation, as both unjust and impolitic.¹⁶ Richelieu, however, steadily pursued the plans he had formed for the liberation of the Valteline, in justification of which the alliance with the Grisons was also appealed to; and it was alleged that France, in assisting them against their rebellious subjects, afforded neither Spain, nor any other power, a reasonable cause of offence. An attack upon the papal troops did not inspire the Cardinal with any scruples: it was as often his method to plead the reason of state with the Pontiff, as to weigh the respect and forbearance due to the Holy See. Already in June 1624 M. de Cœuvres had been sent into Switzerland, and succeeded in arming the Protestant cantons in favour of the Grisons. The ambassadorial functions of De Cœuvres were suddenly converted into those of a general; 4000 Swiss and Grisons were joined by 3000 French infantry and 500 horse; in November he received from M. de Béthune at Rome the concerted signal, entered the Valteline, and soon drove out the papal troops; whose

¹³ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 556.

¹⁴ Anquetil, *Intrigue du Cabinet*, t. ii. p. 201.

¹⁵ The Genoese acted as the bankers of Spain, for which they were always in advance on the security of the royal

domains and revenues, as well as of the taxes, which were sometimes mortgaged, for three or four years. *Mercurio Franc.* t. x. p. 24.

¹⁶ Sismondi, t. xv p. 476.

captured standards were returned with marks of great respect to the Pontiff. Loud was the outcry, not only at Rome and Madrid, but even amongst the ultra-Catholics in France, against the "State Cardinal." The Pope, however, who feared Richelieu as much as he hated him, was less noisy than his partisans; and, instead of the censures with which the Cardinal had been threatened, it was precisely at this time that the dispensation arrived for the English marriage. Urban had received a gentle hint that, if it were not forwarded, it would be itself dispensed with.

The expedition against Genoa was interrupted by a Hugonot insurrection. The French government had not faithfully fulfilled the treaty of Montpellier. Fort Louis, near La Rochelle, instead of being demolished had been strengthened; Rohan, yielding to the impulse of the inhabitants, made advances to the Spanish ambassador, and a monstrous agreement was effected, by which the Hugonots received the money of Spain, just as France assisted the Dutch.¹⁷ In January 1625, Rohan's brother, Soubise, seized the Isle of Rhé, and, surprising the French fleet at Blavet in Bretagne, carried off four vessels. The revolt gradually spread into Haut Languedoc, Le Querci, and the Cevennes. Nevertheless the old Constable Lesdiguières, and Charles Emmanuel, invaded Liguria in March with 28,000 men, and most of the places in it were captured. Lesdiguières, however, declined to attempt Genoa itself without the assistance of a fleet; the ships furnished according to treaty by the Dutch being required against the French rebels. It is probable, that the Constable acted according to secret instructions from Richelieu, who wished not to see Genoa fall into hands of the Duke of Savoy, and was only intent on diverting the Spaniards from the Valteline.¹⁸ An Austrian army, passing through the Swiss Catholic cantons, and over the St. Gothard, compelled the French and Piedmontese to evacuate Liguria, and even assumed the offensive against Piedmont and the Valteline; which, however, with the exception of the fortress of Riva, the French succeeded in retaining.

It was in the midst of these affairs that the marriage of Charles and Henrietta was completed. The unexpected death of James I. after a short illness, March 27th 1625, compelled the royal bridegroom to celebrate his nuptials by proxy; which were solemnized, May 11th, by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, on a scaffold erected before the principal entrance of Nôtre Dame, with the

¹⁷ Ranke, *Französische Gesch.* B. ii. S. 285.

¹⁸ See a Letter from Marshal Créquy to

Louis XIII., quoted by Le Jay, *Hist. du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu*, t. i. p. 54, note.

same ceremonies as had been observed at the marriage of Henry IV. and Margaret of Valois. The English King was represented by the Duke de Chevreuse. Buckingham afterwards arrived in Paris for the purpose of escorting Queen Henrietta Maria into England; when that handsome, vain, and insolent favourite inspired many with astonishment and admiration at his magnificence, a few with disgust and aversion at his presumption.¹⁹ Buckingham had given offence in Spain by making love to the wife of the prime minister; in France he was presumptuous enough to address the Queen herself. Anne of Austria, now twenty-four years of age, was tall and well-shaped, with an air at once majestic and engaging. Her eyes were full and soft; her nose rather too large perhaps for perfect beauty; her mouth small and ruby, with just enough of the Austrian feature to give it additional charms. Her bright chestnut hair fell in luxuriant tresses. But her distinguishing attraction was the dazzling whiteness of her skin; more remarkable, however, in her neck and hands than in her face; as she never wore a mask, as was the custom in those days, to preserve her complexion. She had little of the gravity of a Spanish education, and what she had brought with her had not been increased by the manners of the French Court, then abounding with coquettes, among whom the handsome and intriguing Duchess of Chevreuse shone conspicuous. All Anne's charms, however, had made but little impression on the cold and apathetic Louis, who did not live with her like a husband. The dominant passions of that monarch, after the chase, seem to have been an inordinate penchant for gingerbread, and an almost morbid aversion to red hair.

Louis XIII., his brother, the Queen-mother, and the Queen-regnant accompanied the royal bride some way on her road to England. The King went no further than Compiègne; and at Amiens the three Queens were detained some days by the illness of Mary de' Medici. It was here that Buckingham carried his audacity to extremes. As the town afforded but little accommodation, the three Queens lodged in separate houses. To that of Anne of Austria a large garden was attached, skirting the banks of the Somme, in which the Court was accustomed to promenade. One fine evening, Anne of Austria, who was fond of prolonging her walks till a late hour, was strolling in this garden attended by Buckingham, whilst the handsome but effeminate Lord Holland

¹⁹ They who are curious in such matters may see in the *Mémoires d'un Favori*, by Bois d'Annemets, an account of the impression Buckingham produced, and a de-

scription of one, and that apparently not the most splendid, of the twenty-seven suits which he took with him. (*Archives Cur.* t. iii. p. 293, 2^{de} sér.)

gave his arm to the Duchess of Chevreuse. The turning of an alley having suddenly separated the Queen and her cavalier from the rest of the party, Buckingham, emboldened by the shades of evening, seized the opportunity to make advances incompatible with the honour of Louis XIII. The Queen shrieked, her equerry arrived and arrested the Duke, but was discreet enough to let him depart; and the rest of the company coming up, it was agreed to keep the affair as secret as possible. The English ships being detained at Boulogne by rough weather, Buckingham and Lord Holland returned to Amiens, where Anne of Austria still lingered; and, in spite of the insult she had received, admitted Buckingham to an interview in her bedchamber, though in the presence of one of her ladies.²⁰

The English alliance was useful to France in the Hugonot rebellion. The Cardinal, relying on the warmth of a new connection, succeeded in obtaining the loan of some English vessels, but without their crews; for the English sailors, almost to a man, refused to serve against the Hugonots; and it was not deemed expedient to treat them like the Dutch; on board of each of whose vessels the Cardinal insisted on putting a hundred French soldiers, in order to prevent any treachery on the part of the sailors.²¹ Soubise was now attacked in the Isle of Rhé; and on the 15th of September 1625 he was completely defeated; on shore by Toiras, at sea by Montmorenci. Soubise succeeded in escaping to England with two or three ships which he had saved; and his cause was so popular in that country that the government could not refuse him shelter. Here he employed himself in making interest with the parliamentary leaders; and Buckingham, to whom the loan of the English vessels was imputed as a crime, found himself compelled to demand them back.

²⁰ It has been said by some writers that Richelieu was also an admirer of Anne of Austria, and that he was jealous of Buckingham's reception; but there seems to be no adequate foundation for these statements. The cardinal, however, was addicted to gallantry, and is said to have been one of the very numerous lovers of the celebrated Marion de Lorme, as well as of Mademoiselle de Fruges, a cast mistress of Buckingham's. When engaged in these intrigues, the cardinal used to exchange his ecclesiastical dress for that of a cavalier, with a mask and green breeches. See De Retz, t. i. p. 11 sq. (ed. Amst. 1731); Le Vassor, *Louis XIII.* t. v. p. 168 sq.

²¹ A recent French historian, indeed,

asserts the contrary: "Les huit vaisseaux, promis par Jacques I^{er}, avaient enfin été envoyés par son successeur et garnis de soldats François, au grand dépit du peuple et surtout des matelots Anglais. Les marins Anglais de la flotte royale ne manœuvrèrent que l'épée sur la gorge," &c.—Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xi. p. 220 sq. But this statement, however gratifying to French vanity, is totally unfounded. The only Englishman who consented to, serve as a gunner. See the Articles preferred against Buckingham in Rushworth's *Collections*, pt. i. p. 332. The vessels lent were the Vanguard and six large merchant vessels, armed.

The misunderstanding between the two Courts had been increased by complaints of ill treatment made by Queen Henrietta and her attendants; whose grievances had commenced before they landed on the shores of England. As a mark of respect, some of the largest vessels in the English navy had been sent to Boulogne to convey the Queen and her suite to Dover; and the French officers complained that they had been compelled to embark and disembark in boats! When the Queen landed at Dover, June 24th 1625, she was lodged in the castle; which was said to be badly furnished; and when Charles visited her on the following day, he came ill attended, and without a shadow of the grandeur which distinguished the King of France. The Roman Catholic priests were put under arrest on the evening of their arrival, and were released only at the Queen's earnest entreaty. On the journey to London Henrietta was separated from her ladies; and could at last obtain a place for one of them in her carriage only through the intercession of the French ambassador. The reception in London was equally sombre and disagreeable. The state-bed was one of Queen Elizabeth's, so antique that the oldest person could not remember one of such a fashion. That many of these grievances were imaginary and exaggerated appears from the testimony of Brienne, who accompanied Henrietta into England. Dover Castle, he says, had been fitted up with the royal furniture, and a magnificent supper was given there. He mentions not the imprisonment of the Catholic priests; and though he relates that some English ladies were put into the Queen's carriage, he is silent about her tears. This, indeed, was only a usual practice at all courts, and the French themselves had pursued the same course with Anne of Austria. If Henrietta was received with less than usual state at London, it was because the plague had broken out in that metropolis.²² All these real or imaginary affronts Henrietta resented by a pouting sullen behaviour, highly offensive to the King, and which drew upon her disagreeable remonstrances from Buckingham.

Some more tangible grievances threatened to produce an open rupture between the French and English Courts. Buckingham, to conciliate the Parliament, then sitting at Oxford, neglected to observe the engagements he had secretly entered into with the French cabinet in favour of the Roman Catholics; and he offered to dismiss all the Queen's French attendants. But the Parliament

²² See Brienne, *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 407 sqq. Compare Charles I.'s account of these matters in his *Instructions to Lord Carlton* (Harris, *Lives of the Stuarts*, vol.

ii. p. 24). It is painful to read this detail of his matrimonial squabbles, drawn up with his own hand.

was of opinion that the promises made to the French King should be observed; and that the authors of them should be punished if they contained anything contrary to the laws. Blainville, who had come to London on an extraordinary embassy respecting these matters, was treated with studied indignity. Buckingham, besides refusing to restore the ships which Soubise had carried into Portsmouth, and which Richelieu charged him with having stolen, went into Holland, and, without consulting the French ambassador, concluded a treaty with the Dutch and with Denmark. While in Holland he expressed a wish to go into France; but the French ambassador having refused him a passport till he should have given Louis XIII. some satisfaction, Buckingham, out of revenge, induced the Hollanders to recall their ships. The English fleet, returning from an unsuccessful expedition to Cadiz, fell in with and captured several French vessels, on the ground of their having Spanish goods on board; and the ships were carried into English ports and sold under the very eyes of Blainville. Reprisals were in consequence made on English ships in French harbours.²³ Richelieu, however, had no wish to break with England; he rightly attributed the conduct of the English Court to Buckingham's humours and caprices; to his desire to make the Queen renounce her faith, in order that he might acquire with the Parliament the reputation of a zealous Protestant; as well as to his wish to foment an ill understanding between Henrietta and Charles; and thus prevent her acquiring too much influence over her husband.²⁴ Richelieu therefore determined to conciliate the capricious, but all-powerful, Buckingham. In December 1624, Bautrec, a man of wit and talent, was despatched into England; the Duke was assured that he would be very well received in France; the refusal of his passports in Holland was explained to be quite a mistake; above all it was represented that the Duchess of Chevreuse, with whom Buckingham was supposed to have an intrigue, and with whom and her husband he had kept up a correspondence, which Richelieu denounced to Louis as traitorous, would be obliged to quit the Court if matters did not mend. Bautrec completely succeeded in his mission, and brought back with him to Paris, as extraordinary ambassadors, the Lords Holland and Carlton. This turn of affairs very much assisted the Cardinal in making a peace with the Hugonots; which, though reprobated by the high Catholic party in France, and by the Pope's nuncio Cardinal Spada,

²³ *Mercure Franc.* t. xi. p. 1052, t. xii. p. 259.

²⁴ Richelieu, *Mémoires*, liv. xvi. : cf.

Clarendon, *Rebellion*, vol. i.; *Merc. Franc.* t. xii. p. 260.

was necessary to Richelieu's foreign policy. To Spada he observed: "I know that I am regarded as a heretic at Rome; but ere long the Pope will canonise me as a saint."²⁵ Richelieu had already conceived the plan of destroying La Rochelle, but it was not yet ripe for execution; and, with that extraordinary talent he possessed for making everybody serve his purposes, he effected a peace with the Hugonots chiefly by means of the English ambassadors.²⁶ A treaty was signed at Paris February 5th 1626, under the tacit guarantee of England, by which the Hugonots were left in much the same condition as at the beginning of the war.

The English expedition against Cadiz, just mentioned, was undertaken in consequence of the breach with Spain in regard to the marriage treaty. Buckingham, before he quitted Madrid in 1623, insulted Olivarez with threats of vengeance, which that minister heard with the greatest composure; and accordingly in 1625 a fleet and army were despatched, under Viscount Wimbledon, to take Cadiz; but Wimbledon lost so much time in fortifying Puntal, that the Spaniards found an opportunity to throw reinforcements into Cadiz, which saved the place. The quarrels of Charles I. with his Parliament, and the difficulty he experienced in obtaining supplies, were not calculated to render him a very formidable opponent in any foreign war; and he, in common with the other allies of France, was, soon after this expedition, astonished and discouraged by an unexpected peace between that country and Spain.

After the French successes in the Valteline, Urban VIII. had despatched his nephew, Cardinal Barberini, as legate to Paris, where he arrived May 21st 1625, and was received with the magnificence due to his quality. Barberini was authorised by the Spanish cabinet, as well as by the Pope, to treat for peace, with which view he made the following propositions: a suspension of arms; satisfaction to the Pope for what had occurred in the Valteline; and security for the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion in that district by preventing its restoration to the Grisons. The negotiations went off, chiefly on the third condition; yet Richelieu, as we have already remarked, was very unwilling to embark in an open war with Spain. The more zealous French Catholics were scandalised at his policy in attacking the troops of the Pope, in marrying the King's sister to a Protestant King, in summoning the hordes of Scandinavia to restore a heretic sove-

²⁵ Fontenai-Mareuil, t. ii. p. 29.

²⁶ It appeared from an intercepted letter from Rohan to Soubise, that the Hugonots were chiefly induced to submit

by a threat of the English ambassadors to abandon them if they declined. Richelieu, *Mémoires*, liv. xvii.

reign in the Palatinate; and this sentiment was so strong among the sovereign companies and municipal bodies, as to cause the Cardinal to fear that he might soon have to struggle with another Catholic League, as well as with the Hugonots. It was chiefly to relieve himself of his fears and responsibility, that, after the departure of the Legate Barberini, Richelieu advised the King to summon an assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau (September). In this assembly Richelieu spoke in favour of peace, but of such a peace as might be concluded on honourable and advantageous conditions; and he was supported by the great majority, although the Cardinal de Sourdis was for an immediate suspension of arms. After this failure, Spain appeared to become more moderate; especially as in the winter Marshal Bassompierre succeeded in obtaining a fresh declaration of the Swiss Diet in favour of the Grisons; and after the departure of Barberini, the Spanish Court renewed the negotiations through the Marquis of Mirabel, their ambassador at Paris, and also made advances to Count du Fargis, the French ambassador at Madrid. Richelieu's instructions to Du Fargis had been purposely vague; and that minister, hearing that the Pope was about to send 6000 men into the Valteline, had somewhat precipitately signed a treaty with Spain, January 1st 1626. Most of the conditions desired by France had been obtained: yet Richelieu disavowed the treaty, founding his objections chiefly on matters of form; though his real motive was probably his fear that the allies of France would get scent of it before his arrangements with the Hugonots were completed. At all events, soon after the peace with the insurgents, Du Fargis concluded a fresh treaty with Olivarez at Monçon, in Aragon, March 5th; which, though Richelieu again pretended to be very angry at it, was, with a few amendments, ratified at Barcelona a month afterwards.²⁷ The principal articles of the treaty of Monçon were: that the affairs of the Grisons and the Valteline should be replaced in the same state as they were in at the beginning of 1617; that no other religion but the Roman Catholic should be tolerated in the valley; that the Valteline should have the right of electing their magistrates, subject, however, to the approval of the Grisons; that the forts in the Valteline, as well as in the counties of Bormio and Chiavenna, should be razed by the Pope; and, in consideration of the privileges granted to them, the Valteline were to pay to the Grisons such an annual sum as might be agreed on.²⁸

The news of this treaty was received with equal surprise and

²⁷ Richelieu even pretends to express his dissatisfaction at it in his *Testament*

Politique, ch. i.

²⁸ Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 487.

indignation at London, Venice, Turin, and among the Grisons. The allies of France had all been duped; and, besides the general insult of making none of them a party to the treaty, each found in it some particular cause of complaint. The rights and interests of the Grisons had been bartered away without their consent; the Swiss were offended at the part they had been made to play in the affair, to the detriment of their confederates; the Venetians thought themselves wronged by the demolition of the forts, which they deemed necessary to secure their right of way; the Duke of Savoy saw all the hopes cut off for which he had entered into the war, and himself insulted to boot by a pretended commission to his son, the Prince of Piedmont, to be the Lieutenant-General of Louis in Italy at the very time of the conclusion of the treaty. The Dutch and the English, and especially the latter, had no less reason to complain. France had amused them with a pretended league, merely for the purpose of procuring better terms from the Hugonots and from Spain; and the English ambassadors had actually been made the tools for arranging a peace with the former.

Richelieu evidently chuckles in relating these tricks, though affecting the greatest candour and pretending to throw all the blame on the precipitation of Du Fargis.²⁹ His next task was to pacify his angry allies, in which he perfectly succeeded. The Duke of Savoy was flattered with the prospect of obtaining the title of King through the influence of France; the Grisons and Venetians were mollified with compliments and excuses; the English ambassadors were assured that France, whose hands were now free, would act with more vigour than ever in the affair of the Palatinate, and that a French army of 11,000 or 12,000 men should join the English forces on the Rhine. At the same time the Cardinal dropped all complaints about Queen Henrietta and the marriage treaty. Thus Richelieu gained his point, but at some cost to his reputation. All Europe began to regard him as a slippery politician whom no engagements could bind; and the indignation which brooded in the hearts of those whom he had deceived only awaited a favourable opportunity to display itself.³⁰

These events were followed by a conspiracy against Richelieu, which we can only briefly notice, as having little reference to the general history of Europe. The ostensible object of the plot was to prevent a marriage that had been arranged between Gaston,

²⁹ *Mémoires*, liv. xvii.

³⁰ M. Martin (*Hist. de France*, t. xi. p. 229, note) has undertaken against Sismondi the defence of Richelieu in this

matter. The gist of his argument is that the cardinal's conduct was justified by the manners of the period, and that he was no worse than his brother diplomatists.

Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, commonly called Monsieur, and Mademoiselle de Montpensier; but it included the assassination of Richelieu, and probably the deposition of Louis XIII., and a marriage between Gaston and Anne of Austria. The principal leaders of this conspiracy were the Marshal d'Ornano, who had been Gaston's governor, the Duké of Vendôme and his brother the Grand-Prior, the Dukes of Longueville and d'Epemon, and several more of the malcontent nobles. Even Anne of Austria took part in it. The plot was frustrated by the coolness and vigilance of Richelieu; who succeeded in completely overawing Gaston and compelling him to perform the marriage (August 5th 1626); after which he assumed the title of Duke of Orleans, which had belonged to his elder brother, now dead. The King also distinguished himself by the slyness with which he personally effected the arrests of d'Ornano and the Duke of Vendôme, as he had formerly done in the case of Condé. Such an employment had something very captivating for the mind of Louis XIII. It had in it something analogous to his field sports, and afforded the same sort of excitement that he felt in capturing his game. Indeed, he had himself become a King as it were by stratagem. Nothing could exceed the cool and imperturbable dissimulation with which he watched for the favourable moment, and secured his unsuspecting victim.

Richelieu thus triumphed over his domestic enemies, as he had over the enemies, or rather the allies, of France. Yet even this consummate politician had his weak point. The strong-willed and sagacious minister was a believer in judicial astrology; and it is said that he did not decide upon Gaston's marriage till he had caused that Prince's horoscope to be drawn.³¹ Of the conspirators, one, Chablais, was executed, others were imprisoned, some were pardoned. D'Ornano died in confinement, September 2nd, and thus escaped a trial. Anne of Austria herself was summoned before her offended consort in full council, when, with a bitter smile, Louis reproached her with wanting another husband. Anne never forgot nor forgave this disagreeable scene, which she imputed entirely to the contrivance of Richelieu.³²

The most important result of this conspiracy was, that it enabled Richelieu to make some salutary reforms. During the investigations respecting it the Court had proceeded to Nantes, and while he was at that city Louis published two important edicts.

³¹ *Vie de Père Josef* in the *Archives Curieuses* (t. iv. p. 191, 2^{de} sér.). Richelieu's belief in astrology peeps out in too many places of his writings to render the

story improbable.

³² *Mém. de Mad. de Motteville* (Petitot, t. xxxvi. p. 353); Richelieu, *Mém.* liv. xvii.

By one of these the office of Admiral of Brittany, which had been held by the Duke of Vendôme, was suppressed; by the other, it was ordered that all castles and strong places throughout the kingdom, not on the frontiers, or otherwise necessary to its defence, should be razed (July 31st 1626). This last measure, part of Richelieu's plan to weaken the nobility, was hailed with joy throughout France. It was the last blow dealt to anarchy and feudal tyranny. In carrying it out, all useless devastation was avoided. Everything capable of resisting cannon was demolished; but the old town walls of the middle ages, as well as the donjons of the nobles, were preserved. A little after, the two great offices of Constable and Admiral were suppressed; Lesdiguières, the last Constable, having died in September 1626, no fresh appointment was made. In the following month the Duke de Montmorenci was bought out of the Admiralty; when Richelieu, without the title or office of Admiral, was appointed head of the French marine and commerce.³³ Buckingham laughed at the Cardinal's assumption of this post, and called him "a fresh-water Admiral;"³⁴ but Richelieu was soon to show that he was competent not only to the commercial, but also to the military, cares which it involved. He endeavoured to direct the national genius of France to colonisation and commerce, in emulation of Spain, England and Holland; and he planned the creation of a formidable navy to protect the trade, which it was his intention to create. The Company of Morbihan, to trade with the two Indies, was established, and it is no fault of Richelieu's if these projects did not meet with the success which he anticipated. His fitness for the office which he had assumed, in a military point of view, was soon to be demonstrated by the reduction of La Rochelle.

While these things were going on in France, the aspect of affairs between the French and English Courts was daily growing more threatening. After the peace of Monçon, the English ambassadors quitted Paris; and upon their arrival in London, Blainville also departed for France. The misunderstanding between Charles I. and his Queen, fomented by the bigoted and intriguing priests by whom she was surrounded, as well as by Buckingham's ill humour with the French Court, grew daily worse. At length, Henrietta having thought proper to make a procession with her priests to Tyburn, where, in the early times of the Reformation, some Catholics had suffered martyrdom, but which was now the place of execution for common malefactors; and there to offer up her

³³ *Mercure Franç.* t. xiii. p. 359.

³⁴ Montglat, t. i. p. 41.

prayers for the souls of the martyrs, it was resolved to punish an act which seemed not only degrading to her Majesty, but also an open and deliberate insult to the English nation, by the dismissal of those who had counselled it: and accordingly, in spite of the Queen's tears and entreaties, not only were her priests, but even her French domestics, sent back into France.

The meddling and offensive behaviour of the French priests and others who had accompanied Queen Henrietta, and especially of the Sieur de Berulle and the Bishop of Mande, is admitted by Richelieu himself, as well as by Bassompierre, who was sent as special ambassador to London on the occasion of this quarrel³⁵; and as France was not then in a condition to cope with England on the sea, the Cardinal was willing to compromise the matter by a transaction. After some negotiation, it was arranged that the Queen should be allowed to have twelve priests, besides a bishop for her almoner; and to select some French officers for her service, as well as two ladies and two maids for her chamber. The Cardinal, however, was but ill content with this treaty, especially as the English continued to seize French vessels under the very nose of Bassompierre; and though Richelieu was not in a condition to declare open war, he secretly joined Spain in an enterprise which Philip IV. and his ministers were contemplating against England. In the spring of 1627 a treaty was concluded between France and Spain, by which Richelieu agreed to contribute ten ships to be employed in any descent upon Great Britain which might be attempted before June 1628. But this treaty had no result. England took the initiative by interdicting all commerce with France (April 28th 1627); and during three months the English harbours resounded with the din of hostile preparation. The destination of the English fleet was not known, but was suspected to be La Rochelle. Soubise and a French abbé, a creature of the Duke of Orleans, were in England inciting the Court to succour and protect the Hugonots³⁶; an agent had been despatched to the Duke of Rohan, to engage him to raise that party in the south of France; and Montague had been sent to the Duke of Lorraine and Duke of Savoy, whose discontent, it was thought, might incite them to take up arms against France.

Towards the end of June 1627 Buckingham left Portsmouth with a fleet of one hundred vessels, ten of which belonged to the royal navy, having on board an army of 6000 or 7000 men; and

³⁵ Richelieu, *Mémoires*, liv. xx. (Petitot, t. xxv. pp. 63 and 75); Bassompierre, *Mém.* t. iii. p. 87 sqq.

³⁶ Rushworth's *Collections*, pt. i. p. 423 sq.

on the 20th of July he cast anchor at the Isle of Rhé, which lies at the mouth of the inlet, or channel, leading up to La Rochelle. On the following day he published a manifesto detailing the grounds for this invasion: the principal of which were, the neglect of the French government to raze the fort of St. Louis, which by the treaty of Montpellier they had agreed to do; and their having constructed new forts in the Isle of Rhé to overawe the Rochellers, in contravention of a treaty which England had guaranteed.³⁷

Richelieu's answer to this manifesto must be allowed, on the face of it, to be successful. He showed that the English Court, so far from having publicly manifested any sympathy for the Hugonots, had not even mentioned them in the marriage treaty, although France had stipulated for the relief of the English Catholics³⁸; and he triumphantly alluded to the fact, that Louis XIII. had employed the vessels of England against the Hugonots with the entire consent of the English Court. He denied that England had intervened in the treaty which the King of France had compelled his rebellious subjects to accept; and it must be admitted that such intervention had not been recognised in any public manner; though it cannot be doubted that Lords Carlton and Holland had been very instrumental in bringing about the peace, and had led the Rochellers to suppose that England was to guarantee it. This seems to have been the public impression even in France³⁹; though it would appear that the only foundation for the supposed guarantee was some words addressed by the French chancellor to the Hugonot deputies when they were suing for peace: the meaning assigned to which words Richelieu disavowed. It is certain that the name of England appears not in the treaty; and Richelieu even asserts in his answer to Buckingham's manifesto, that to prevent any pretence of interference on the part of England, the English ambassadors were repeatedly told that, though their good offices with the Hugonots would be accepted, their intervention could not be allowed.⁴⁰ The other main prop of Buckingham's manifesto, the non-demolition of Fort Louis, also breaks down; for though its destruction had been agreed upon by the peace of Montpellier, yet its maintenance had been expressly stipulated by the subsequent treaty of 1626. The general charge of an ultimate intention to reduce La Rochelle, the Cardinal affected not to deny; and he met it with the allegation that the King of France had a right to make

³⁷ *Mercure Franç.* t. xiii. p. 803 sqq.

³⁸ In a secret article signed by James I. See the answer put in by the French Court during Bassompierre's negotiations, in the *Mercure Franç.* t. xiii. It is re-

markable for vigour of language, and was probably from the pen of Richelieu himself.

³⁹ *Mém. de Brienne*, t. i. p. 423.

⁴⁰ *Mercure Franç.* t. xiii. p. 825.

himself master of one of his own towns; and that if he intended to attack La Rochelle, it was no business of the English.

Thus Buckingham was completely outwitted by the able Cardinal; though it cannot be denied that, at bottom, he had some very just grounds of complaint. He was in the situation of a dupe who has been overreached, yet is without the means of proving his case; and the consciousness of this made him all the more angry. To his failure as a diplomatist he was now to add an equally signal one as a general. No sooner had the fleet anchored than Buckingham despatched Sir William Beecher, his secretary, accompanied by Soubise, to La Rochelle, to incite the inhabitants to arms; who replied, that they must first consult with the rest of their party. Buckingham, nevertheless, on the evening of the 22nd July, proceeded to land his troops at the Point of Samblanceau, which operation, being covered by the guns of the fleet at point blank range, was effected without much loss. But he now committed some fatal mistakes. Instead of at once seizing the fort of St. Martin, he lost four days in reconnoitring the country; and when he at length marched against that place, which had meanwhile been reinforced, he left the fort of La Prée behind him, by means of which succours were thrown into the island. These Richelieu provided by extraordinary exertions, advancing large sums from his own funds, and even pledging his plate and jewels, and he personally hastened the march of the troops. It is unnecessary to pursue all the details of this paltry and inglorious campaign. Suffice it to say that after Buckingham had thrown away his advantages and his time, Marshal Schomberg succeeded in landing a large French force in Rhé in the night of November 1st. Buckingham found himself compelled to raise the siege of St. Martin, November 5th, after a general assault, which was repulsed; the English were followed in their retreat to the ships by the French, who inflicted on them considerable loss. Every horse in the English army was captured, including that of Buckingham; besides forty-six colours and arms for 3000 men. The troops, however, were safely embarked, and after waiting for a wind, the fleet sailed for England, November 17th.

This unfortunate expedition was the immediate cause of the fall of La Rochelle. Richelieu had brought the King, with the French army, into Poitou; and no sooner had the English evacuated Rhé, than he urged Louis vigorously to prosecute the siege of La Rochelle. The inhabitants of that place, as we have said, had not at first joined Buckingham, and on the 10th of August they even admitted into the town some of the royal troops, sent principally to

ascertain the state of the fortifications. But on the 20th the Duke of Angoulême having begun to construct a fort within a quarter of a league of the city, the Rochellers opened fire on his troops, and followed up this step by a declaration of war.

In October Louis had taken up his head-quarters at Estré, a village not far from La Rochelle. Little could be done while the English held possession of Rhé; but no sooner were they gone than Richelieu resolved to execute that scheme for the reduction of the Hugonot stronghold which he had brooded over so many years. We shall not minutely enter into the details of the siege, though it displays in the strongest light both the moral courage and the military talents of the great Cardinal. The dike across the inlet, by which all succour from the sea was intercepted, and the Rochellers thus finally reduced through starvation, was planned by Richelieu, and built under his inspection. Indeed the whole glory of the enterprise belongs to the Cardinal; for Louis XIII., wearied with the tedium of a blockade, which afforded little excitement, left the army in February (1628) to hunt at Versailles, appointing Richelieu Lieutenant-General of all his forces in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Aunis⁴¹; and Angoulême, Schomberg, Bassompierre, and the other generals were enjoined to obey him as they would the King himself. Richelieu had all the qualities of a great general, and, had not his genius been diverted into another channel, it may be safely affirmed that he would have become a renowned commander instead of a consummate minister and statesman. The fall of La Rochelle, hermetically sealed both on the sea and land side, was of course only a question of time. The inhabitants held out to the last extremities, animated by the exhortations and example of Guiton, their mayor; who, throwing a poignard on the table of the chamber in which the town-council assembled, obtained permission to thrust it into the bosom of the first man who talked of surrender.⁴² After an unaccountable delay, an English fleet, under the command of the Earl of Denbigh, had at length appeared, and attempted the succour of La Rochelle (May 11th 1628); but on reconnoitring the dike, and finding it impregnable, Denbigh got a certificate to that effect from some captains belonging to La Rochelle, who were on board his fleet; and after cannonading at a distance the French vessels in the inlet, he sailed home (May 18th). Still the town held out in expectation of fresh aid from England, and in spite of some insurrections of the

⁴¹ *Mercuré Franç.* t. xiv. p. 104.

⁴² Le Vassor, t. v. p. 690 sq.

starving citizens. The English succours were delayed by the assassination of Buckingham at Portsmouth (August 23rd). This event delivered Richelieu from an adversary whom he at once feared and despised. "The King," he observes, "could not have lost a more rancorous nor a more foolish enemy. The enterprises which he undertook without reason were executed without success; yet they put us in great peril and did us much harm; the folly and madness of a foe being more dangerous than his wisdom. For, as the fool acts on no principle common to the rest of mankind, reason loses her art of fence, and thus one is never secure. He will attempt everything, even though it be contrary to his own interest, and is arrested only by the impossibility of executing his designs."⁴³

On the 28th of September the English fleet, under the command of the Earl of Lindsay, was again descried from Rhé. But the chance of success against the dike was still less than before. It was now completely finished and strengthened by many additional works and forts. On the 3rd of October the English fleet made an attempt to force the passage, and delivered many broadsides against the dike, as close as they could come; but they were soon compelled to retire by the ebbing tide, which on those coasts falls a great many feet. On the following day the attempt was renewed with the same result; nor did some fire-ships, launched by the English, occasion any damage. The case seemed hopeless; the English vessels drew too much water to approach sufficiently near to deliver an effective fire, and after another general assault on the 22nd of October, the enterprise was abandoned. On the following day a deputation of the starving inhabitants of La Rochelle repaired to the Cardinal to treat for a surrender, which they were obliged to accept on his terms; and on the 30th the royal forces took possession of the town. Rushworth states that out of a population of 15,000 persons, only 4000 remained alive, so great had been the famine⁴⁴; but this account is probably exaggerated. Louis XIII., who had returned some months before to the siege, and who had pointed the cannon and exposed his life before the walls—for he inherited at least the courage of his father—entered the town on horseback and fully armed, November 1st. On the following Sunday a *Te Deum* was sung. On the Saturday, the King, who was a great admirer of sacred music, sat up till midnight, arranging and rehearsing the chaunting and musical accompaniments; and he himself led off the melody.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Mémoires*, liv. xix. (Petitot, t. xxiv. p. 163; cf. t. xxiii. p. 183).

⁴⁴ *Collections*, pt. i. p. 636.

⁴⁵ A contemporary writer compares

The fall of La Rochelle, as consummating the subjection of the Hugonot party, and thus strengthening the hands of the King of France, was an occurrence sufficiently important to excite the hopes or fears of the various European states, according to their interests or politics. At Rome the event was celebrated by a *Te Deum* in the church of St. Louis, and gave occasion to Urban VIII. to exercise his poetical talent by composing some odes in honour of the French king. Richelieu's brother, now Archbishop of Lyon, was made a cardinal, contrary to the constitution of Julius III., forbidding that dignity to be conferred on two brothers. But, in spite of the favour of the Holy See, Richelieu used his victory with moderation. In his answer to Buckingham's manifesto, he had declared with a liberality in advance of the age, and which was not observed in the next reign, that the time of religious martyrdom was past, and that Louis XIII. waged war, not with liberty of conscience, but with political rebellion. These principles he adhered to after his success; and though, as an insurgent city, La Rochelle was deprived of its municipal privileges, the citizens were allowed to enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

During the progress of the siege a Spanish fleet had appeared off La Rochelle; but it was sent only to amuse the French with a false show of friendship, as appears from a letter of Philip IV. to his ambassador at Paris⁴⁶; and no sooner did news arrive that the English were preparing an expedition for the succour of La Rochelle, than in spite of the remonstrances of Richelieu the Spaniards retired. The famous captain, Spinola, had also paid a visit to the French camp in the quality of ambassador; when Louis took him round the works, and flattered the Italian by remarking that he was imitating his example at Breda.

Spinola had taken that town, after a two months' siege, in June 1625. The Spanish Court had set its heart upon the capture, and Philip IV., with a mock sublime, had written to Spinola, in half a line, "Marquis, take Breda." Prince Maurice, after a four years' struggle with Spinola, had expired 23rd April 1625, not without the mortification of seeing that Breda must at length yield to the Spanish arms; but his brother and successor, Frederick Henry of Nassau, who was elected Captain-General of the United Provinces, assisted by Mansfeld, whose efforts Richelieu had diverted from the Palatinate, arrested the progress of the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Frederick Henry, who shared not the political ambition and the

him to King David, "citharam percutientem coram arca Dei." *Mercure Franç.* t. xiv. p. 619.

⁴⁶ Published by Capefigue, *Richelieu*, &c. ch. xlii.

religious prejudices of his brother, was also elected as their Stadtholder by the three provinces of Holland, Zealand and West Friesland. But the operations of the Dutch in Europe are not of much importance at this period, though it witnessed the growth of their possessions in the East Indies, and the establishment of their naval power at the expense of Spain.

The struggle in Germany had now assumed a new phase by the intervention of Denmark. Christian IV. had from the first beheld the proceedings of the Emperor with alarm; as a Protestant Prince, he was disposed to support the Palatine Frederick; he had at the instance of his brother-in-law, James I. of England⁴⁷, advanced several large sums of money to Frederick; and so early as the beginning of 1621 had agreed upon an alliance between Denmark, England and Holland; negotiations, however, which had resulted only in some representations to the Emperor and a letter to Ambrose Spinola. Christian IV. had also a personal, or rather a family, interest in the great question which agitated Germany. He had procured his son Frederick to be appointed coadjutor of the Bishop of Bremen, and had also purchased for him the see of Verden; and thus, in common with the Princes and States of the Circle of Lower Saxony, he feared to be deprived of the ecclesiastical possessions which he had obtained. The government of Lower Saxony had been long in the hands of the various ducal lines of the House of Guelf; but of these lines, Lüneburg, Wolfenbüttel, Zelle, Haaburg and Dannenberg were now at variance with one another respecting the principality of Grubenhagen; while Frederick Ulrich, head of what was called the middle line of Brunswick, was not only a weak man but also without the means of supporting an army: and the States of Lower Saxony had thus begun to look towards Christian IV. for protection; who, by virtue of his Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, was a member of the Germanic body, and who by his prosperous reign in Denmark enjoyed at that time a high reputation in Europe. The Saxons had in 1623 appealed to Duke Christian of Brunswick, whose defeat by Gonzales de Cordova and flight into Holland in 1622 has been already described.⁴⁸ Christian was a very different sort of man from his brother Duke Frederick Ulrich. He had begun his adventures with ten dollars in his pocket, nor would he abandon them after two defeats and the loss of an arm. Christian took the command of the forces levied by the Saxon States, in conjunction with some which he had contrived to raise himself; but Tilly

⁴⁷ James I. had married in 1589 Anne, second daughter of Frederick II. of Denmark.

⁴⁸ Above, p. 501.

hastened towards the north, compelled the Saxons to dismiss Christian, overtook that Prince as he was retreating into East Friesland to rejoin Count Mansfeld, and entirely defeated him near Stadthohn in Westphalia (August 9th 1623). The Dutch now advised Mansfeld to dismiss his army, and the Imperialists and Spaniards established themselves on the Weser.

Duke Christian, after his defeat, had given the King of Denmark a still further interest in the German question by transferring to that monarch his bishopric of Osnaburg; besides which, Christian IV. had procured another see in Mecklenburg for his younger son. The menacing position taken up by the Imperialists in Westphalia, rendered some decisive step necessary. Christian IV. who had assembled an army, was elected chief of the Circle of Lower Saxony in May 1625; and on the 18th of that month he addressed a letter to Ferdinand II., which may be regarded as a declaration of war. He announced to the Emperor his election as head of the Lower Saxon Circle; declared his determination to put an end to the quartering of troops and other burthens with which some of the States belonging to that Circle were oppressed, contrary to the Peace of Religion and the laws of the empire; and he reminded Ferdinand that he had neglected to fulfil his promises to himself and his ally, the King of England, with regard to the Elector Palatine. Ferdinand answered politely, postponing the consideration of the questions urged, though he went on increasing his forces; whilst Tilly, in the Emperor's name, summoned the King of Denmark to lay down the government of the Circle, on the ground that it could not be intrusted to a foreign sovereign.

Meanwhile, Christian IV. marched his army from the Elbe to the Weser. He had communicated to Gustavus Adolphus the steps which he intended to take, and intimated that his assistance would not be unwelcome; but the Swedish King, at that time intent on an expedition into Livonia, though he received Christian's message in a friendly spirit, was not then in a position to afford him any succour. Gustavus's campaign in Poland, was, however, indirectly beneficial, by preventing the Poles from fulfilling their promise to the Emperor of supporting him by an irruption into Brandenburg.

Hostilities were commenced by Duke Christian of Brunswick and Count Mansfeld; who having reassembled an army of some 12,000 or 15,000 men, entered the Duchy of Clèves, encamped in the neighbourhood of Wesel, and thence proceeded into the territory of Cologne. Tilly despatched against them the Count of Anhalt, and having been himself reinforced with some Spaniards,

laid siege to Hörter. Christian IV. having received some subsidies from Charles I., now King of England, had also begun his march. James I. 'had' repented of neglecting his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, and on his death-bed had exhorted Charles to use every endeavour to reinstate his sister and her children in their dominions.⁴⁹ But Charles, who deemed it better to seek the Palatinate in Spain, fitted out an expedition against that country, the ill-success of which has been already related; so that he could afford but little aid to his brother-in-law. In July, Christian IV. had marched to Hameln, where his career was arrested by an unfortunate accident. In riding round the ramparts, he was precipitated into a vault twenty feet deep, that had been negligently covered; his horse was killed on the spot, he himself lay three days insensible, and it was several weeks before he entirely recovered. The campaign went in favour of Tilly, who took Hameln and Minden, and defeated a large body of the Danes near Hanover. He had appealed to the Emperor for assistance against the King of Denmark; and this was the occasion of bringing the renowned Wallenstein into the field.

Wallenstein, for the loyalty and valour he had displayed in defending the Bohemian provinces during the revolt of Bethlem Gabor in 1621 against the Hungarians, and the forces of the Margrave John George of Brandenburg, had been rewarded by Ferdinand II. with the lordship of Friedland and other confiscated domains of the insurgent Protestant nobles, and had been raised successively to the dignities of a Count Palatine, a Prince of the Empire, and Duke of Friedland. The appearance and habits of this celebrated leader were calculated to render still more remarkable his military talents and his enormous power. In person he was tall and lank; the oval of his face was strongly delineated by his black hair, brushed up from his forehead and hanging down on each side in curly locks, and by his black beard and moustache; his complexion was sallow, his nose short, but hawked, his forehead high and commanding. His eyes were small and black, but penetrating and full of fire, and the awe they inspired was enhanced by dark eyebrows, on which hung a frown of threatening severity. The whole expression of his countenance was cold and repulsive; his demeanour haughty but dignified. With these traits his habits corresponded. Of few words and still fewer smiles, indefatigably employed in a retreat whose tranquillity was secured by sentinels planted to enjoin silence on all who approached

— for even the clink of spurs was offensive to him—Wallenstein's whole appearance was calculated to throw around him a mysterious interest, increased by his known addiction to astrology.

At the time of Tilly's application for aid, Wallenstein, who had always been a warm supporter of the Emperor and of despotism, was a member of the Imperial Council of War; and he offered to raise at his own expense an army of 50,000 men for the Emperor, assigning the apparently paradoxical reason, that he could maintain an army of that force but not one of 20,000 men⁵⁰; meaning, of course, as he avowed, to support them by plunder. His offer having been accepted, a hundred patents of colonelcies were sold by Wallenstein to the greater nobles, on condition of their providing officers and men. These colonels in turn sold patents to their captains, the captains to their subalterns, without any reference to the Imperial Government; and thus was created an army, which, like those of the Italian *condottieri*, looked up to Wallenstein as their lord and proprietor. The troops were directed to be cantoned in Franconia and Suabia, in order that they might live at free quarters upon the inhabitants; and on marching through Nuremberg, Wallenstein compelled that town to contribute 100,000 *gulden*, although it had done nothing whatever to incur the displeasure of the Emperor.

Wallenstein, with an army that went on daily increasing, marched through Hesse, Hanover, and Brunswick into the dioceses of Halberstadt and Magdeburg; while Tilly, as already related, was taking place after place in Westphalia and Lower Saxony. It was fortunate for the Protestant cause that a mutual jealousy subsisted between Tilly and Wallenstein; hence, as neither would recognise the other as his superior, both armies acted without any concerted plan. At the instance of the Protestants, a congress was held at Brunswick in the winter; but though Maximilian of Bavaria and his general were not indisposed to an accommodation, Wallenstein, who had formed the project of obtaining a principality for himself, rejected it with brutality. When the campaign opened in the spring of 1626, Wallenstein, instead of joining Tilly, marched to the eastward. The Protestants, however, committed errors on their side. Count Mansfeld, instead of forming a junction with Christian IV., who had now again taken the field, and thus opposing their united forces to Tilly, resolved to march into Bohemia, excite the inhabitants to rise, and call Bethlem Gabor again into the field; but after two abortive attempts on the bridge of Dessau, Mans-

⁵⁰ Khevenhiller, t. x. p. 803.

feld was forced to retreat on the approach of Wallenstein with all his force (April), and his army was dispersed with the exception of about five thousand men, with whom he entered the March of Brandenburg. By the aid of French subsidies, however, with which he levied men in Mecklenburg, and being joined by 1000 Scots, 2000 Danes, and 5000 men under John Ernest of Saxe-Weimar, he increased his army to about 20,000 men, with whom he marched through Frankfort on the Oder, Crossen, Glogau, Breslau, Oppeln, Ratibor, to Jablunka, where Bethlem Gabor had promised to meet him. But the fickle Transylvanian prince again proved faithless, and made his peace with the Emperor; Mansfeld, on the approach of Wallenstein, who had followed him through Lusatia into Silesia, was compelled to disband his army; part of his troops he assigned to John Ernest of Saxe-Weimar, and he himself proceeded into Dalmatia, intending by a secure though circuitous way to reach again the scene of action; but he fell sick and died in that country at the age of forty-five.

Mansfeld's movement had, however, diverted Wallenstein and his troops from taking any part against Christian IV., when the Danish monarch was on the point of fighting a decisive action with Tilly. Early in 1626, Christian had fixed his head-quarters at Wolfenbüttel, whence his forces were extended on one side into Brandenburg, while another portion was posted in the dioceses of Osnaburg and Münster. He had unfortunately lost the services of Prince Christian of Brunswick who died in May, just at the moment when his reckless valour might have been useful. Among the Danish army, however, appeared Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, who was afterwards to play so distinguished a part in the Thirty Years' War. Tilly was detained some months in besieging Münden (in Hanover), which he at last took after a murderous assault, and the loss of many men (June 9th), when the greater part of the garrison were massacred. Tilly next laid siege to Göttingen, which also detained him till the 11th of August. He was soon after driven from that place as well as from Nordheim; but by forming a junction with the troops left by Wallenstein on the Elbe, he prevented the King of Denmark from penetrating into Thuringia, and joining the Saxon Dukes and the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse. Tilly had compelled Maurice, according to a decree of the Imperial Chamber, to cede the whole district of Marburg to Hesse Darmstadt; to renounce all alliances with the Emperor's enemies; and to permit on all occasions the passage of the Imperial troops through his dominions.

Christian IV. had penetrated to the Eichsfeld, whence he now

found himself compelled to retreat towards Wolfenbüttel, but on the march he fell in with Tilly and his army, and an action ensued near the little town of Lutter, August 27th 1626. After a bloody battle, in which Christian, by Tilly's own account, displayed great activity and valour, the general of the league achieved a decisive victory. The Danish King nevertheless, though he had lost several thousand men, succeeded in holding Wolfenbüttel and Nordheim till the following spring, when the operations of Wallenstein gave a new turn to affairs. That commander, after the retreat of Mansfeld, had maintained and increased his army in Silesia at the expense of the unfortunate inhabitants. He himself spent the winter at Vienna; but in the spring of 1627 he returned into Silesia, and marched with his army towards the Baltic. Directing his Colonel Arnim to occupy all Mecklenburg, and to summon the towns of Rostock and Wismar to admit Imperial garrisons, he himself entered Dömitz with another division of his forces. The approach of his army was announced by strange harbingers, that showed its irregular and lawless composition. Bands of gipsies of from ten to fifteen men, each provided with two long muskets, and bringing with them women on horseback with pistols at their saddle-bows, appeared simultaneously in many places; they boasted that they were in Wallenstein's pay, marched by byeways and tracks, concealed themselves in the bushes and underwood, and plundered wherever they found an opportunity.⁵¹ It appears from Wallenstein's letters at this period, that he had formed the design of seizing Mecklenburg for himself; and the Emperor, regarding the Duke of Mecklenburg as a rebellious vassal, abandoned his territories to that commander.

Christian IV., threatened on one side by Wallenstein, on the other by Tilly, found himself compelled to retreat into his own dominions, whither he was pursued by the united forces of the Imperialists. Tilly, after some successes in Holstein, proceeded to the Lower Weser, as it was reported that the Dutch were about to send a fleet into that river; while Wallenstein penetrated through Schleswic into Jutland, and compelled the King of Denmark and his army to retire into the islands. During the winter of 1627—1628, Tilly maintained his troops at the expense of Bremen, Brunswick, and Lüneburg, while Wallenstein cantoned his army in Brandenburg, and treated the unfortunate Elector, George William, like a conquered enemy, although he was completely submissive to the will of the Emperor. Brandenburg, as well as Mecklenburg

⁵¹ Von der Decken, *Herzog Georg von Braunschweig*, ap. Geijer, B. iii. S. 141.

and Pomerania, were forced to make large contributions for the support of Wallenstein's army. Gustavus Adolphus, then engaged in the war with Poland, would willingly have assisted his brother-in-law; but George William dreaded the Swedes even more than the troops of Wallenstein. The character and talents of Gustavus, however, filled Wallenstein with awe; and he addressed to him at this time, though with great misgivings, propositions to enter into an alliance with the Emperor against Denmark. A project had been formed to dethrone Christian IV., and to place the Emperor, or perhaps even Wallenstein himself, on the throne of Denmark; while Schonen and Norway were to have been allotted to Gustavus as the price of his aid.⁵² But these negotiations had no result. Among other schemes of Wallenstein at this time was one for obtaining the command of the Baltic. He dreamt of reviving the trade and power of the Hanse towns, which had been crushed by Denmark, and of giving them a monopoly of the Spanish trade. With these thoughts he procured the Emperor to appoint him "General of the Ocean and of the Baltic Sea" (April 21st 1628); and he made some preparations for the building of a fleet, which, however, he found not so easy an enterprise as the raising of an army. The same schemes also induced him to get possession of the ports in the Baltic.

The designs of Ferdinand II. seemed now to be wafted onwards on a full tide of success. Not only were his arms everywhere victorious, but his civil policy also encountered no serious resistance. The tyranny and extortions of Wallenstein, who exercised an almost uncontrolled dictatorship, had indeed excited serious discontent in many of the Catholic as well as in the Protestant States; even Maximilian of Bavaria himself, when his ends had been accomplished by the transfer to him of the Upper Palatinate and the electoral dignity, began to look with jealousy on Wallenstein's career, and to sympathise with the misery which his brutality created. An assembly of the Catholic States had been held at Würzburg in 1627 to consider these evils, and the means for their redress; but the timidity of some, the jealousy of others, and the animosity of all against the Protestants, deprived their deliberations of any result. On the other hand, at a meeting of the electoral college held soon after at Muhlhausen (October), the policy of the Emperor entirely prevailed. Ferdinand II. was not naturally cruel, but he was

⁵² These negotiations were first revealed by the publication of Wallenstein's letters. See the letters to Arnim, December 13th and 20th 1627, January 3rd and 6th 1628, in Förster, B. i. SS. 162, 168; B. ii.

S. 10. It appears from a letter addressed to Christian IV. by Gustavus Adolphus (October 21st 1627) that the crown of Denmark had been offered to him. Geijer, B. iii. S. 142.

bigoted to the last degree; he considered that there was no salvation out of the pale of the Roman Catholic Church; and, being led by the Jesuits, he thought that he was only acting for the welfare of his subjects in compelling them, by whatever means, to return into it. He had entirely abolished in his hereditary dominions the exercise of the Protestant religion, and he was now contemplating the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the empire, and the restoring to it of those temporal possessions of which it had been deprived by the Protestant princes and states since the Peace of Passau in the middle of the preceding century. At Muhlhausen the fanatical party was predominant. In accordance with the views of Ferdinand and his confessor, the spiritual Electors and Princes, supported by the nuncio Caraffa, determined on a complete ultramontane reaction, to begin in South Germany, and thence to extend to the north; and orders for this purpose were accordingly issued to the Duke of Wurtemberg, the towns of Strasburg, Anspach, Nuremberg, Hall in Suabia, Ulm, and others: A majority of this assembly also confirmed the deposition of the Elector Palatine; and by a deed executed at Munich in February 1628, Maximilian of Bavaria was now solemnly invested with the Electorate, as well as with the Upper Palatinate and that part of the Lower which lay on the right bank of the Rhine. These dignities and dominions were the price of the 13,000,000 florins advanced by Maximilian for the war; who in return restored to the Emperor Upper Austria, which he held as security, but on the understanding that if he were driven out of the Palatinate, that pledge was again to be put into his hands.

In April 1628, the Emperor formally made over to Wallenstein, now created Duke of Sagan in Silesia, the dominions of the two Dukes of Mecklenburg in pledge; and the States of Mecklenburg were compelled to do homage to him. The plans of Wallenstein rendered the occupation of Stralsund very desirable, while the kings both of Sweden and Denmark were as much interested in preventing him from obtaining possession of that port. The town itself sent a message to the Emperor professing the greatest loyalty and devotion and offering money; but at the same time made the most active exertions to defend itself against his general. Although Ferdinand returned a favourable answer to the citizens, Wallenstein ordered Colonel Arnim to bombard and storm the town, and swore that he would have Stralsund were it fastened with a chain to heaven. The enterprise, however, was not an easy one. Christian IV. threw in provisions and reinforcements, among which was a Scotch corps under Monroe; and

he subsequently appeared himself off the port with a fleet of six ships of war and 150 other vessels; which took up such a position as obliged Wallenstein for a time to withdraw his batteries. When Christian retired, who was then contemplating a peace, the inhabitants of Stralsund entered into a treaty with Gustavus Adolphus, who had already assisted them; and besides a large quantity of ammunition, he reinforced their garrison with 600 Swedes, under Fritz Rosladin, and subsequently with another corps under Alexander Lesley⁵³ (Earl of Leven), and Nils Brahe. At length, Wallenstein, after losing near half his army, found it necessary to raise the siege. . .

As the war with Denmark had on the whole been successful, and cost the Emperor nothing, he would not have been disinclined to continue it, had not the disputes that arose in Italy about the Mantuan succession rendered it desirable to despatch some troops in that direction; which so weakened Tilly's army, that Christian drove him with great loss out of Jutland, Schleswic and Holstein. The advances of the King of Denmark were therefore entertained; conferences were opened at Lübeck, and on the 22nd May 1629 was signed the PEACE OF LÜBECK. By this treaty Christian IV., reinstated in all his possessions, engaged to interfere no further in the affairs of Germany, except in his quality of Duke of Holstein; and he renounced in the name of both his sons the German bishoprics which he had procured for them.⁵⁴ He shamefully abandoned the Dukes of Mecklenburg and all the German princes his allies; nor could the representations of England, France, and Holland induce him to make the least stipulation in favour of the Elector Palatine; wherefore those powers refused to accede to the treaty. Gustavus Adolphus had sent a plenipotentiary to the congress at Lübeck; but Wallenstein refused to treat with him, so long as a Swedish garrison remained in Stralsund.

⁵³ Lesley, who eventually became a Swedish field-marshal, was so illiterate that he could not read; and Count Brahe was therefore appointed to assist him

and read the King's orders. Geijer, B. iii. S. 156, Ann.

⁵⁴ Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 584.

CHAPTER VI.

THE Peace of Lübeck, and the withdrawal from the German Protestants of the protection of Denmark, encouraged the Emperor to carry out the EDICT OF RESTITUTION, which had been published two months previously (March 6th 1629). This celebrated edict forms a turning point in the Thirty Years' War. Hitherto matters had gone prosperously with Ferdinand; but this measure excited great opposition, and was one of the causes that brought Gustavus Adolphus into Germany. The general object of the edict was to restore ecclesiastical affairs to the state they were in at the Peace of Passau in 1552; and the three main points in it requiring any particular notice are: 1. That the Catholics were empowered to demand back all the *mediate* convents and ecclesiastical foundations, of which they had been deprived since that peace. 2. Members of the Confession of Augsburg holding or having in expectancy spiritual foundations, bishoprics and *immediate* imperial prelacies were not to be accounted bishops and prelates, nor to be invested with *regalia* or fiefs, nor to have a seat or vote in the Diets. 3. Catholic States were to enjoy the right of making their subjects conform to their faith, and of removing those who would not, after paying a proper compensation; just as the princes of the Augsburg Confession had acted on that principle. The Emperor further declared that the Peace of Passau included only Catholics and members of the Lutheran Confession, as it was submitted to Charles V.; and that all other sects, present or future, were not entitled to its benefits, and ought not to be tolerated.¹

After the promulgation of the Edict of Restitution, Ferdinand had proceeded to appoint his son, the Archduke Leopold, who already enjoyed so many bishoprics, to the sees of Bremen and Magdeburg.² This last appointment was an infringement of the rights of the Elector of Saxony. When Wallenstein entered the diocese of Magdeburg in January 1628, the Chapter, in order to

¹ The edict is in Londonp, Th. iii. p. 1048 sq.

² The archbishoprics and bishoprics which came under the operation of the

edict were, Magdeburg, Bremen, Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Meissen, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, and Camen.

avert its absorption, and at the same time to secure a Protestant head, had deposed the Margrave Christian William of Brandenburg, the bishop in possession, who had been put under the ban of the empire; and they had postulated in his stead Augustus, a son of the Elector John George, then only in his fourteenth year. Ferdinand, however, referred the matter to the Pope, who nominated Leopold; and John George, though vexed and alarmed by the Edict of Restitution, was soon pacified by the assurance that his ancient secularised possessions should not be touched. In Augsburg, Kaufbeuern, Würtemberg, Halberstadt, and other places the edict was forcibly carried out; the evangelical preachers were expelled; the Protestant churches shut up, and even private worship forbidden under severe penalties.

The Emperor had been assisted in his plans by the want of spirit and patriotism displayed by most of the German Protestant princes. The Duke of Würtemberg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Thuringian Dukes alone showed any anxiety to vindicate the cause of their country and their religion: the political as well as the religious liberties of Germany were to be saved by a foreign prince. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had viewed with alarm the progress of Wallenstein, and especially the plan for extending the domination of the empire to the Baltic. He had been offended by the exclusion of his ambassadors from the congress of Lübeck, and by the assistance given to the Poles by the Imperialists. He was also, no doubt, being himself a zealous Protestant, moved with indignation at the oppression exercised against the Protestants of Germany: although this was properly no *casus belli*, and was not even alluded to in the manifest which he published shortly after his landing in that country.³ Gustavus was also induced to engage in the great German struggle by the assistance of France. Richelieu, to effect so favorable a diversion to the war then carrying on in Italy between France and the House of Austria respecting the Mantuan succession, had, through his ambassador, Charnacé, negotiated a truce between Sweden and Poland, and promised to furnish Gustavus with an annual subsidy. It must not, however, be supposed that the support of France, though of course important, was the main cause of bringing Sweden into the field. Gustavus began the war before he had concluded any agreement with that power, in order both to be and to show himself independent. The

³ Thus Oxenstiern said, in 1637, in the Swedish Council: "Zum Teutschen Krieg war kein *scopus principalis defensio religionis*—deren *arma spiritualia sunt*, als *preces et lacrimæ*—sondern, dass

Regnum Sueviæ et Consortes Religionis möchten in Sicherheit sitzen, *tam in statu ecclesiastico quam in politico*."—*Palm-sköldsche MSS.* ap. Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. iii. S. 387.

treaty of Bernwald between France and Sweden was not definitively signed till January 23rd 1631, several months after Gustavus had landed in Germany; nor, as Voltaire remarks, was the stipulated subsidy of a million *livres* per annum alone sufficient to have induced the Swedish King to enter on such a war.⁴

Gustavus Adolphus set sail from the harbour of Elfsnabben, May 30th 1630. Before his departure he took a formal leave of the States assembled at Stockholm, when he presented to them his little daughter, Christina, not yet six years of age; and tenderly embracing her, recommended her to their fidelity as heiress of his kingdom in a speech which drew tears even from those northern eyes. To conduct the government in his absence, he had appointed a Council of Regency consisting of ten persons, who were to reside constantly at Stockholm.

After an adverse and tedious navigation, he landed with his army of some 13,000 men in the isle of Usedom, on the coast of Pomerania, June 24th. Another division of his army was conveyed to Stralsund. Gustavus prided himself on being the first to set foot on German soil. No sooner was he landed than he seized a pick-axe and began to open a trench; after which he fell upon his knees and offered up a prayer.⁵ In his army were many thousand British soldiers, most of whom had served in the German wars.

After taking possession of the isles of Usedom and Wollin, which lie off the mouth of the Oder, Gustavus proceeded towards Stettin, the residence of Bogislaus XIV., Duke of Pomerania. After a vain attempt to assert his neutrality, Bogislaus found himself compelled to admit the Swedes; and being old and childless made little difficulty in promising that the Duchy of Pomerania should remain in the hands of Sweden till the costs of the war were paid. Gustavus caused Stettin to be fortified anew, and then proceeded to occupy Damm and Stargard. By the junction of the troops at Stralsund and others, his army was now increased to upwards of 25,000 men, and there was no force competent to oppose him; for the Imperial army was dispersed in various directions, and that of Tilly was far from the seat of war, in the Upper Palatinate, Franconia, and Westphalia. An imprudent step on the part of the Emperor increased the advantages of Gustavus.

Ferdinand II. had convened a Diet at Ratisbon in July 1630, for the purpose of procuring the election of his son as King of the Romans. The opportunity was seized to thwart and impede the Emperor's policy. Maximilian of Bavaria, jealous of the progress of

⁴ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. Venice furnished in addition 400,000 *livres* annually.

⁵ Harte, *Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 216.

Wallenstein, and having satisfied his own ambition by securing the Upper Palatinate and the electoral dignity, would willingly have seen an end put to the war; and he resolved to clog the wheels of Austria by procuring the disgrace and ruin of the Duke of Friedland, and establishing a secret intelligence with the French Court. Wallenstein, in order to acquire new principalities, under pretence of carrying out the Edict of Restitution, had, as we have said, withdrawn his troops from Mecklenburg and Lower Saxony, thus leaving North Germany open to the invader. Wallenstein, after ravaging the province of Magdeburg, at last laid formal siege to that city; but as Ferdinand was then contemplating the nomination of his son as King of the Romans, and required for that purpose the votes of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, both of whom had claims on Magdeburg, Wallenstein was ordered to abandon the siege. He then cast his eyes on the smaller lands and dioceses. Wolfenbüttel, from which Duke Frederick Ulric of Brunswick had been deposed by a decree of the Imperial Council, was to be made over as a principality to Wallenstein's general, Pappenheim; Kulenberg was to be given to Tilly; Würtemberg had also felt the effects of military violence: and everywhere, in carrying out the Edict of Restitution, no particular inquiries were made whether the church property seized had been secularised before or after the Peace of Passau.

These proceedings had given great dissatisfaction, not only to Duke Maximilian, but also to other electors and princes; and in 1630 Maximilian openly joined the party that demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein, and the reduction of the Imperial army; as conditions without which they would not consent to the election of the Emperor's son, Ferdinand, as King of the Romans. The Emperor, the Elector of Bavaria, and the spiritual Electors, appeared in person at Ratisbon, but Brandenburg and Saxony sent only plenipotentiaries. At this assembly, also, appeared the French envoys, Leon Brulart and Father Joseph, ostensibly about the affairs of Italy; but with secret instructions to do all in their power still further to embitter Maximilian, who had already a secret intelligence with the French Court, and the spiritual Electors against Wallenstein, to effect the disarmament of the empire, and to prevent the election of Ferdinand's son.⁶ In all these objects they were completely successful. The Emperor, after a long struggle, consented to dismiss Wallenstein, and to reduce the Imperial army to 40,000 men, while the League still kept on foot a force of 30,000; yet so far from securing the election of his son by these

⁶ See Richelieu, *Mémoires*, pt. x.

concessions, the Electors even talked of making the Duke of Bavaria his successor on the Imperial throne. Wallenstein, after remaining at Halberstadt till January 1630, had proceeded into Bohemia to reduce some of his Protestant peasants to obedience, after which he returned to the head-quarters of his army at Memmingen, in Suabia; and it was here that he received, in August, the order of the Emperor to lay down his command. He surprised all by his ready compliance with the Emperor's order, of which he had been previously informed by his cousin, Max von Wallenstein. When the Imperial envoys appeared, he received them in a friendly manner, gave them a splendid entertainment, and when, after long hesitation, they began a carefully prepared speech, he interrupted them by reading a Latin paper, in which were indicated the nativity of the Emperor, that of the Elector of Bavaria, and his own; adding, "You may see, gentlemen, from the stars, that I was acquainted with your commission, and that the *spiritus* of the Elector dominates over that of the Emperor. I cannot, therefore, blame the Emperor; and though I grieve that his Majesty should support me so little, I shall obey." He now again repaired to his Bohemian estates, but spent much of his time at Prague, where he lived with regal splendour.

The dismissal of Wallenstein's army, which the policy of Richelieu had not a little contributed to effect, was of course most favourable to the operations of Gustavus Adolphus. Richelieu's envoys had also succeeded in adjusting the affairs of the Mantuan succession, of which we must here say a few words.

Vincenzio di Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Marquis of Montferrat, died December 26th 1627. His next heir in the Duchy of Mantua was the Duke of Nevers, descended with Vincenzio from a common grandfather, Frederick II., though by a younger son of this duke. Vincenzio's successor in the Montferrat was his niece, Maria di Gonzaga, who shortly before her uncle's death had been married to Charles de Rethel, son of the Duke of Nevers; in which House therefore the whole inheritance was united; and the Duke of Nevers took possession of it in January 1628. The Court of Spain, however, was unwilling to see so important an Italian possession fall into the hands of a prince long naturalised in France; and they raised up a counter-claimant in the person of Cæsar Duke of Guastalla, descended from Ferdinand, a brother of Duke Frederick II.; founding his pretensions on the circumstance that, though of the younger branch, he was the offspring of the *eldest*

son of Ferdinand, while the Duke of Nevers sprang from the *third* son of Frederick. The Duke of Savoy also disputed the title of his grand-daughter, Maria di Gonzaga, to the Montferrat, and revived the claims of his house, made a century before, to that marquisate, but, condemned by the Emperor Charles V. The Spaniards incited the Duke of Guastalla to appeal to the Emperor, as suzerain of the Mantuan fief, and made an alliance with the Duke of Savoy, promising to give him Trino and other places in the Montferrat adjoining his dominions. As Ferdinand II. delayed to give his decision, a Spanish force, under the Count of Montenegro, entered the Mantuan territory, whilst another body laid siege to Casale, the capital of the Montferrat; Charles Emmanuel engaging to secure, meanwhile, the passes of the Alps against the advance of the French.

The French Court had no personal motives to favour the cause of the Duke of Nevers, who had taken part in all the rebellions against it; political reasons alone induced it to support him, though the siege of La Rochelle and the war with England at first prevented it from giving him any effectual assistance. After the fall of La Rochelle, Richelieu was hindered by the intrigues of the Queen-mother from immediately interfering in the affairs of Italy; but early in 1629 he persuaded Louis XIII., whom he accompanied, to cross Mont-Génévre with his army; the Pas de Suse was carried against the Piedmontese (March), and the Duke of Savoy was compelled to accept a treaty, to which, as the French were preponderant in force, the Spanish governor of Milan was also glad to accede.

The French, who held Casale, leaving a garrison of 6000 men in Susa till the treaty should be ratified by Spain, now recrossed the Alps, in order to reduce the last remains of the Hugonots, who, under the Duke of Rohan, still held out in Languedoc and the southern parts of France. The hands of Richelieu were left the more free for this undertaking by the peace concluded with England, April 4th 1629; by which Charles I., engrossed by his quarrels with his subjects, consented to renounce the protection of the Hugonots. The Court of Spain, despite its bigotry, had entered into an agreement to assist Rohan and his heretics; but it was too late; the Hugonots were worsted in a struggle, into the details of which we cannot enter; suffice it to say, that their extinction as a political party was consummated by the reduction of Montauban in August 1629.

Meanwhile an Austrian army, withdrawn, as already mentioned, from North Germany, had entered the territory of the Grisons.

towards the end of May; had seized Coire and the passes of the Rhine; and on the 5th of June the French were summoned by a proclamation of the Emperor to evacuate the Imperial fiefs in Italy. The summer was spent in negotiations, during which, with an eye to future contests, the veteran captain, Spinola, was made governor of Milan by Philip IV. At the end of September the Imperialists, under Colalto, descended into Lombardy, and laid siege to Mantua, whilst Spinola invaded the Montferrat. Richelieu now raised an army, composed chiefly of foreign mercenaries, and as Louis XIII. was detained at home by domestic occurrences, he crossed the Alps at their head in February 1630, with the title and authority of Lieutenant-General of the King. The ravages of disease had compelled the Imperial army to abandon the siege of Mantua; but the Duke of Savoy was intractable, and to put an end to his evasions, Richelieu made a feint on Turin, near which Charles Emmanuel was posted with his army. In this march the Cardinal appeared as generalissimo at the head of the cavalry, with cuirass, cap and plume, a sword by his side, and pistols in his holsters. But instead of marching on Turin, Richelieu suddenly retraced his steps towards the Alps, and seized Pinerolo after a three days' siege, thus securing the key of Italy. Louis, in person, effected the reduction of Savoy in June; whilst in Piedmont Charles Emmanuel was defeated at Vegliana by the Duke de Montmorenci, July 10th. Grief and vexation at these events caused the death of the Duke of Savoy, who expired July 26th at the age of sixty-eight. To balance, however, these successes of the French, the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua was surprised and captured by the lieutenants of Colalto in the night of July 17th.

Victor Amadeus, the new Duke of Savoy, who had married a sister of Louis XIII., was not so uncompromising an enemy of France as his father. By the intermediation of Giulio Mazarini, the Pope's agent, a truce was signed, to last from September 8th to October 15th, and Victor Amadeus promised to join the French if a reasonable peace were not effected by the 13th of October. The town of Casale was put into Spinola's hands, who was at that time besieging it; the citadel was still held by the French under Toiras; who, however, engaged to surrender it, if not relieved before the end of October. On the 17th of that month, the truce being expired, Marshals La Force, Schomberg, and Marillac marched to the relief of Casale. Spinola had died during the truce. On the 26th of October the French and Spanish armies were in presence before the town; a battle was on the eve of commencing, when

suddenly a cavalier dashed from the Spanish line, and rode towards the French, waving a white handkerchief, and exclaiming in Italian, "*Pace! pace! alto! alto!*" (Peace! peace! halt! halt!) He advanced at the risk of his life, for several of the French soldiers fired on him.

It was Giulio Mazarini, who was really the bearer of a treaty of peace effected by Brulart and Richelieu's factotum Father Joseph, at Ratisbon. Richelieu, however, declared that they had exceeded their commission; and it is not very clear whether they had been induced to hurry on a treaty by the news of the King's dangerous illness, of the factions that prevailed in the French Court, and the critical situation of Casale, the capture of which appeared inevitable, or whether the Cardinal, by what a recent French historian calls "a somewhat Machiavellian combination,"⁸ had furnished his Capuchin with secret instructions to conclude a treaty which he might afterwards find a pretext to disavow. It was, however, accepted by the French generals. It was agreed that both the French and Spaniards should evacuate Casale and the rest of the Montferrat; the town and citadel were to be given up to Ferdinand, second son of the Duke of Mantua; and the garrisons were to be composed entirely of native troops. The French, however, with very bad faith, left behind them some of their own soldiers, clothed in the uniform of Montferrat; and when the Spaniards had recrossed the Po, two French regiments returned and introduced a convoy of provisions into Casale. Yet hostilities were not resumed. The appearance of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany induced the Emperor to abandon the war in Italy, in spite of the endeavours of Philip IV. to persuade him to continue it; and a treaty of peace was concluded at Chierasco in Piedmont, April 6th 1631. Ferdinand II. agreed to invest the Duke of Nevers with Mantua and the Montferrat, on his ceding a large portion of the latter, including Alba and Trino to Victor Amadeus, to whom also France was to restore all that she occupied in Piedmont and Savoy.⁹ Richelieu, however, by a secret agreement with the Duke of Savoy, contrived to evade this part of the treaty, in so far as Pinerolo was concerned, which he had resolved never to restore.

Such was the conclusion of the war of the Mantuan succession, which forms a sort of episode in the great drama of the Thirty Years' War. Richelieu did not mean to let the Italian peace divert him from the less open warfare which he was pursuing against the House of Austria in Germany. Intrigues against the Cardinal

⁸ Martin, t. xi. p. 339.

⁹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 9.

during the dangerous illness of Louis XIII. had threatened to overthrow his policy and put an end to his ministry, perhaps even to his life. They were frustrated by the unexpected recovery of the King; but space will not allow us to detail "the Grand Tempest of the Court," "the Day of the Dupes," and the tyrannical manner in which Richelieu avenged himself on his enemies, which belong entirely to the domestic history of France. The frustration of the plots against him served to place his power and influence on a firmer basis, and to give him freer scope to pursue his plans of foreign policy. But to return to the Swedish invasion.

Having delivered Pomerania, with the exception of a few towns, from the Imperialists under Torquato Conti, Gustavus entered Mecklenburg, after concluding a treaty with the deposed dukes of that country; but he in vain endeavoured to persuade the Elector of Saxony, and the Elector of Brandenburg, his brother-in-law, to ally themselves with him in defence of their religion. Gustavus was detained some time at Stralsund, engaged in negotiations with the French envoy, Charnacé, which terminated in the treaty of Bernwald, already mentioned. To the surprise of the enemy, the Swedes, according to their custom, continued the campaign during the winter; and Greiffenhagen was assaulted and taken, under the conduct of Gustavus, on Christmas eve. Early in 1631, Kolberg, Frankfort on the Oder, and Demmin yielded to his arms, before Tilly thought it prudent to oppose him. The Imperial general, distrustful of the Elector of Saxony, whom the Emperor had offended in the matter of Magdeburg, demanded this town, as well as Leipsic and Wittenberg, on the ground that they were necessary for his operations on the Elbe; and, after taking New Brandenburg and putting the Swedish garrison to the sword, he proceeded to Magdeburg.

Gustavus had a right to expect that Tilly's attack upon a city to which both the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg had claims, would procure him the alliance of those princes; but as both of them continued to decline his proposals, he was compelled to leave Magdeburg to its fate. Early in 1631 John George had assembled the Protestant princes and states at Leipsic to come to some decision respecting the Edict of Restitution and the wrongs done to the Protestants; but the Conventus of Leipsic, as it was called, though it excited the indignation and resentment of the Emperor, had, like most German meetings, little practical result. All alliance with Gustavus, the only man who could save Germany, was declined; but there was some talk, which ended in nothing, of applying to the already vanquished King of Denmark.

The King of Sweden had demanded from the Elector of Brandenburg Cüstrin and Spandau; George William would grant only the former of these towns; and Gustavus finding, after an interview, that he could not persuade his brother-in-law, determined to march on Berlin. He approached that city with only 1000 musketeers; but his whole army followed and encamped round it; and the Elector found himself compelled to abandon Spandau to the Swedes, on the condition that it should be evacuated when Magdeburg had been relieved. But this it was too late to accomplish. Magdeburg, besieged since March, was taken by storm, May 10th, and dreadfully handled. Pappenheim, who served under Tilly, irritated by the prolonged resistance of some of the citizens, caused their houses to be fired; in the night the flames spread over the whole city, and left only the cathedral, and some houses round about it, undestroyed. Between 20,000 and 30,000 of the inhabitants are said to have perished.¹⁰

Gustavus was forced again to threaten Berlin before his brother-in-law would consent to join him; and at last on the 11th of June 1631, a formal treaty was concluded. George William agreed to pay 30,000 dollars monthly to the Swedes, and to place Spandau and Cüstrin at their disposal. But Gustavus could not plunge deeper into Germany till he had made terms with the Elector of Saxony, who had now on foot an army of 18,000 men under the command of Arnim, a ci-devant colonel of Wallenstein's. John George had refused to assist the Swedes in their attempt to relieve Magdeburg, and had even contested their passing the Elbe. After the fall of Magdeburg, Gustavus therefore again marched northwards into Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and wrested Greifswald from the Imperialists. He and Tilly seemed to avoid each other; for Tilly proceeded into the middle districts of Germany to rob and hector the Protestant princes.

Duke William of Weimar fled before Tilly to Leipsic; but Duke Bernhard, in conjunction with William, Landgrave of Hesse, resolved on a stout resistance; and the latter rejected Tilly's demands to surrender Cassel and Ziegenhain, and to pay a contri-

¹⁰ According to Harte (*Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 339), as well as Schiller and other historians, Tilly, when remonstrated with by some of his officers respecting the cruelties exercised at Magdeburg, replied: "*The town must bleed: it has not yet made sufficient atonement. Let the soldiers persist another hour, and then we will reconsider the matter.*" This story appears to be taken from the *Soldat*

Suedois, where it is accompanied with the qualification, "*if it is true,*" which, however, is omitted by Harte. Yet those who have undertaken the defence of Tilly will find it difficult to explain away the admitted fact, that it was not till the *third day* that he entered Magdeburg and proclaimed quarter. See Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. S. 68 f.

bution. Upon the approach of Gustavus, who had crossed the Elbe, and established a fortified camp near the little town of Werben, opposite the confluence of the Havel, Tilly was obliged to withdraw his troops from Hesse, and the Landgrave reoccupied his fortresses. While the Swedish army was at Werben, Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar entered the service of Gustavus, and the Landgrave of Hesse concluded with him at the same place the Treaty of Werben. The Swedish King supplied the Landgrave with money to levy troops, and appointed him general of all the forces that should be raised in the Rhenish Circles and Upper Germany. In August, the Dukes of Mecklenburg were solemnly reinstated in their dominions at Güstrow, although the Imperialists continued to maintain themselves at Rostock till October, and at Wismar till January 1632. During the summer both Gustavus and Tilly had received considerable reinforcements; the Swedish King had been rejoined by General Gustavus Horn with 4000 men, while the Imperial general had added to his army many of the troops dismissed from the war in Italy. Tilly was repulsed in an attempt to storm the camp of Gustavus at Werben, and afterwards by an impolitic endeavour to overawe the Elector of Saxony, who, as we have said, had excited the anger and suspicion of the Imperialists by the Leipsic Conventus, he threw that prince into the arms of Gustavus. The Imperialists, 40,000 or 50,000 strong, entered Saxony; Tilly proceeded with his usual ferocity, and when the Elector heard that 200 of his villages were in flames, he formed an alliance with Gustavus, and on the 5th of September joined the Swedes with an army of some 18,000 men. Tilly had entered Leipsic, but on the approach of Gustavus and John George he offered them battle at Breitenfeld, near that town. The BATTLE OF LEIPSIK, one of the most splendid victories of Gustavus Adolphus, was won entirely by the Swedes, September 7th 1631; the Saxons, consisting of raw recruits, were speedily dispersed; the Elector, who had taken post in the rear, joined the flight with his body-guard, and stopped not till he reached Eilenburg; where he refreshed himself with a draught of beer. After an engagement of five hours, Tilly was completely defeated; he lost his guns and half his men, and he himself narrowly escaped with his life.

After this decisive victory Germany seemed to lie at the mercy of the Swedish King. Many were of opinion that he should have marched directly on Vienna, and among those who thought so were two of the most eminent statesmen of Europe, Richelieu and Gustavus's own chancellor, Oxenstiern. It does not, however, follow that the capture of Vienna would have put an end to the

war. That capital had been taken before, yet Austria continued to subsist. Gustavus resolved to march to the Rhine; a course to which he seems to have been determined by the advice of the Duke of Saxe Weimar, by a pressing invitation from the Protestant States assembled at Frankfort on the Main, and by the prospect of making the Catholic bishoprics contribute to the support of his army. While the Saxons under Arnim were to proceed through Lusatia and Bohemia into Moravia, the Swedish King pressed on his march through the Thuringian forest, often continuing it at night by the light of torches. Tilly retired with the remnant of his forces by Halle into Westphalia; where he rallied all the dispersed bodies of Imperialists, intending to intercept the Swedes on their march through Franconia. A Swedish officer who preceded Gustavus, succeeded in gaining to his alliance the towns of Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strasburg; and Erfurt, Gotha, and all that lay on the road to Franconia, were occupied before the end of September. On the 13th of October the Swedes appeared before Würzburg, which was soon captured, though the castle held out till November 7th. Hanau was surprised; Frankfort opened its gates; Gustavus passed through that city, and on the same evening occupied Höchst (November 17th).

Tilly had in vain endeavoured to intercept the triumphant progress of the Swedes. He and Pappenheim had quarrelled; the latter had been offended by Tilly's ascribing to a mistake committed by him the loss of the battle of Leipsic. Pappenheim went into Westphalia, while Tilly, after a vain attempt to succour Würzburg, marched to Nuremberg. Gustavus heard, soon after his arrival at Höchst, that the enemy had separated; one portion of his force had been despatched to Bohemia, another to Bavaria, while the third and smallest portion remained in Franconia. Tilly, with tears, complained that Maximilian of Bavaria had forbidden him to undertake anything decisive, as his army formed the last reserve.¹¹ Yet Gustavus, who on his march from Würzburg to Hanau had only 7500 foot and 4000 cavalry, had never been seen so disturbed and indecisive as on the approach of Tilly.¹²

Mentz surrendered to Gustavus December 13th. The Emperor had observed, when he heard of the Swedish king's landing, that "he had got another little enemy;" and Gustavus had been called the "Snow King," whose forces, it was said, would melt away as he approached the south. It was therefore an extraordinary apparition to see him established at Christmas 1631 on the banks of the

¹¹ Khevenhiller, *Ann. Ferd. Th.* xi. S. 1884.

¹² Monro, *Exped. with McKay's Regiment*, pt. ii. p. 86.

Rhine, the recognised head of Protestant Germany, accompanied by his consort, and surrounded by a crowd of princes and ambassadors. His Chancellor, Oxenstiern, who brought thither some reinforcements from Prussia, viewed with dissatisfaction and alarm the many princes who composed his staff. The Swedish arms appeared everywhere successful. Tott had completed the conquest of Mecklenburg by capturing Rostock, Wismar, and Dömitz; Horn, though beaten by Tilly at Bamberg, had succeeded in penetrating to the Neckar; Baner had taken possession of Magdeburg after its evacuation by Pappenheim; Duke Bernhard of Weimar had driven the enemy from the Lower Palatinate, with the exception of Frankenthal and Heidelberg; the Landgrave William IV. of Hesse had recovered his dominions, occupied Paderborn and the southern part of Westphalia, and raised a considerable army. Thus the greater part of Germany was in the hands of the Swedes and their allies. The Catholic League had been dissipated. Some of its members had lost their possessions to Gustavus; others had joined the Emperor, or thrown themselves into the arms of France.

In February 1632 the Elector Palatine Frederick V., at the invitation of Gustavus, joined that monarch at Frankfort on the Main. He was received with great honour by Gustavus, whose behaviour, however, was equivocal. Frederick was in hopes that he should be restored to his dominions; but Gustavus was angry and disappointed at getting neither subsidies nor troops from Charles I., although that monarch was continually pressing for his brother-in-law's restoration. Frederick, however, continued to accompany the Swedish army, in the hope that he should at last obtain his rights.

But notwithstanding the apparently triumphant ascendancy of Gustavus Adolphus, clouds had already begun to obscure his success. He found that he could not rely upon the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, both of whom had joined him by compulsion; George William's minister, Schwarzenberg, a Catholic, was privately sold to the Emperor; Arnim, the commander of the Saxon army, and ex-colonel of Wallenstein, remained secretly connected with his former general. When Arnim marched with the Saxons to Prague he did not disturb his old commander's tranquillity; he left his palaces and possessions untouched; and when Wallenstein again assumed the supreme command, he made no attempt to hinder him from levying an army. John George he cajoled with the idea of making himself the head of a third party in Germany.

The success of Gustavus had been more rapid and decisive than

Richelieu had hoped or expected, and seemed to threaten the existence of French influence in Germany. Richelieu saw all his plans defeated respecting the neutrality of the princes of the Catholic League, for which he had stipulated with Gustavus. The Cardinal would rather have fomented the divisions in Germany by a league with the Duke of Bavaria and such other Catholic princes and states as were opposed to the Emperor, than by assuming the protection of the German Protestants; but Maximilian still hesitated. The three ecclesiastical Electors had invoked the mediation of France in November. Louis XIII. and Richelieu had proceeded to Metz to reduce to obedience the Duke of Lorraine, who had placed some of his towns in the hands of the Imperialists, and had himself joined the army of Tilly. The French Court arrived at Metz soon after Gustavus had entered Mentz; and here Louis XIII. received the submission of the Duke of Lorraine, who had been advised to make his peace with the King. By the treaty of Vic, January 6th 1632, Charles of Lorraine descended from the rank of a sovereign prince to that of a vassal. He abandoned all intelligence with the Emperor and the King of Spain, promised to contract no alliance without the consent of Louis, and engaged not only to permit the French forces to pass through Lorraine, but also to join them with his own. At Metz also arrived the Bishop of Würzburg, to supplicate the King and Cardinal for aid in the name of religion. A more important suppliant was Christopher von Sötern, Archbishop and Elector of Trèves. By the approach of Gustavus to the Rhine, and the entry of the French army into Lorraine, the Electorate of Trèves was threatened on both sides. The Elector, who was at variance with his Chapter, by a treaty concluded with the French December 21st 1631, made over to them the fortress of Philippsburg on the Rhine, in his bishopric of Spire, together with Coblenz and the opposite fortress of Hermannstein, now known by the name of Ehrenbreitstein. The French thus obtained a footing on the Rhine, which they maintained till the peace of Westphalia. But the Chapter and the municipality of Trèves, called in the Spaniards from the Netherlands, who, before the French could arrive, took possession of Coblenz and Trèves: and as France and Spain were then at peace, they could not of course be driven out without declaring war.

In this conjuncture, in which the views and interests of Louis and Gustavus seemed to clash, the Swedish King behaved with firmness and dignity. He declined an interview with Louis and Richelieu. He would make no concessions to those princes of the Catholic League whose domains he had occupied, as the Elector of

Mentz and the Bishops of Würzburg and Worms ; and he refused to restore them anything till a general peace. He reserved the right of punishing the Bishop of Bamberg, alleging that he had violated his capitulation with the Swedes. Towards the other members of the League he agreed to observe neutrality, and to restore what he had taken from the Duke of Bavaria and the Electors of Trèves and Cologne, except Spires ; but he demanded in return that the Duke of Bavaria and his allies should restore all that they had taken from the Protestants since 1618 ; though a brief delay was to be accorded to arrange, under the mediation of France and England, an accommodation between Maximilian and the Palatine.

The Duke of Bavaria could not resign himself to these conditions ; he beat about to gain time, and raise troops, and thus brought the storm of war upon his dominions. Gustavus, after a rapid march into Franconia, where he punished the Bishop of Bamberg, pursued Tilly and his retreating army into Bavaria. The Danube was passed at Donauwörth without opposition ; but Tilly, strongly posted at the little town of Rain, disputed the passage of the Lech. The Swedes, under cover of their guns, with difficulty threw a bridge across that rapid stream, and succeeded in passing, despite the furious resistance of Tilly (April 5th 1632) ; a cannon-ball having carried away that commander's thigh, the Bavarians abandoned their position. Maximilian, who came up towards evening, ordered a retreat to Ingolstadt, where on the following day the veteran Tilly died of his wound. Maximilian now took the sole command, and determined to procrastinate the war till he should be assisted by the Imperialists.

After the battle of Leipsic, Ferdinand II. had looked around in various quarters for assistance. He had invoked the aid of Spain, of the Pope, of the king of Poland, of the Italian princes, of his son Ferdinand, now king of Hungary ; but none of these could afford him any effectual succour. The only chance of safety seemed to be to recall the Duke of Friedland. The Emperor had remained on friendly terms with Wallenstein after his dismissal, and continued to address him as " Duke of Mecklenburg, Friedland, and Sagan." Wallenstein was first sounded about resuming the command in October, but he excused himself, pleading indisposition from the gout, and the Emperor was compelled to make the most humble and pressing appeal to him for assistance. It was not till towards the end of December that he consented to raise another army, when he engaged to serve for three months only, declining however the title of *generalissimo* and all the emoluments of the office. His conduct resembled that of a coquette who seeks by

feigned reluctance to enhance the value of her favours. As the term of the three months drew nigh, and the advance of the Swedes inspired fresh alarm, the Emperor's solicitations that Wallenstein should continue in the command were redoubled, the sound of whose drum had attracted recruits from all quarters, and he was now at the head of 40,000 men. The time was come when he might make his own terms. He drew up a capitulation for the Emperor's signature which seemed to reverse the situation of sovereign and subject. He insisted on being the sole commander, not only of the Imperial, but also of the Spanish troops; he stipulated that the Emperor's son, Ferdinand¹³ should not even show himself in the army, still less exercise any command in it, and that when Bohemia was recovered he should reside at Prague, under a Spanish guard of 12,000 men, till a general peace was effected. Wallenstein demanded as his reward an hereditary estate in Austria, secured to him by the Emperor, together with many other rights and privileges. No Imperial pardon was to be valid except it was confirmed by Wallenstein; and then only in cases which concerned life and honour, not territorial possessions. The Duke and his private interests, particularly his Duchy of Mecklenburg, were to be considered and provided for in any general peace. In short, Wallenstein usurped some of his sovereign's most important functions; yet, such was Ferdinand's necessity, he submitted with apparent cheerfulness to all his general's demands; in which the latter might not unnaturally find a little satisfaction for the affront put upon him by his dismissal two years before, as well as a means of securing himself from any future caprices of the Emperor.

Before the end of May Wallenstein had driven the Saxons under Arnim from the greater part of Bohemia. Meanwhile Gustavus was pushing on his conquests. After a fruitless attempt on Ingolstadt, where his horse was shot under him, the Swedish king occupied Augsburg, and caused the citizens to do homage to him; and he prized as one of his highest triumphs the restoration of Protestantism in this cradle of its infancy. He then entered Bavaria, where, however, he encountered a formidable resistance from the fanaticism of the peasantry, forming a strong contrast to the reception he had experienced in other parts of Germany. Munich was entered May 17th, and the Elector Palatine, who accompanied the Swedes, had the transitory satisfaction of passing a brief time in the capital of his arch-enemy. Hence Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar was despatched with the van towards the Tyrol. Vienna

¹³ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 179.

was in consternation; even Italy began to tremble. Wallenstein had now an opportunity to indulge his grudge against Maximilian, the principal author of his disgrace. The Duke of Bavaria found himself reduced to congratulate on his success the man whom he had so loudly denounced at Ratisbon, and to solicit his aid. Prague had been recovered early in May, and it would have been easy for Wallenstein to march into Bavaria; but he did not stir a foot till towards the end of June, and then on conditions the most humiliating to Maximilian. The Duke of Bavaria, who was in the Upper Palatinate with his army, was obliged to make a virtue of necessity and put himself under the control of an upstart *condottiere* like Wallenstein. When they met at Eger all eyes were turned on two such enemies to note their bearing; and the inquisitive remarked that his Serene Highness the Elector had learned the art of dissembling better than the Duke of Friedland.¹⁴ After the junction of their armies Wallenstein assumed the command in chief. Gustavus, who had in vain endeavoured to prevent this junction, now hastened to seize Nuremberg, leaving Bernhard of Weimar and General Baner to protect his conquests in Bavaria and Upper Suabia. Nuremberg offered him many advantages both in a strategical and tactical point of view. He could easily communicate there with his allies both in North and South Germany, while the situation of the place rendered it easy of defence; and the town with its immediate environs was converted into one vast fortified camp, capable of sheltering 50,000 men. But Wallenstein, with equal tact, took up a position which neutralised all these advantages. On a height called the *Alte Berg*, within a few miles of Nuremberg, he also established a fortified camp, defended with trenches and palisades, whence he infested the convoys and communications of the Swedes. Here the two great generals of the Thirty Years' War sat nine weeks watching each other. Wallenstein's forces were the more numerous; but, being mostly composed of raw recruits, he resolved to stand on the defensive. Gustavus, whose army, after calling in Duke Bernhard, Baner, and other generals with their forces, amounted to 50,000 men, found a difficulty in subsisting them; and having in vain offered battle at the foot of the wooded height where Wallenstein was encamped, he was rash enough to storm the position; but after an assault which lasted ten hours, and in which every regiment in the Swedish army was successively engaged, he was repulsed with the loss of several thou-

¹⁴ "Doch haben die *curiosi* vermerkt, dass Ihre Kurfürstliche Durchlaucht die Kunst zu *dissimuliren* besser als der

Herzog gelernt."—Khevenhiller, B. xii. S. 24.

sand men (August 24th), and the capture of Torstenson, one of his best generals. In this affair the sole of Gustavus's boot was carried away by a cannon-ball. It was his first failure of any importance, and increased the reputation of Wallenstein. How critical the situation of the Swedish king was may be judged from the circumstance of his sending to Wallenstein proposals for peace; and the communications which passed between the two commanders on this occasion afterwards afforded the Court of Vienna a pretext for charging Wallenstein with having held a treasonable correspondence with Gustavus.¹⁵

A fortnight afterwards (September 7th) Gustavus broke up from his entrenched camp, and again took the road to Bavaria, in the hope of inducing Wallenstein to follow him and of thus saving Saxony. Maximilian separated from Wallenstein at Coburg, and marched to Ratisbon to defend his dominions, while Wallenstein proceeded into Saxony. Gustavus was preparing to besiege Ingolstadt, when he received a pressing message for assistance from the Elector of Saxony, and immediately took the road through Nuremberg, sending his queen with three brigades of infantry by Schweinfurt. They met at Erfurt towards the end of October. When Gustavus reviewed his army at this place, he found that he had only 12,000 infantry and 6500 horse. He was never, indeed, desirous of large forces, and he was accustomed to say that all above 40,000 men were an incumbrance; while Wallenstein, on the contrary, had a maxim that the Deity favoured strong battalions.¹⁶ But though Gustavus's force was small compared with that of his adversary, it must be remembered, that the Swedish army was composed of veteran troops of the best description, including a large body of British soldiers. In the campaign of 1632 Gustavus had in his service six British generals, thirty colonels, and fifty-one lieutenant-colonels.¹⁷

The Elector of Saxony was in a critical situation. The Saxon army under Arnim was in Silesia when Wallenstein's troops entered the Elector's territories, who had occupied Leipsic before the approach of the Swedes. The march of the latter, however, had been so rapid, that Wallenstein was astonished to hear they were at Naumburg early in November. Gustavus had taken a tender leave of his consort at Erfurt, apparently not without forebodings of his

¹⁵ Förster's *Wallenstein*, S. 190 f. The barbarity of the war is shown by Wallenstein's rejecting another proposal of Gustavus, that quarter should be given, as in the Netherlands. *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Harte, *Gust. Adolphus*, Introd. p. xxxviii.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 210. On this subject see Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* p. 16 sqq. (ed. 1677).

impending fate. Wallenstein had no idea that he should be attacked at that advanced season; he was preparing to put his troops into winter-quarters, and had detached Pappenheim to Cologne with a large force, though with orders to storm Halle and Moritzburg on his way, and he was at the latter place when he received an order from Wallenstein to rejoin the main body.¹⁸ The Swedes had advanced through Weissenfels to Lützen, and stood in battle array on the great plain which stretches from that place to Leipsic (November 16th 1632). Wallenstein's infantry was drawn up in enormous masses to the north of the high road, the ditches of which had been deepened to serve as breastworks; his right wing rested on the town of Lützen and the windmills before it; his left stretched far along the plain, almost to the canal which connects the Elster and the Saal. It was on this side that Pappenheim was to join. To the left of the infantry were drawn up in strong squadrons Piccolomini's cuirassiers; on the right were also large masses of cavalry, and again more infantry; while at the extremities of each wing were posted the Croats. In front of the line, on the high road, was planted a battery of seven guns, the remainder of the artillery was spread along the front in an oblique direction from the windmills. Wallenstein's strength has been variously estimated. He himself, in a letter to the Emperor after the battle, rated it at only 12,000 men, which is incontestably too low. It probably consisted of near 30,000 men.

The Swedes were drawn up in the same order as at Leipsic, in two lines; the infantry in each six deep; the cavalry on each wing four deep, but interspersed with *pelotons* of musketeers. Gustavus himself led the right wing consisting of six regiments of cavalry, and was thus opposed to Piccolomini's cuirassiers; Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar commanded the left wing, also composed of six cavalry regiments. Behind the infantry were two regiments in reserve. Such were the preparations for the BATTLE OF LÜTZEN.

After offering up a prayer, the Swedish troops sang Luther's hymn (*Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*); and Gustavus then addressed them in those flowing words which, Richelieu observes, he had always at command; while Wallenstein by his appearance alone, and the severity of his silence, gave his men to understand that he would either reward or punish them according to his custom.¹⁹ Gus-

¹⁸ The letter, stained with Pappenheim's blood, is preserved in the Archives of Vienna. Förster, *Wallenstein's Briefe*, B. ii. S. 273.

¹⁹ Richelieu, *Mém.* t. iii. p. 258. Richelieu's account of this battle is a literal

translation of the Report sent by Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar to Louis XIII. It will also be found in the Appendix to Förster's *Wallenstein's Briefe*, B. ii. S. p. 336 (from Siri).

tavus, after concluding his address, which was received with cheers" and the clash of arms, exclaimed as he raised his eyes to Heaven, "And now, my hearts, let us on bravely against our enemies! Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, let us fight to-day for the honour of Thy holy name!" which said, he drew his sword, and waving it over his head while he gave the word "Forwards!" he himself advanced in front of all his army.²⁰

Just at this moment Lützen was observed to be in flames; for Wallenstein, as a contemporary writer observes, usually marked his advance, "like Jupiter in the poet, all in thunder and lightning, all in fire and tempest."²¹ The sun, which shone forth awhile about ten o'clock, enabled the cannonade to begin. The Swedish infantry, led by Count Nils Brahe, passed the high road under a murderous fire, broke two columns of the enemy's infantry and were attacking the third, when they were repulsed by the reserve and the cavalry. Gustavus now ordered a charge against the dark and threatening masses of the Imperial cuirassiers, clothed from head to foot in black armour; and putting himself at the head of the Småland horse, whose colonel had been wounded, he led the attack in person. His ardour carried him beyond his troops, and the fog again coming on, he got entangled with two or three attendants among the enemy's battalions. His horse was shot through the neck, and a pistol ball having fractured his arm—for that day he wore no armour on account of a recent wound—he besought the Duke of Lauenburg to conduct him from the field. At this moment another shot in the back brought him to the ground, and his horse dragged him some way by the stirrup. Lauenburg²² fled; of the King's two grooms, one had been killed, the other wounded; the only attendant who remained with him was a German page named Leubelfing, a youth of eighteen, who died a few days after of some wounds he had received. In his last moments Leubelfing testified that as the King lay on the ground some of the enemy's cuirassiers rode up and asked who it was? The page, pretending not to know him, replied, he supposed it was some officer; but the King made himself known, when a cuirassier shot him through the head; others gave him some sword thrusts, and stripped him to his shirt. The page was also wounded for his evasion.

The battle was still raging when Pappenheim came up with

²⁰ *Swedish Intelligencer*, pt. iii. p. 127.

²¹ *Idem*, pt. ii. p. 238.

²² It was universally believed by the Swedes, and has been asserted by some

of their gravest historians, that it was the Duke of Lauenburg who shot the King; a story now rejected by the most competent inquirers.

part of his cavalry. Soon after his appearance on the field, that commander was shot by Colonel Stålhanske, who had just borne off from the *mêlée* the dead body of Gustavus.²³ The arrival of Pappenheim's troops served to prolong the struggle; but the Swedes, now under the command of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, enraged by the death of their King, fought with a fury and desperation that nothing could resist; after a bloody struggle of nine hours' duration Wallenstein's troops gave way, carrying away with them in their flight Pappenheim's infantry, which had come up about sunset.

Thus immaturely perished in his thirty-eighth year, but in a manner worthy of a hero, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, the greatest sovereign of his age. That his expedition into Germany was partly prompted by a love of glory and conquest can scarcely be doubted; his incessant wars, the part that he personally played in them, his professed admiration of Cæsar and Alexander, show him animated with the spirit of a conqueror. But his best title to immortality is, that he set a boundary to religious persecution; and it is for this, as a Swedish historian observes, that all mankind may reckon him among their heroes.²⁴ His feats in arms and politics may be gathered from the preceding narrative; his more private and domestic virtues may be described in the words of an adversary: "Never has a general been served," says Gualdo Priorato²⁵, "with more love and admiration; he made all content by giving them their due praise, by the friendly words which he addressed to them, and the hopes which he held out. Good services and deeds of valour remained ineffaceably on his memory. His conversation was lively and playful, his behaviour unostentatious and condescending towards everybody; he often anticipated people's wishes, and would ask what they were doing, how they were getting on, and what they wished. He was accustomed to say that the table was a good substitute for torture in the extracting of secrets, and served as a net to catch friendship and goodwill. He hated ceremony and flattery beyond all measure; and, when a man unacquainted with his disposition thought to employ them with him, he would say in a good-tempered joking manner, that "these elegances had better be kept for the ladies of the Queen."

The Finnish cavalry under Stålhanske, who had rescued the King's body from the field, found it lying with the face towards

²³ Geijer, B. iii. S. 235. Pappenheim died at Leipsic a day or two after of his wound.

²⁴ Geijer, B. iii. S. 247 sqq.

²⁵ *Hist. delle Guerre di Ferdinando II.* lib. v. p. 157 (ed. 1640). Gualdo Priorato, a Catholic and Italian, served a long while under Wallenstein in the Imperial army.

the ground, trampled on, and disfigured with blood and wounds. They brought it on an ammunition waggon to the village of Meuchen in the Swedish rear, where a tradition is still preserved of its fate. At midnight, a service was performed over it in the village church, and a soldier pronounced a funeral oration. The schoolmaster of the place, who was also a joiner by trade, prepared for it a simple coffin, in which it was conveyed to Weissenfels to be embalmed. One of the King's grooms, who had been wounded at his side, came with the corpse, and when he was convalescent, attempted, with the help of thirteen peasants, to roll a huge stone to the spot where Gustavus had fallen, but they could not get it so far. The true place where Gustavus expired, was forty paces further on, a balk or ridge formerly marked by an acacia tree. The stone is still called "the Swede's stone." The King's body was afterwards carried to Stockholm.²⁶

The account of the battle transmitted by Wallenstein to the Imperial Court, led Ferdinand to think that he had gained the day. A *Te Deum* was sung at Vienna and other places "for the glorious victory at Lützen;" while at Madrid popular festivals were given in honour of the occasion, and a melo-drama, or spectacle, in which the death of Gustavus Adolphus was represented, was performed a dozen times before the court. But meanwhile the reputed conqueror was glad to shelter himself behind the mountains of the Bohemian frontier. After the battle, Wallenstein found it necessary to evacuate Saxony in all haste; and, leaving garrisons at Leipsic, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Meissen, and Frauenstein, he reached Bohemia without further loss, and put his army into winter-quarters. After his arrival at Prague, he caused many of his officers to be executed for their conduct at Lützen, among whom were several who belonged to families of distinction, nor would he allow them to plead the Emperor's pardon. A few he rewarded. The harshness of his proceedings increased the hatred already felt for him by many of his officers, and especially the Italian portion of them, who gave him the name of *Il Tiranno*, or the Tyrant.²⁷

Axel Oxenstiern, the Swedish Chancellor, succeeded, on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, to the supreme direction of the affairs of Sweden in Germany, and was invested by the Council at Stockholm with full powers both to direct the army and to negotiate with the German courts. Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, retained the military command of the Swedish-German army,

²⁶ Geijer, B. iii. S. 239 f.

²⁷ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 209.

divisions of which were cantoned from the Baltic to the Danube. After driving the Imperialists from Saxony, Bernhard had hastened into Franconia, the bishoprics of which, according to a promise of Gustavus, were to be erected in his favour into a duchy ; but, after taking Bamberg, his assistance was invoked by General Horn, on the Upper Danube.

One of the first cares of Oxenstiern was to consolidate the German alliance ; and, in March 1633, he summoned a meeting at Heilbronn of the States of the four Circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine, Franconia, and Suabia, as well as deputies from Nuremberg, Strasburg, Frankfort, Ulm, Augsburg, and other cities of the empire. The assembly was also attended by ambassadors from France, England, and Holland ; and on April 9th was effected the Union of Heilbronn. Brandenburg and Saxony stood aloof ; nor was France, though she renewed the alliance with Sweden, included in the Union. The French minister at Heilbronn assisted, however, in the formation of the Union, although he endeavoured to limit the power of Oxenstiern, to whom the conduct of the war was intrusted. At the same time, the Swedes also concluded a treaty with the Palatinate, now governed, or rather claimed to be governed, by Louis Philip, brother of the Elector Frederick V., as guardian and regent for the latter's youthful son Charles Louis. The unfortunate Frederick had expired at Mentz in his thirty-seventh year, not many days after the death of Gustavus Adolphus. He had always rejected the hard conditions on which the Swedish king had offered to restore him ; nor were those now accepted by Louis Philip much more favourable. Swedish garrisons were to be maintained in Frankenthal, Bacharach, Kaub, and other places ; Mannheim was to be at the disposal of the Swedes so long as the war should last ; and the Palatinate, besides paying a heavy contribution, was to be subject to all the burthens incident to the quartering of troops.

After the junction of Duke Bernhard with Hörn, the Swedish army,—for so we shall continue to call it, though composed in great part of Germans,—endeavoured to penetrate into Bavaria ; but the Imperial General Altringer, aided by John von Werth, a commander of distinction, succeeded in covering Munich, and enabled Maximilian to return to his capital. The Swedish generals were also embarrassed by a mutiny of their mercenaries, as well as by their own misunderstandings and quarrels ; and all that Duke Bernhard was able to accomplish in the campaign of 1633, besides some forays into Bavaria, was the capture of Ratisbon in November.

Meanwhile Wallenstein, engrossed with building and planting at

Gitschin and his other castles and estates in Bohemia, had not crossed the frontiers of that kingdom; and hostilities there were concluded as soon as Count Thurn, now a general in the Swedish service, quitted the Saxon army, by a truce entered into by its commander, Arnim, June 7th 1633; a step taken both by Wallenstein and Arnim without the knowledge of their respective courts. Wallenstein also made proposals of peace to the Swedes, by whom, however, they were regarded only as a blind and a deception²⁸; and he entered into secret negotiations with Feuquières, the French ambassador in Germany, in order to obtain the assistance of France in procuring for himself the crown of Bohemia. These negotiations have been represented by Wallenstein's defenders as only a snare laid for the French court; but, however, this may be, it is certain that Louis XIII. promised to assist him in his ambitious plans.²⁹ After the capture of Ratisbon, Wallenstein thought proper to display at least an attempt to aid Maximilian by entering the Upper Palatinate; but though he drew Duke Bernhard and Horn from Bavaria, the lateness of the season prevented any operations of importance, and after a little while he returned into Bohemia.

Wallenstein's unauthorised negotiations with Arnim, the Swedes, and Feuquières, had naturally excited the suspicion of the Imperial court, which would of course be strengthened by the rigid capitulation he had exacted on reassuming the command, and by the jealousy he had displayed in excluding from any share of power the Emperor's son Ferdinand, the King of Bohemia. Wallenstein had moreover a strong party against him both at the Court of Vienna and in his own army, consisting of the priests and Jesuits who directed the Emperor's conscience, and of the Spanish, Italian, and Belgian officers who were the subjects of Spain. He had given offence to the Emperor by neglecting his express orders, and returning into Bohemia instead of attempting to retake Ratisbon. Hence, in December 1633, Ferdinand II. formed the resolution of depriving Wallenstein of his command; though he seems to have adopted it with reluctance, as he first of all sent the counsellor Von Questenberg, whom he knew to be acceptable to Wallenstein, to endeavour to persuade him to march into Bavaria. Through his secret agents, Wallenstein was acquainted with all the Emperor's

²⁸ Chemnitz, ap. Förster, *Wallenstein*, p. 214. Chemnitz, the Swedish historiographer, wrote his work under the inspection of Oxenstiern.

²⁹ See *Mémoire envoyé par le commandement du Roi au Sr de Feuquières, touchant l'affaire résolu au conseil d'état*

à Chantilly le 16 Juillet, 1633, ap. Menzel, B. iv. S. 120. See further on these negotiations, Siri, *Mem. reconditæ*, t. viii. p. 42 sqq.; Barthold, *Gesch. des grossen deutschen Krieges*, B. i. Kap. v.; Förster, *Wallenstein's Briefe*, B. iii. S. 401 ff.

plans. In order to defeat them, he called early in January 1634 a council of his officers at Pilsen, whither he was now returned; and through Field-marshal Ilow, who was entirely devoted to him, he obtained from them an opinion that it would be impossible to march into Bavaria before the spring. But Wallenstein went further than this. He told his officers he was so disgusted with the Court of Vienna that he was determined to lay down his command; a communication which was received with great dissatisfaction and anger. Most of his officers had spent all their substance in raising men and fitting themselves out; they looked to maintain themselves by the war, and if Wallenstein resigned they could expect no compensation from the Emperor. Led by Ilow and Count Terzka they protested against such an act, they reminded their commander of his promise to stand by them, and on the 12th of January, after a dinner at which the bottle had circulated very freely, they signed a paper requiring Wallenstein to keep the army together, and promising to stand by him to the last drop of their blood. This document bore the signatures of forty superior officers, including Piccolomini's, though he was no friend of Wallenstein.

It was this step, of which Wallenstein seems afterwards to have repented, that proved his destruction. The Imperial Court resolved on his assassination. Wallenstein, as we have said, had many enemies. Not among the least of them was Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, who had advised Wallenstein's dismissal in December, and who, towards the end of January, sent to the Emperor a detailed account of Wallenstein's practices, at the same time beseeching him to adopt some "sudden and heroic resolution."³⁰ The counsellors by whom Ferdinand was surrounded, and who possessed his ear, offered the same advice with perhaps more effect. Such were the Bishop of Vienna, the Emperor's confessor Lamormain, the Counts Eggenberg, Trautmannsdorf, and Schlick, the Emperor's son Ferdinand, and others. The Spanish ambassador Oñate was one of the foremost in these counsels; he blamed the Emperor's delays, and suggested that a dagger or a pistol ball would at once untie the knot.³¹ It was some time before Ferdinand's confidence in his general could be shaken. At length secret commands were issued to Piccolomini and some of the officers who were known to be dissatisfied with Wallenstein, to withdraw from him the obedience of the troops, to incite them against him, and to transfer the command to General Gallas.

³⁰ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 257.

³¹ *Ibid.* S. 253, note.

Piccolomini, whom Wallenstein held to be his best friend, as the astrologers had cast the same nativity for both, and who could therefore, it was thought, the more easily deceive him, was ordered to enter in a friendly manner the town of Pilsen, with 2000 cavalry and 1000 dragoons, and there to lay snares against the Duke's life (*insidiare alla vita del duca*).³² On the 24th of January the Emperor issued letters patent, releasing the officers and soldiers of Wallenstein's army from all allegiance towards their general, and granting a pardon to all who had signed the document at Pilsen, with the exception of the Duke of Friedland himself, Ilow, and Terzka. This patent was despatched to Gallas, with orders to seize the Duke of Friedland and bring him to some place where he might be put on his defence; and at all events to get possession of his person, whether dead or alive. One of the worst features in this transaction is, that the Emperor, with unparalleled hypocrisy, continued a friendly correspondence with Wallenstein for three weeks after he had thus secretly deposed and outlawed him; and in his last letter, dated February 13th 1634, only twelve days before Wallenstein's murder, particularly recommends Bohemia to his care, to the crown of which country he was accused of aspiring.

It was not till the date of this last letter, that Gallas issued public orders to the army no longer to obey the commands of Wallenstein, or his adherents Ilow and Terzka, but instead of them either his own, or those of Altringer and Piccolomini. Soon afterwards (February 20th) orders came from Vienna to employ force, and secret instructions were issued for the confiscation of Wallenstein's possessions: the grounds assigned being Wallenstein's and Terzka's "perjured rebellion and flight to the enemy," though they were still at Pilsen. On that very day Wallenstein had drawn up a document to explain and justify that of January 12th, in which he declared that it was not his wish that anything should be undertaken against the Emperor, or to the detriment of religion. This paper was signed by himself and many of his adherents. He also required that his officers should continue to respect him as their generalissimo, as he had received no dismissal from the Emperor, and the order of Gallas he could only regard as an act of mutiny against himself. A day or two after he despatched two envoys to Vienna to assure the Emperor "that he was ready to lay down the command, and to appear and answer the charges against him wherever the Emperor might appoint." But both these

³² Sirr, *Mem. recond.* t. viii. p. 50.

envoys were arrested by Piccolomini and Diodati, and Ferdinand did not receive the message till Wallenstein was already dead.³³

When Wallenstein heard of the schemes against his power, and even against his life — for he opened all secrets with a golden key, he resolved to proceed to the fortress of Eger, where he thought he should be safer, as its commandant was one Gordon, a Scotchman, colonel of the regiment of his devoted friend and adherent Count Terzka; but Gallas had already communicated to Gordon and other officers of the regiment, which was chiefly composed of Irishmen, the Emperor's orders; and Lesley another Scot, and Colonel Butler an Irishman, had promised obedience.³⁴ When Wallenstein heard that the Imperial letters patent had been openly posted at Prague, he left Pilsen, February 22nd, travelling in a litter on account of his gout, and taking with him only a few troops. The generals of the Spanish-Italian party, Piccolomini, Gallas, Maradas, Caretto, Marquis of Grana, and others, now broke up on all sides in order to follow him, and Diodati and Tavigni entered Pilsen without opposition. Wallenstein arrived at Eger on the afternoon of the 24th February, with a few coaches and baggage waggons, accompanied by his brother-in-law Count Kinsky, Terzka, Ilow, and Captain Neumann. He was escorted by two troops of cavalry, and 200 dragoons, commanded by Colonel Butler, who was already prepared to betray him, and who gave Piccolomini notice of all Wallenstein's movements.

At Eger, Wallenstein was lodged in the house of the burgo-master in the market-place, while apartments were assigned to Terzka, Kinsky, and their wives, in the back building, or *Hinterhaus*, which usually forms part of a German dwelling. On his road from Pilsen Wallenstein had determined to go over to the enemy, as his only chance of safety, and he had opened communications to that effect with Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar; which, however, from a suspicion of his real intentions, were coldly received. On arriving at Eger, he immediately opened himself to Gordon and his lieutenant Leslie, as well as to Butler, whom he thought to be his friends, and especially Gordon, to whom he had given a regiment only a little while before; he acquainted them with his intention of going over to the enemy, and left them to decide whether they would follow him or not. Gordon and Leslie promised to stand by him; but when, in Gordon's apartments in the castle, Butler acquainted them with the Imperial letters, and the orders of Gallas and Piccolomini, and painted to them in

³³ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 274.

³⁴ Siri, *Mem. recondite*, t. viii. p. 48.

glowing colours the rewards and the booty they would obtain by betraying their general, they swore with drawn swords to kill the Duke of Friedland and the friends who accompanied him, and resolved that the assassination of the latter should be accomplished at a carnival feast to which they were to be invited by Gordon on the following evening.

Butler engaged in the plot Geraldino, the major of his regiment, with captains M'Donald, Birch, Brown, and Devereux, and Pestaluz, a captain in Terzka's regiment; and Butler it was who also arranged all the details of the murder. At six o'clock on the evening of February 25th, Terzka, Kinsky, Ilow, and Neumann went together in a coach to Gordon's apartments in the citadel, where they were received by the three conspirators; the drawbridge was raised behind the unsuspecting guests, who soon found themselves seated at a well-furnished table. In an apartment adjoining the banqueting-room was stationed Captain Devereux with twenty-four dragoons; in another, Major Geraldino, with six more. The servants of the guests had been sent away; the dinner was ended, the desert served up, when about eight o'clock a preconcerted signal was given to the soldiers. On a sudden Geraldino, followed by his men, enters at one door, crying *Viva la casa Austria!* on the other side appears Devereux, exclaiming, "Who is for the Emperor?" At these words Butler, Gordon, and Leslie seize each a candlestick, and drawing their swords cry *Vivat Ferdinandus!* The dragoons now rush upon their victims; Kinsky falls first under their blows; Ilow is stabbed in the back while taking his sword from the wall; Terzka alone succeeds in reaching his weapon. Planting himself in a corner of the room he challenges in vain his treacherous hosts to mortal combat; two of the dragoons he cuts down, breaks Devereux's sword, and, protected by his doublet of elk-leather, holds out so long that his assailants take him to be, like Wallenstein, "frozen" or wound-proof. At last he falls. Neumann, after receiving some wounds, escaped from the apartment, but not knowing the watchword was cut down by the guard.

When the bloody work was done, Butler, Gordon, and Leslie took counsel together, and resolved to complete their plot by the murder of Wallenstein, who had remained at his quarters in the town. The execution of it was intrusted to Devereux and six of his dragoons. Butler undertook to guard the burgomaster's house and the market-place; Leslie meanwhile administered to the main guard, who belonged to Terzka's regiment, a new oath of fidelity to the Emperor, and a hundred dragoons patrolled the streets to prevent any attempt at rescue.

It was midnight. Wallenstein had been engaged in surveying the stars and considered the constellations favourable; but Seni, his astrologer, was of opinion that the danger was not yet over. The Duke had not long retired to bed when he was startled by a noise in the street. Devereux had obtained admission into the house on pretence of delivering a message to Wallenstein, but was stopped in an ante-room by a valet, who begged him not to disturb his master's sleep. Devereux demanded with threats and imprecations the key of the Duke's apartments; and, on the valet delaying, burst open the door by force, and followed by his dragoons entered the Duke's room. Wallenstein, alarmed by the shrieks of Terzka's and Kinsky's wives, who had just learnt the murder of their husbands, had rushed to the window to inquire of the sentinel the cause of the tumult; at the entrance of the soldiers he turns, and, as Devereux exclaims "You must die!" receives, with outstretched arms, a mortal thrust in his bosom.

Next came the scene of plunder. Wallenstein's property was divided like the spoils of a conquered enemy. Piccolomini seized his military chest, his plate waggons, his horses, his baggage, and from the proceeds, every man in the army was presented with two ducats. His officers vied with one another in endeavouring to obtain some part of the Duke's vast confiscated possessions; and among these Caretto, Marquis of Grana, distinguished himself by the meanness and importunity of his solicitations.

From meaner criminals our eyes involuntarily revert to the Emperor himself. There are, perhaps, few princes of the House of Habsburg who have exhibited in a more striking light than Ferdinand II. the misery and weakness of an empire supported, not by the affections of subjects, but by military power; and the wickedness to which a conscience may be seduced, that substitutes for the dictates of morality and true religion the advice of interested priests, and the casuistry of Jesuits and confessors. The death of Wallenstein is one of the basest political murders ever committed by the House of Austria. Not that we hold, with his German biographer, that Wallenstein was innocent up to the last moment of his flight from Pilsen. We think, on the contrary, that from the Duke's whole conduct after his resumption of the command,—the arrogant capitulation which he extorted, his constant refusal to obey orders from Vienna, his inactivity in Bohemia during the campaign of 1633, his negotiations and treaties with the Saxons, Swedes, and French³⁵, and lastly, the paper which he

³⁵ The Emperor appears to have been informed by the Duke of Savoy of Wal-

lenstein's negotiations with the French Court; although, for political reasons, no

procured his generals to sign at Pilsen, — the only inference which can be drawn is, that, as he had clearly set himself above the duties and obligations of a subject, it was his intention to extort from the Emperor, either through fear or force, the position of a sovereign and independent prince of the empire, if not the crown of Bohemia. But, on the other hand, it must be recollected that such designs had not been proved against him; that, as he had a large party against him in his own army, it might have been as easy to seize him and put him on his trial, as to get rid of him by a base and cowardly murder, as was indeed shown by the ease with which the assassination was effected — for Wallenstein was served rather through fear than affection; above all, Ferdinand was bound to observe the greatest forbearance and generosity towards a man to whom he had twice owed the safety of his crown. Yet he not only sanctioned Wallenstein's assassination, but also publicly praised and rewarded his murderers. Leslie, who brought him the report of what had been done at Eger, was made a chamberlain, a captain in the Imperial body-guard, and colonel of a regiment belonging to King Ferdinand. Butler was also received at the Hofburg with distinguished marks of approbation and honour; Ferdinand gave him his hand, caused the Archbishop of Vienna to place a gold chain round his neck, created him a count and chamberlain, and presented him with some of the estates of Terzka in Bohemia. Colonel Gordon obtained the possessions of Count Kinsky. Devereux, who had stabbed Wallenstein with his own hand, received from the Emperor a gold chain, a present in money, and some confiscated property in Bohemia. Yet, while Ferdinand was thus rewarding the instruments of his crime, his superstition made him tremble for the consequences which it might have entailed on his victims; and, tortured by the pangs of conscience, he paid for 3000 masses to redeem the souls which he had hurried into Purgatory unprepared, and with all their sins upon them!³⁶

The confusion which necessarily ensued in the Imperial army upon the murder of the generalissimo and his companions, and the apprehension of many other officers, was at length settled by the dismissal of all suspected commanders and by giving the dissatisfied regiments three months' pay; after which, the Emperor's son, King Ferdinand, was appointed to the command in chief, but under the direction of General Gallas. Neither the Swedes nor the Saxons took advantage of the conjuncture to

mention was made of them in the Emperor's justification of the proceedings taken against Wallenstein. See Freiberg,

Neue Beiträge zur vaterländischen Gesch. ap. Menzel, B. iv. S. 120.

³⁶ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 307.

attempt anything against the Imperialists; and, indeed the whole campaign of 1634 offers but few events of importance besides the battle of Nördlingen. The Saxons under Arnim, in conjunction with the Swedes under Baner, gained a victory at Liegnitz, May 13th, which enabled them to invest Prague; but Arnim, who was negotiating with the Emperor for a peace, at length refused to assist Baner, and both generals evacuated Bohemia. Duke Bernhard had been more intent on establishing his duchy of Franconia than on the progress of the war; the Swedish General Horn had obtained some successes in Suabia, and was preparing to invade the Austrian dominions, when he was compelled to join Bernhard, threatened by the forces of Maximilian. The Duke of Bavaria assembled in the spring an army at Ingolstadt, which, under Altringer and John von Werth, took Straubing and proceeded to lay siege to Ratisbon, where they were joined by King Ferdinand and Gallas with the Imperial forces. Bernhard and Horn, after taking Landshut by storm, where Altringer was killed (July 22nd), marched to the relief of Ratisbon; but, hearing on the road the fall of that place, they again separated, while the Imperial army proceeded to Donauwörth. Bernhard employed himself with marches and counter-marches between the Danube and the Main, while Horn proceeded towards the Tyrol, to dispute the passes with a Spanish army that was marching from Italy into the Netherlands. He had scarcely, however, reached Füssen, when the news that the Imperialists, after taking Donauwörth, were threatening Nördlingen, obliged him again to join Bernhard. This movement having left the passes free, the Spaniards entered Bavaria, and formed a junction with King Ferdinand under the walls of Nördlingen. They were under the command of the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand, brother of Philip IV. of Spain; who was proceeding into the Netherlands as successor of Isabella Clara Eugenia in the government. He had the reputation of being the only Spanish prince, since Don John of Austria, who possessed any military talent.

Bernhard and Horn, after uniting their armies at Günzburg, had also summoned from the Upper Rhine another force under the Rhin-
graf Otto Louis; but, as Nördlingen was hard pressed, Bernhard, against the advice of Horn, determined on an immediate battle, although their army was not only considerably less numerous than that of the enemy, but also inferior in quality. The engagement commenced on the evening of the 26th of August, O. S., and lasted through the following day, when the Spaniards, who had taken only a passive part on the first day, lending a vigorous assistance

to the Imperialists, the Swedes were completely defeated, with the loss of 12,000 men, 300 standards, 80 guns, and 6000 prisoners, among whom were Horn and three other generals. Duke Bernhard narrowly escaped the same fate. He was hotly pursued to Göppingen, where he met Otto Louis and his division.

The BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN was from its consequences one of the most important and decisive in the Thirty Years' War. Bernhard of Weimar's contemplated Duchy of Franconia vanished altogether from his sight, and, instead of being an independent prince, he found himself compelled to enter the service and accept the pay of France. Thus French influence acquired an immense ascendant in Germany; and it will be necessary to cast our eyes a little while on the affairs and policy of that country.

The death of Gustavus Adolphus had not been altogether unwelcome to Richelieu, who had at first willingly conceded to the Swedish King the leading part in the great political drama; but the success of Gustavus had been more rapid and complete than the French court had either hoped or expected; his appearance on the Rhine had created both jealousy and alarm; and after his passage of the Lech, Louis XIII. had observed to the Venetian minister, "It is time to set a limit to the progress of this Goth." When Gustavus fell at Lützen, Richelieu determined to seize the direction of the affairs of Europe. His policy was, to maintain the alliance between the Swedes and the German Protestants, to endeavour to effect a reasonable accommodation between them and the princes of the Catholic League, and thus compel the Emperor to treat for a peace through the mediation of France. Maximilian of Bavaria was to be dazzled with the prospect of the Imperial crown, in order to which it was necessary to prevent the election of a King of the Romans during the Emperor's lifetime. Another object was to prevent the Dutch from making a separate peace with Spain.

Besides his schemes against the Emperor, Richelieu was busy with plans for extending the French frontier towards the Rhine. Charles Duke of Lorraine had again rebelled and was again reduced, and on the 25th of September 1633 Louis XIII. entered Nancy, his capital. Richelieu now announced to the Duke that it was the King's intention to reestablish the French monarchy in all its primitive grandeur, and with that view to reannex Lorraine, the ancient Austrasia, to France. Early in 1634 the French occupied the whole of Lorraine, crossed the Vosges mountains, and set foot in Alsace, never again to leave it. A new parliament, called the Parliament of Austrasia, was erected at Metz, the jurisdiction of

which was intended one day to extend to the Rhine. Thus was broken the last link which connected the Three Bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun) with the empire; appeals, which had been formerly made to the Imperial Chamber at Spire, were now heard by the Parliament, and everywhere the Austrian eagle was displaced by the *fleurs-de-lis*.³⁷ Charles of Lorraine, finding resistance hopeless, abdicated the duchy in favour of his brother, the Cardinal Nicholas Francis; and, betaking himself with what soldiers still remained to him into the service of the Emperor, became, instead of a bad sovereign, a valiant adventurer and skilful leader. From this period the house of Lorraine remained dispersed and fugitive.

The Duke's sister, Margaret, having escaped into Belgium, married the King's brother, Gaston d'Orléans, then an exile in that country; which so offended Louis that he instituted a suit against the marriage. Both Gaston and his mother had retired into Belgium after Richelieu's triumph over his political enemies, and Mary de' Medici was received at Brussels with all the solemnity due to an illustrious ally. She was never again to enter France. Spinola, who had been recalled in 1629, was succeeded in the military command in Belgium by Van der Berg, a good soldier. After Spinola's departure, Prince Frederick Henry resolved, by way of compensation for the loss of Breda, to take Herzogenbusch. The siege, which occupied the years 1629 and 1630, is among the most remarkable of that period in a military point of view; but the most important circumstance connected with it is, that, by engaging the whole Spanish forces in the Netherlands, it facilitated the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Although Van der Berg came to the relief of the town with 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse, he could not prevent its surrender. He was soon after superseded in the command by the Marquis of Santa Croce, who neither possessed much ability nor enjoyed the confidence of the Spanish Netherlanders. Hence Frederick Henry, whose military operations were supported with the greatest ardour by the Dutch, although deputies were appointed by the States to accompany all his movements, was able to find sufficient employment for the Spaniards. In the years 1629 and 1630 the Dutch had about 120,000 men in the field, who were partly supported by voluntary contributions. After the capture of Herzogenbusch, the Prince directed his operations chiefly against Gelderland, and in 1632 he took Maestricht. While the Prince was besieging this place, Santa Croce, with 15,000 men, not venturing to attack

³⁷ See *Mercure Fr.* t. xix. p. 106 sqq.; Richelieu, *Mémoires*, t. viii. p. 466 (Petitot).

his fortified camp, Cordova, with 20,000 men, was recalled from Germany to S^{ta} Croce's assistance; yet such was the strength of Frederick Henry's position that the Spaniards with their combined forces declined to assault it. The Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia now besought the assistance of Pappenheim, at that time in Westphalia with a considerable army. Pappenheim led his veterans against the Dutch trenches, August 7th; but the Spaniards, offended by his boast that he would relieve Maestricht, would give him no aid, and coolly looked on while he suffered two bloody repulses on the same day. The Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, who was personally much beloved by the Belgians, and who showed as much consideration for them as the Court of Madrid would allow, died in December 1633, after which Belgium again fell under the direct government of Spain.

Richelieu had been for some time desirous of entering into a close alliance with the Dutch; and in April 1634 Charnacé had brought about a treaty by which France engaged to pay a subsidy of two million livres per annum, besides supporting a body of auxiliary troops. This treaty was followed in February 1635 by a still more effective alliance, offensive and defensive, based on Richelieu's plans for extending the French frontier. Each of the contracting parties engaged to invade the Spanish Netherlands with an army of 30,000 men. The Belgians were to be invited to form themselves into a free and independent state; but a strip of land upon the coast, two leagues in depth, from Gravelines to Blankenberg, besides the towns of Namur and Thionville, was to be ceded to France; while the United Provinces were to have Hulst and the Pays de Waes, Breda, Gelders, and Stephanswend. If the Belgians persisted in their allegiance to Spain they were to be conquered and partitioned: France was to have Luxemburg, Namur, Hainault, Artois, Flanders, and the Cambrésis; while the share of the United Provinces was to include Antwerp, Brabant, and the coast of Flanders north of Blankenberg. England was to be invited to neutrality.³⁸

About the same time Richelieu had also effected a new treaty with the Swedes. The defeat at Nördlingen, and the knowledge that the Elector of Saxony was endeavouring to effect a peace with the Emperor, left the Swedes no alternative but to throw themselves into the arms of France; and in September envoys were sent to Paris to request that the 6000 men so often promised should be despatched to their aid, and to urge the French King

³⁸ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 80.

to break openly with Spain and Austria. Oxenstiern also instructed the envoys to offer to the French, in consideration of a large extraordinary subsidy, the Swedish conquests in Alsace, and in case of need also Benfelden and the Archbishopric of Mentz, to be restored, however, on the general peace. But before these proposals could be made, an agreement had been already entered into between the French and Swedish residents at Strasburg, agreeably to which seventeen towns in Alsace and the fortress of Philippsburg on the Rhine had been surrendered to the French troops under Marshal La Force. Although by this piece of folly or over-hastiness Oxenstiern's views were in a great degree baffled, a treaty was concluded at Paris in November 1634, by which France engaged to maintain 12,000 men, Germans or others, under the command of a German prince, and to keep a body of troops on the Rhine, to act in case of need. France was to hold all fortresses conquered on the right bank of the Rhine, from Breisach to Constance; on the left bank she was to have Alsace and its fortresses, and the free use of the bridge at Strasburg, till a future peace. The Swedes, in the places which they should conquer, were not to molest the Catholics in the exercise of their religion.³⁹ By this treaty, France obtained a seat and vote in the German League. Oxenstiern was very much dissatisfied with it, because Benfelden was given up without the expected payment, and still more because the generalissimo of the allied armies was to be a German prince, a circumstance that lowered his position in the empire; he therefore refused to ratify it, dismissed Löffler, the plenipotentiary who had made it, and early in 1635 sent Hugo Grotius to Paris to procure that it should be altered. Grotius having failed in his mission, Oxenstiern himself proceeded into France in April, and had an interview with Louis XIII. at Compiègne. Richelieu, however, would not consent to make any material alteration in the terms, and all that the Swedish Chancellor could obtain was that a fresh treaty should be drawn up for his signature.⁴⁰ On his return from France, Oxenstiern at Magdeburg nearly became the prisoner of his own mutinous troops; but Baner rescued him and sent him to the coast. He arrived in Sweden in the summer of 1636, and never returned into Germany.⁴¹

In these transactions Richelieu endeavoured to avoid an open breach with the Emperor, though the French and Imperial troops could not avoid coming into collision. In December 1634 Marshals La Force and De Brézé had compelled the Imperialists and Bava-

³⁹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 79.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 88.

⁴¹ Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B: iii. SS. 305, 342.

rians to raise the siege of Heidelberg, defended by a Swedish garrison. In January 1635 the Imperialists took Philippsburg from the French, and two months after a Spanish corps surprised Trèves, cut the French garrison to pieces, and carried off the Elector, Philip Christopher, a prisoner to Antwerp. This event had important consequences. Richelieu immediately demanded the Elector's liberation from the Cardinal-Infant, the new governor of the Netherlands, who had now arrived there with his army; and on Ferdinand's delaying, on the pretext that he must await the orders of the Imperial and Spanish Courts, war was openly declared by a French herald at Brussels, May 19th 1635. So haughty was the tone adopted by France that the Spanish ambassador at Paris departed without taking leave, while the French ambassador at Madrid was arrested. On the 6th of June Louis XIII. published a declaration of the motives which had led to this rupture; a prelude to the colossal strife that was to follow. The Elector of Trèves, who, like several other princes of the empire, had been put under the Imperial ban for having admitted French troops into Ehrenbreitstein and other places, was finally carried to Vienna, where he was kept a prisoner ten years. Another grave cause of offence was his having named Richelieu his coadjutor; a step by which that Cardinal might have eventually secured a vote as one of the Electors of the empire; but his nomination was disallowed by Pope Urban VIII.

In Germany, meanwhile, affairs had assumed a new face by the peace of Prague. After the overthrow at Nördlingen, the only Swedish force consisted of Baner's army, encamped at Leitmeritz in Bohemia, which immediately broke up and proceeded into Thuringia. The difficulties of Baner's position were increased by his disputes with the Elector of Saxony about movements and quarters. John George had been long wavering, and the disaster at Nördlingen determined him to go over to the Emperor. Negotiations were opened at Pirna; better terms were offered to the Elector than he might reasonably have anticipated, particularly the cession to him of Lusatia, which had been made over to him as a pledge in 1621; preliminaries were signed at Pirna in November 1634, and on May 30th 1635 was definitely concluded the PEACE OF PRAGUE.

With regard to the affairs of religion, it was agreed by this treaty that all *mediate* possessions of the Church,—that is, such as did not depend immediately on the Emperor, but on some Protestant prince,—secularised before the Peace of Passau, should remain to the Protestants for ever; and that all other *mediate* possessions, and such *immediate* ones as had been confiscated since

the Peace of Passau, should remain to them for forty years, in the condition in which they were November 12th 1627. Before the forty years expired, a mixed commission was to settle how such property should be proceeded with at the end of the term, the length of which, however, evidently rendered the concession equivalent to an absolute surrender. *The immediate nobility and the Imperial cities were to be permitted the exercise of the Lutheran worship; a privilege, however, granted only to Silesia among the provinces subject to the House of Austria.

With regard to political affairs, the hereditary right of the House of Austria to the Bohemian crown was acknowledged; Lusatia was ceded to the Elector of Saxony as a fief, and his son was invested with the administration of Magdeburg; Pomerania was to be made over to the Elector of Brandenburg, in case he acceded to the treaty; a general amnesty was to be granted; all leagues were to be dissolved, and the paramount authority of the Emperor was to be everywhere acknowledged. It was also agreed that the Duke of Lorraine should be re-established in his duchy. The Emperor could not be induced to make any concessions respecting the Palatinate or the Bohemian Protestants.⁴² By an express article, the Elector was to assist in expelling the Swedes from Germany, and thus Saxony was pledged to a war. Such was the return made by John George to the Swedes, whose King had fallen in defending his Electorate!

This peace brought a storm of obloquy on John George; he was accused of sacrificing the family of the unfortunate Palatine to the vengeance of the Emperor, and of arming Germany against the Swedes, who had thrice been the means of saving his dominions. Nevertheless, by degrees, all the princes and states of the empire acceded to the Treaty of Prague, with the exception of Hesse Cassel and one or two others. The Swedish Government also desired peace; and Oxenstiern, whom they accused of opposing it, while Richelieu was reproaching him with having lost all courage for the prosecution of the war⁴³, was placed in a most difficult situation. The Swedish States, however, assembled in the autumn of 1635, recognised the impossibility of acceding to the Treaty of Prague. The Elector of Saxony, who had made it, was after all only a subject, and any treaty that Sweden should enter into, must, with regard both to her dignity and safety, be made directly with the Emperor. But Oxenstiern's proposals to the Court of Vienna remained unanswered.⁴⁴

⁴² The treaty is in *Londorp*, t. iv. p. 468; *Dumont*, t. vi. pt. i. p. 88.

⁴³ *Mémoires*, t. viii. p. 352, t. ix. p. 5.
⁴⁴ *Geijer*, B. iii. S. 302 f.

Towards the end of May 1635, the French, after defeating the Spanish forces under the Piedmontese Prince of Carignano, who had endeavoured to obstruct their passage, formed a junction with the Dutch at Maestricht; when the Prince of Orange took the command in chief of the allied forces. The campaign, however, went against the allies. The brutality displayed by both armies at the taking of Tillemont, exasperated the Belgians, who, instead of listening to offers of independence, threw themselves into the arms of the Spaniards. The Peace of Prague enabled the Emperor to send Piccolomini with 20,000 men into Belgium; another division threatened the Isle of Batavia; and the allies, instead of conquering Belgium, found themselves reduced to defend Holland. The Imperialists under Galas were also successful on the Rhine. The French, pressed on all sides, were compelled to abandon the Middle Rhine, the course of the Main and Neckar, and even of the Lower Moselle and Sarre, without fighting a single great battle.

The French campaign in Italy was not more successful. A league had been concluded at Rivoli, July 11th 1635, between Louis XIII. and the Dukes of Savoy, Parma, and Mantua, for the invasion and partition of the Milanese.⁴⁵ The share of each power was to be proportioned to the troops furnished, but France promised to renounce her portion in consideration of receiving some places in Piedmont. In general, however, the alliance of France was regarded in Italy with suspicion. Pope Urban VIII. was not disposed to join a league against the House of Austria, and had, as we have seen, shown himself hostile to Richelieu in the matter of the coadjutorship of Trèves. Venice also excused herself, and Genoa was too closely connected by commercial and other interests with Spain to undertake anything against her. The Duke of Rohan, who commanded some French detachments in the Valteline, distinguished himself against the Austrians; but the projected invasion of the Milanese proved a failure, chiefly through the tardiness and want of zeal of the Duke of Savoy.

The Italian campaign in 1636 was not more glorious or important, while France herself was threatened by the progress of the Imperialists. In September, King Ferdinand issued from his headquarters at Breisach a manifesto in which he detailed the acts of hostility committed by Louis XIII. against the Emperor, and expressed his determination to invade France, but promised to protect the inhabitants.⁴⁶ In pursuance of this declaration, Gallas and the Marquis of Grana entered France in October with 20,000

⁴⁵ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 109.

⁴⁶ Londorp, t. iv. p. 572.

men and took Mirebeau; but they were soon compelled to retreat, chiefly through the lateness of the season and the nature of the country, with great loss of artillery and baggage. At another point the Spanish Imperialists under Piccolomini and John von Werth had been more successful. They had crossed the Somme in August and invaded Picardy; bands of Croats and Hungarians devastated the country between that river and the Oise with fire and sword, and filled Paris itself with alarm. The roads from that metropolis swarmed with fugitives. Richelieu was loudly accused of having provoked the war; of his alliance with heretics; of leaving Paris unfortified while he was building his "Palais Cardinal." But the Imperialists, instead of marching on Paris, contented themselves with taking Corbie; whence, however, they were driven by a large force quickly raised by Richelieu. Their retreat was unmolested. In the same year the Spaniards made an abortive descent on Brittany. In the south they were more successful; where, crossing the Bidassoa, they occupied Andaye, St. Jean de Luz, and Socoa; but these places they were forced to evacuate in 1637 by their ill success in Languedoc. In the same year Rohan was driven from the Valteline.

With regard to Germany, Duke Bernhard had concluded in October 1635 a treaty with the French Court by which Louis XIII. engaged to pay him annually 4,000,000 livres for the maintenance of an army of 12,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry. This was the commencement of the short but brilliant career which terminated with Bernhard's death in 1639. His motives, in the situation of Germany at that time, could only have been selfish. He hoped to cut out for himself, amidst the chaos of confusion, a kingdom, or at least a duchy. By a secret article of his agreement with France he was to be invested with the landgraviate, or county, of Alsace, together with Hagenau, and all the rights before possessed by the House of Austria. On the other hand he agreed not to molest the Catholics in their religion.

After the Peace of Prague, Baner found himself in a critical situation, especially as the truce with Poland was on the point of expiring. King Wladislaus, who had ascended the throne of Poland on the death of Sigismund III. in 1632, seemed inclined for war, and the Swedes might thus be exposed to another enemy in their rear. The danger was enhanced by the suspicion that Denmark would also resort to arms; but Christian IV. was propitiated by ceding the bishopric of Bremen to his second son, Duke Frederick, who had been appointed coadjutor of the deceased bishop. Baner, to secure himself, determined on marching into

Mecklenburg, and amused the Elector of Saxony two months with negotiations respecting his accession to the Treaty of Prague. He was relieved in September from any danger on the side of Poland by the prolongation for twenty-six years of the truce, effected through French mediation, assisted by ambassadors from England, Holland and Brandenburg, on condition of the Swedes restoring West Prussia. Torstenson, the Swedish commander in Prussia, was thus enabled to proceed into Germany with reinforcements. Baner had marched through Magdeburg to the Aller, where on the west he was threatened by Duke George of Lüneburg, on the south by the Saxons under Baudis. After Baner had concluded his pretended negotiations, the Elector of Saxony appeared personally in his army and directed Baudis to attack the Swedes. This is usually called the "Saxon Blood-Order." Baudis, however, could not prevent Baner from crossing the Elbe; and the Swedes even obtained a superiority over the Saxons by defeating, under the conduct of General Ruthven, a Scotchman, a Saxon division of 6000 or 7000 men near the little Mecklenburg town of Dömitz. Baner himself also gained some advantages at Goldberg and Kiritz; and, being joined by Torstenson and his troops from Prussia, he not only compelled the Saxons to evacuate Pomerania, but also found himself enabled to recross the Elbe. Early in 1636 he pressed forwards as far as Halle, and even sent parties over the Saale. The Saxons remained quiet till joined towards the end of March by the Imperial general Hatzfeld; when they attacked and defeated the Swedes near Magdeburg, and forced that town to capitulate. This reverse, however, was soon compensated by a decisive victory. John George attempting to form a junction with the Brandenburg general Klitzing, Baner attacked and completely defeated him at Wittstock (September 24th), capturing all the Elector's artillery, and even his baggage and plate. John George fled precipitately to Meissen. Instead of pursuing him Baner first proceeded into Hesse, where the Landgrave William V. had been gaining some advantages. William had been persuaded by his wife, Amelia Elizabeth, hereditary Countess of Hanau, a zealous Protestant, to break off all negotiations for acceding to the Peace of Prague, and to unite with Alexander Leslie, a Scotch general trained in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, who commanded, in Lower Saxony and Westphalia, some regiments raised with French money. In December Baner proceeded through Erfurt into Saxony, defeated the Saxons at Eilenburg early in January 1637, and captured several of their regiments; when all the men and some of the officers entered the Swedish service. After a vain attempt

upon Leipsic, Baner crossed the Elbe and took up a position at Torgau; but here he was surrounded by the enemy, and for nearly five months lay in a most critical situation.

This period was marked by the death of the Emperor Ferdinand II., who expired at Vienna, February 15th 1637, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was perhaps, in the main, a well-meaning man, but led into an ill policy, arbitrary and illegal proceedings, and even into crime, by his bigoted religious ideas, the influence of priests and Jesuits, and mistaken notions of his duty as a sovereign. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III., who had been elected King of the Romans in the cathedral of Ratisbon only a little while before (December 22nd 1636), by the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, Mentz, Cologne, and Maximilian of Bavaria; but as the Elector of Trèves was then a prisoner, and as the son of the Palatine Frederick was also absent from Ratisbon, France and Sweden took occasion to protest against the validity of the proceedings.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM his success at Nördlingen, Ferdinand III. was thought to possess military talent, and it was hoped that he would take the personal command of the army; but, on pretence of the gout, he delegated that office to men like Gallas, Götz, Hatzfeld, Piccolomini, and others, who were far inferior to Duke Bernhard and Baner. The Thirty Years' War was to linger on more than another decade; but, after the disappearance from the scene of its earlier heroes, Tilly, Wallenstein, Gustavus Adolphus, its incidents possess but little interest, except, perhaps for the military student, and we shall therefore record them as briefly as possible. Its history assumes a most repulsive character. The war seems to be carried on merely for its own sake, without any great or even definite object, and to gratify the cupidity or ambition of a few leaders, excited by the subtle and selfish policy of France. Count Peter Brahe, who was despatched by the Swedish government into Germany to assist Oxenstiern, describes in his *Journal* the German princes as divided among themselves and pursuing only their own private ends, while both high and low were seduced by French gold.¹ Two armies in the pay of foreign powers, yet composed for the most part of Germans, traversed the empire in its breadth and length, plundering and maltreating their own countrymen and reducing their fatherland to the condition of a desert. Even among the Swedes, the strict discipline at first maintained by Gustavus Adolphus had been gradually declining, and after the defeat at Nördlingen vanished altogether.² Such were the crimes and cruelties they committed, that Baner himself confessed it would be no wonder if the earth should open and by a just decree of Providence swallow up the wretches who were guilty of them.³ To record these scenes would be to describe every atrocity which human nature, in its most savage and degraded state, is capable of committing. The country was systematically wasted by the hostile armies in order to deprive their adversaries of subsistence, and

¹ Apud Geijer, B. iii. S. 294.

² See the complaints of the Elector of Mentz in Röse, *Herzog Bernhard der*

Grosse von Sachsen-Weimar, B. ii. S. 9.

³ Geijer, B. iii. S. 306, Anm.

hence a famine was engendered so grievous that the miserable inhabitants are said to have eaten carrion, and to have haunted the knacker's yard, nay, even the gallows and the cemetery, to obtain a meal. Parents killed their children to eat their flesh, and gangs of cannibals were formed, who hunted down their fellow-men like beasts of the field. The famine was accompanied with contagious pestilences, which carried off thousands of the soldiers as well as of the inhabitants. The crimes of the soldiery were too dreadful and disgusting to be described. The violation of women was frequently accompanied with mutilation or death. No age no sex was spared. Persons were made to swallow the most disgusting ordure; children torn from their mothers were hacked in pieces or roasted on the ends of spears; men were baked in ovens or set up as targets for the soldiery.⁴ The effects on property and population may be estimated from a statement regarding the Duchy of Würtemberg alone, which between the years 1628 and 1650 is computed to have lost 118,742,864 florins, without reckoning the damage accruing from the uncultivated and desert condition of the lands. With regard to the population, 345,000 men are said to have perished between the years 1634 and 1641, and the Duchy which had formerly contained about half a million inhabitants, counted in the last-named year scarce 48,000! Even six years after the Peace of Westphalia, when many of those who had fled into Switzerland had returned, there were 50,000 households less than there had been previously to the battle of Nördlingen.⁵

In June 1637, Baner succeeded in extricating himself from his compromised situation at Torgau, and in gaining Pomerania, crossing the Oder in the face of Gallas and a far superior force. At Schwedt, he was joined by General Wrangel, father of the celebrated Charles Gustavus Wrangel; but the Swedes had great difficulty in maintaining themselves in Pomerania in this and the succeeding year. The Imperial cause was also successful in the south. In June, Ehrenbreitstein was compelled to capitulate by John von Werth. The French had before lost Coblenz, and now retained nothing in the electorate of Trèves. The year 1638

⁴ These horrible scenes are described in a sermon delivered at Nuremberg in April 1638, and translated into English under the title of *Lachrymæ Germaniæ, or the Teares of Germany*. See p. 47 sqq.

⁵ Spittler, *Gesch. Württembergs*, ap. Schlosser, xiv. 283. The sad condition of Germany, from the effects of the Thirty Years' War, has been described by Paul Gerhardt, a contemporary poet: —

“Das drückt uns Niemand besser
In unsre Seel' und Herz hinein,
Als ihr zerstörten Schlösser
Und Städte voller Schutt und Stein;
Ihr vormals schönen Felder
Mit frischer Saat bestreut,
Jetzt aber lauter Wälder
Und dürre, wüste Heyd'.”

Gerhardt's *Leben und Lieder*, S. 704.

opened under more favourable auspices for France. Duke Bernhard, breaking up in January from his winter-quarters in the Jura mountains, seized Lauffenburg, Seckingen, and Waldshut, three of the Forest Towns under the protection of Austria, and laid siege to Rheinfelden, the fourth. John von Werth, arriving with a large force to its relief, compelled Bernhard to retire upon Lauffenburg (February 28th). In the affair which took place on this occasion, the Duke of Rohan, the son-in-law of Sully and illustrious head of the French Protestants, who was serving as a volunteer in Bernhard's army, received a wound which caused his death in a few weeks. Only three days after his defeat, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, with unparalleled boldness, led his army against the Imperialists, who were still engaged in celebrating their victory, and were totally unprepared for an attack. In the battle of Rheinfelden, March 3rd, Bernhard captured all the enemy's artillery, baggage and standards, beside the terrible John von Werth himself, and three other Imperial generals. The conquest of Rheinfelden, Freiburg, and the whole of the Breisgau was the fruit of this victory. Having been reinforced by several thousand French under Count Guébriant and Viscount Turenne, Bernhard laid siege to Breisach; which, however, held out till December 17th. After its fall, Bernhard marched into Franche Comté, reduced the fortresses and put his troops into winter-quarters.

Louis XIII. and Richelieu looked upon these conquests as their own. Bernhard, it was imagined, might be bought; he wanted two million livres for a new campaign, and he was invited to Paris to treat on the subject. All France was then *en fête* for the birth of a dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV. After twenty-two years of unfruitful marriage, Anne of Austria had given birth to a son September 5th 1638. On the occasion of the Queen's pregnancy, Louis XIII. realised a project he had previously formed, and put his crown and kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, by what has been called "*le Vœu de Louis XIII.*" The grand festivals that were to take place in honour of this event were held out to Bernhard as an inducement to visit Paris; but Grotius, then Swedish ambassador at the French Court, warned him not to come. Bernhard sent in his stead Von Erlach, a patrician of Bern, to whom he had intrusted the command of Breisach. Von Erlach was not exempt from that passion for French gold which then raged like a contagion among the Swiss; he consented to become a spy on Bernhard, and promised that after the Duke's death all his conquests should be made over to France. The contemplated contingency was not long in arriving. Early in July 1639 Bern-

hard took boat up the Rhine, intending to proceed by Neuenburg into the Breisgau and thence into the interior of Germany. Although seized with a violent sickness at Hünningen, he persisted in continuing his journey, and died on board the vessel, July 18th, at the early age of thirty-six. He had had a misunderstanding, though not exactly a quarrel, with Richelieu on the subject of Breisach; whence arose a suspicion of his having been poisoned, for which, however, there was no foundation.⁶ Richelieu wanted possession of that fortress, while Bernhard wished to make it the capital of his projected sovereignty of Alsace and the Breisgau; which he contemplated enlarging by a marriage with Amelia Elizabeth, widow of the Landgrave William of Hesse.

Bernhard, by his will, had intrusted the administration of his conquests to Count Otho William of Nassau, the Baron Von Erlach, and Colonels Ehen and Rosen, and had instructed these generals, who called themselves the "Directory" of the Weimar army, to offer them to a prince of the House of Weimar: but Von Erlach conspired with Guébriant to defeat the Duke's intentions; a project the more easy, as none of Bernhard's brothers would accept the command. Soon after Bernhard's death, Ehen and Nassau went to Worms, and Rosen proceeded against the Forest Towns; their enterprises were successful, but meanwhile they had left Von Erlach and Guébriant in Neuenburg, where they could carry on their intrigues with the French government undisturbed. Towards the end of September, the Weimarian generals having been again driven out of the conquests they had made, and being further embarrassed by the demands of their unpaid mercenaries, Von Erlach persuaded his brother Directors to leave everything to him. On the 9th of October a treaty was concluded with France, by which the Weimarian generals were to receive 2,100,000 livres per annum, and to retain the gifts made to them, and the governments intrusted to them, by Duke Bernhard.⁷ On the other hand, they agreed to serve the French King, who was to name the commandants of Freiburg and Breisach, the garrisons of which places were to be half French, half German; and though the Directory retained the right of nominating the commandants in other places, yet both these and their soldiers were to take an oath of fidelity to Louis. The better part of Suabia and Alsace was, in fact, sold to France; and Breisach, Benfeld, Freiburg, the Forest Towns on the Rhine and throughout the Breisgau, hoisted the French colours.

⁶ See on this subject Röse, *Bernhard*, Th. ii. S. 206, Anm. The Austrian and B. ii. S. 328 ff., and Barthold in the *Gesch. des grossen deutschen Krieges*. Spanish courts were also suspected.

⁷ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 185.

Thus France profited by the death of Duke Bernhard, as she had done before by that of Gustavus Adolphus, and inherited the fruit of exploits which she had indeed paid for, and in some degree partaken, but which she can hardly be said to have performed.

The object of Duke Bernhard's fatal journey was to form a junction with the Swedes, who were marching southwards from Mecklenburg and Pomerania in order to deliver a decisive battle. The latter of these principalities they had reduced to the condition of a Swedish province. Baner after receiving reinforcements from Sweden in the autumn of 1638, as well as a supply of French gold, began to march towards the south, while Gallas retreated before him, and the Saxons were vanquished in every encounter. After an abortive attempt on Freiberg in March 1639, Baner defeated the Saxon army at Chemnitz, and captured and destroyed Pirna. Hence he pressed on into Bohemia, and appeared before Prague, May 20th; but the position of the Imperialists on the White Mountain appearing too strong to be assaulted, he retired to Leitmeritz till October; during which period his divisions wasted the country round, and penetrated into Silesia and Moravia.

Meanwhile Hatzfeld had destroyed in Westphalia an army raised with English money, and commanded by Charles Louis and Rupert, sons of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, neither of whom had any military talent. Hatzfeld surprised them in the spring of 1639 at Vlotho, routed their army, and captured Rupert; Charles Louis, who lost everything, and almost his life into the bargain in crossing the Weser, escaped to Minden; whence he afterwards repaired to London. After the death of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, Charles I. and the Prince of Orange, the nearest relatives of the young Elector, supplied him with money to purchase the services of the Weimar army, and in October 1639 Charles Louis took the route through Paris in order to join it, travelling under the assumed but easily to be detected name of Louis Stuart. Richelieu hearing of his designs, of which he had foolishly talked, caused him to be apprehended at Moulins and carried to Vincennes; and it was not till the following spring that he obtained his liberation through the intercession of Amelia Elizabeth of Hesse.

England, engaged at that period in working out her liberty, could not assume in the wars and negociations of the Continent a part befitting a great nation. The treaty between France and Holland, which assigned so large a portion of the coast of Flanders to the former country, was clearly most inimical to English interests; and Richelieu had despatched the Count d'Estrades into England in 1637, to assure himself of the neutrality of the Eng-

lish Court. Charles I. answered proudly and worthily, that not only would he not consent to such an appropriation of the Flemish coast, but that he would do all in his power to hinder it; and to Richelieu's offer to support him against his subjects, he replied, that his own authority and the law of the land sufficed. Queen Henrietta, now reconciled with her husband, was also found impracticable; and Richelieu, nettled by the rejection of his offers, declared that they should repent it within a year. He determined to revenge himself by exciting the malcontents both in England and Scotland. As early as 1635 the Scots appear to have reckoned on the support of France in opposing episcopality. Richelieu employed one of his chaplains, a Scot named Chambers, as a go-between with the Covenanters, and when the disturbances broke out in Scotland, the French ministers were unable to conceal their joy.⁸ In 1640 the secretary of the Covenant made a formal demand for the mediation of Louis XIII.; which was however declined. The paper fell into the hands of the English ministry, but Louis XIII. disclaimed all knowledge of it, although both Richelieu and Bellièvre, the French ambassador in England, were privy to the demand. Richelieu had similar connections with the English malcontents, and Charles I. always regarded him as one of the chief promoters of his misfortunes. There was a French party in the House of Commons, which informed Richelieu of all that passed there regarding France, and the five members whom Charles had intended to apprehend are said to have absented themselves on a hint which they received from the French ambassador.⁹ Charles revenged himself by giving an asylum to Richelieu's former friend, but now bitter enemy, Mary de' Medici, the Queen-mother, who, after her expulsion from France, had hired an assassin to kill the Cardinal. Mary, hurt by the little attention paid to her by the Spaniards, quitted Belgium in the summer of 1638 for Holland, and afterwards went into England, where Queen Henrietta interested herself in favour of her mother. But Louis XIII. would listen to the intercessions neither of the Dutch States nor Charles I. for her return into France, and could only be brought to offer her a retreat in Italy. Driven from England by the rebellion, Mary de' Medici again retired to Holland, and thence to Cologne, where she died July 3rd 1642.

Richelieu, whose fate it was, though a zealous advocate of the

* Brienne, *Mémoires*, t. ii. p. 51; Siri, *Mémoire reconditte*, t. viii. p. 800; Dalrymple, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 47; Mazure, *Hist. de la Révol. de 1688*, t. iii. note

4^{ème}, p. 402 sqq.

* Mazure, *Ibid.* p. 429. Cf. *Despatch of Richard Browne*, Nov. 29th 1641, ap. Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.* B. ii. S. 506.

Romish Church and of absolute power, to be the supporter from political motives of heretics and rebels, adopted the same line of conduct in Spain as he pursued in England. The affairs of the Spanish peninsula were now assuming a threatening aspect; Biscay and Catalonia, the only provinces which continued to retain any independence, were ripe for revolt; while the kingdom of Portugal was meditating the expulsion of the Spanish House and the restoration of the line of Braganza; a revolution accelerated by the intrigues of Richelieu.¹⁰ Biscay and Catalonia shared neither the burthens nor the advantages of Castile; they were exempt from the heavy taxes of that country, but they were also excluded, as "foreign," from the commerce of the East and West Indies. Catalonia, with its dependencies Rousillon and Cerdagne, recognised the King of Spain only as the successor of the Counts of Barcelona, and even required that its envoys at Madrid should be treated on the same footing as foreign ambassadors. Philip IV. and his minister, the Count-Duke Olivarez, resolved to put an end to this anomaly. In the French campaign in Rousillon in 1639 the Catalans had at first displayed some zeal and alacrity. Salces having been taken by Condé, the States of Catalonia had levied an army of 12,000 men to co-operate with the Spaniards under the Marquis de los Balbases for its recovery, which was ultimately effected. But this success was to cost Spain dear. During the long siege—the French commandant did not surrender till January 1640—the Catalan ranks were thinned by desertion, and the municipal bodies were negligent in furnishing the military supplies. Olivarez seized the occasion to assert the authority of Spain. The Count de Santa Coloma, viceroy of Catalonia, was directed to make the men proceed to the wars, even if it were necessary to send them bound hand and foot; the very women were to be compelled to carry on their backs corn, oats, and straw, for the use of the army. Articles required for the soldiery were seized without scruple; even the beds of the gentry were carried off. Matters became still worse after the recapture of Salces. The royal army was distributed in winter-quarters in Rousillon and Catalonia, and the soldiers, a mixture of Castilians, Neapolitans, and Irish, were permitted, nay encouraged, to oppress the inhabitants in every possible way. As if they had been in an enemy's country, the women were outraged, the villages and even the churches were plundered.

It was not likely that such things should be tamely borne by a

¹⁰ Weiss, *L'Espagne depuis Philippe II.* t. i. p. 376.

people in so rude a state of civilisation as the Catalans, among whom it was then a common practice for a man who had got into any difficulties to turn *bandolero*, or brigand: such a step was called "going to the mountains," and was far from being regarded as a disgrace. Olivarez, at the very moment when the population were thus exasperated, ordered the Viceroy to levy 6000 soldiers in Catalonia, who, contrary to the privileges of that country, were to be sent abroad; they were to be taught that they must serve his Catholic Majesty in all quarters, like other subjects of the monarchy. At this order the amusements of the Carnival were suspended at Barcelona; the Bishop of Gerona excommunicated the perpetrators of the violences and sacrileges which prevailed in his diocese; remonstrances were addressed to the cabinet of Madrid, but received with coldness and contempt. The Viceroy seized a sum of money belonging to the city of Barcelona wherewith to pay his troops, and imprisoned the magistrates who expostulated with him. But the day of vengeance was at hand. Annually, towards Corpus Christi day, it was customary for large bands of mountaineers to repair to Barcelona and its neighbourhood to hire themselves for the harvest; a rude half-savage race, with knives at their girdles and huge horns depending from their shoulder-belts. As is usual in large gatherings, fury spreads as by contagion; one man animates another; they enter Barcelona, the burgesses join them, and every Castilian and foreigner that can be found is massacred. The Viceroy himself, while hastening to the port to embark on board ship, falls by the hand of an assassin (June 7th 1640). All the towns of Catalonia and Rousillon followed the example of the capital; the royal army was dispersed, and of all the great towns succeeded only in retaining Perpignan.

The Court of Madrid was naturally filled with alarm; especially as symptoms of insubordination were manifesting themselves, not only in Portugal, but even in Aragon, the Balearic islands, and Naples. Olivarez resorted to negociation and finesse. The Duke of Cardona, who succeeded Santa Coloma as viceroy, was instructed to conciliate the Catalans; but he speedily died of fear and vexation. The Bishop of Barcelona was then appointed, and in conjunction with Olivarez endeavoured to divide and amuse the Catalans. But the three deputies-general of the Catalan States, who formed the executive government of the province, were not to be duped. In August 1640 they entered into negotiations with the French Court, through D'Espanan the governor of Leucate, respecting the establishment of a Catalan republic under the protectorate of France. As a last step the *Brazos*, or Cortés of

Catalonia, assembled at Barcelona in September, intreated Philip IV. to recall the troops which occupied Rousillon, and to countermand those that were on the march to the Lower Ebro; and they declared that they would defend their liberties to the death. But, instead of listening to the envoys of the Cortés, Philip caused them to be arrested; and the Catalans forwarded to all Christian states and princes a manifesto setting forth the injuries they had received. The war had begun in Rousillon, where the insurgents were assisted by D'Espanan, the French governor of Leucate. Du Plessis Besançon, the envoy of Louis XIII., in a public audience with the Catalan deputies at Barcelona, alluded to the bonds which had anciently united their principality to the crown of France; and on the 16th of December 1640 a formal treaty was entered into, and hostages given for the due execution of it, by the Catalans. Louis XIII. engaged to find officers to command the Catalan troops, and to provide, at the expense of that province, an auxiliary corps of 8000 men. Catalonia and its dependencies bound themselves never to participate in any attack upon France, and to open their ports to the French fleets.¹¹

At the same time was consummated another event of still greater importance to the Spanish monarchy—the Portuguese revolution. Sixty years of union with Spain had only rendered Portugal more dissatisfied, because by the House of Austria she had been systematically oppressed, humiliated, and impoverished. None of the promises made by Philip II. were observed. The commerce of Portugal with the East had suffered enormous losses through the disasters of the Spanish monarchy; her military and commercial marine had been almost annihilated in the wars provoked by the Spanish cabinet; while taxes raised on the first necessities of life were applied to the building of the palaces of Buen Retiro and Galinero near Madrid. Nevertheless, Portugal had long suffered in silence, till the strife commencing between France and the House of Austria opened a prospect of redress. Relations had been established between the French Court and some leading Portuguese as early as 1630; and the revolution would probably have broken out long before but for the feeble and irresolute character of John Duke of Braganza, whom the Portuguese patriots destined for the throne, as the representative of their ancient kings. An insurrection had actually occurred in 1637, when the insurgents proclaimed the Duke of Braganza, the grandson of him who had contended with Philip II. for the throne

¹¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 196.

of Portugal¹², for their sovereign; but John, who had no inclination to risk his life and the large possessions still left to him, fled to escape the crown that was thrust upon him.

The rebellion in Catalonia was the immediate cause of the Portuguese revolution. Portugal was governed by Donna Margaret of Savoy, grand-daughter of Philip II. and duchess-dowager of Mantua, as Vice-Queen; but it was her secretary, Michael Vasconcellos, who actually directed the government. He and Diego Suarez, another Portuguese, who resided at Madrid with the title of Secretary of State, both men of infamous character, had disgusted the Portuguese by their insolence and extortion. Towards the end of 1640 an order had arrived from the Spanish Court, directing the Duke of Braganza and the principal nobles of Portugal to march against the Catalans. The Portuguese resolved to imitate them instead. Pinto Ribeiro, major-duomo of the Duke of Braganza, a man of courage and talent, was the principal leader of the insurrection. Ribeiro had for some time been endeavouring to incite the nobles, and he organised the revolt almost without his master's knowledge. He was well seconded by the Duke's wife, Donna Luisa de Guzman, sister of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a lively, enterprising, and courageous lady. Ribeiro gave the signal for the insurrection by firing a pistol in the royal palace at Lisbon at eight o'clock in the morning (December 1st 1640). The confederates, who had flocked to the palace at an early hour, now began the work of liberation, and being assisted by the townspeople, soon overpowered the German and Spanish guard. In the tumult none distinguished himself more than a priest, who, with a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, now exhorting his friends, now cutting down his foes, cleared the way wherever he appeared. Several of the Spanish ministers were slain. Vasconcellos, who had concealed himself in a closet under a heap of papers, was despatched with a pistol shot and some sabre cuts, and his body thrown out at window. The cry then arose: "The tyrant is slain! Liberty and Don John IV. for ever!" The Vice-Queen, who was arrested and kept as a hostage, was compelled by threats to order the Spanish commandant of the citadel to surrender; and the success of the insurrection being thus assured, a message was despatched to the Duke of Braganza at Villaviciosa to require his presence at Lisbon. He entered that capital December 6th in the very same equipage as had been provided for his journey to Madrid, whither he had been invited by Philip IV. Never was a revolu-

¹² The Duke of Braganza had married one of the nieces of King Henry of Portugal, and the present duke was her grandson.

tion of equal importance conducted more quietly, speedily, and successfully. It seemed as if John IV. ascended the throne of his ancestors in the regular course of succession. He was immediately proclaimed in the other towns of the kingdom; the Portuguese colonies, where the small detachments of Spanish troops could offer no effectual resistance, followed the example of the mother-country, and Ceuta in Morocco was the only settlement which Spain succeeded in retaining. The Portuguese Cortés, which assembled at Lisbon in January 1641, confirmed the title of King John IV., and echoing the voice of liberty raised by the Dutch half a century before, asserted the inherent right of mankind to depose a tyrannical sovereign, even were he legitimate, and not, like the King of Spain, a usurper.¹³

John IV. hastened to contract alliances with France and Holland, each of which powers promised to furnish him with twenty ships of war. England and Sweden also recognised the new king of Portugal, but contented themselves with entering into commercial treaties.¹⁴ The rebellion in Catalonia caused the success of that in Portugal. The whole disposable force of Spain, consisting of some 20,000 men under the Marquis de los Velez, the new viceroy, had been despatched towards the frontiers of Catalonia; and as the disturbances in that country, on account of its vicinity to France, were considered the more important, the troops were not recalled. The progress of Los Velez was marked by fire and massacre. Xerta and Cambril were taken and destroyed, together with their inhabitants; Tarragona was then invested, and as the Catalan army had been dispersed, D'Espanan, who had marched to its relief with 4000 French, was glad to save his own force as well as the town by a capitulation. The Catalan revolution would have been crushed in the bud, but for the energy of Claris, canon of Urgel, and of the French envoy, Du Plessis Besançon. When the Spanish forces appeared before Barcelona, Claris exhorted the citizens rather to bury themselves under the ruins of the town than submit to the butchers of their brethren; while the French envoy organised the means of defence with wonderful quickness and ability, and sustained the courage of the Barcelonese by the promise of speedy and abundant succour from France. In the minds of the Catalans the dejection of fear had been succeeded by the fury of despair. Everybody, even the monks, flew to arms; and the insurgents cut

¹³ On this Revolution see Giov. Batt. Birago Avogaro, *Hist. della disunione del Regno di Portogallo dalla corona di Castiglia*; Vertot, *Révolutions de Portugal*;

Weiss, *L'Espagne depuis le règne de Philippe II. jusqu'à l'avènement des Bourbons*.

¹⁴ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. pp. 202 sqq. 214 sqq.

off the last hope of pardon, by converting the alliance with France, concluded in the preceding month, into a treaty of permanent union with that country (January 23rd 1641).¹⁵ Baffled at Barcelona, Los Velez seized Tarragona, which he succeeded in maintaining against the French by defeating their fleet. For this defeat Richelieu banished to Carpentras the priest-admiral, Sourdis, and threatened to put him on his trial; whilst, on the other hand, Philip IV. imprisoned his admiral, Ferrandina, for not having destroyed the French ships!

Spain, during this period of domestic rebellion and revolution, was almost equally unfortunate in her foreign wars. In the campaign of 1638, indeed, the French had only doubtful success both in the south and north. In Belgium they were forced to raise the siege of St. Omer, but succeeded in taking the two little towns of Renti and Le Câtelet; while in the south, where they had invested Fuentarabia, they were entirely defeated and compelled to recross the Bidassoa. But by way of compensation the French fleet destroyed that of Spain at Guetaria. In the following year the French were again unsuccessful in Artois though victory attended their arms in Rousillon. The severest loss, however, which the Spaniards sustained in 1639 was the destruction by the Dutch of their fleet, the largest which they had sent to sea since the Invincible Armada. The Spanish admiral seeking a refuge from the Dutch on the English coast, was driven from it by Admiral Pennington; for which act, as Charles was in favour of Spain, he was imprisoned. In 1640 the French, besides their successes in Piedmont, where they took Turin, captured Arras the capital of Artois, and long the rampart of the Netherlands against France. The inhabitants stipulated in their capitulation for the maintenance of their Parliament and States, exemption from the *gabelle*, or salt tax, and for the proscription of Protestantism. In the following year the affairs of the Netherlands were not marked by any important event except the death of the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand, who expired November 9th 1641 of an illness caused, or at all events aggravated, by the fatigues of the war. Son and brother of two monarchs remarkable for their incapacity, Ferdinand had distinguished himself in the defence of Belgium both by military and political talents of the first order. He was succeeded at Brussels by Don Francisco de Mello, an active and able captain.

¹⁵ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 197 sqq. By this treaty Catalonia remained united almost twelve years with France. Amidst articles which savoured of republican

freedom, the Catalans stipulated for the maintenance of the Inquisition, subject to that of Rome! (*Art. iii.*)

Meanwhile in Germany the Swedes under Baner had been compelled, in the spring of 1640, to evacuate Bohemia and to retreat through Saxony into Thuringia; and in May they formed a junction at Erfurt with the Weimarian army under the Duke of Longueville and Marshal Guébriant. The Swedish cause looked now more prosperous, as Amelia Elizabeth, the widow of the Landgrave William V. of Hesse Cassel, and at that period one of the most remarkable sovereigns of Germany, had, after two years of hesitation and negotiations with the Court of Vienna, resolved again to appeal to arms. The Landgrave her husband had in 1636 been put under the ban of the empire, and his possessions had been confiscated; the States of his own dominions were against him; he was compelled to become a fugitive in Holland and Germany, while Hesse became the prey of the Imperial Croats and mercenaries. In the midst of these misfortunes he expired (September 1637), leaving his widow the guardian of their eldest son William, then eight years of age, and Regent of Hesse. That principality had been made over by the Emperor to the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and, to avoid the evils of war, the Landgravine's Council, as well as the Hessian States, and Melander who commanded her army, pressed her to accede unconditionally to the Peace of Prague. But Amelia Elizabeth, who hated the Saxon Lutherans as much as she did her Imperial and Catholic enemies, would listen to no terms that did not place her Calvinist subjects on the same footing as the Protestants belonging to the Confession of Augsburg; she retired for a year into Holland, and afterwards, by protracting the negotiations with the Emperor, secured for a time the peace of her dominions. During this period she was her own minister and secretary, and nobody could tell what her conduct would be. Melander, who had been her adviser as well as her general, went over to the Imperialists; a circumstance, however, which, through his favour with the Emperor, procured some respite for Hesse Cassel. It was not till January 1639 that the Landgravine left Groningen with her son, and in the autumn of that year she united her forces with those of Duke George of Lüneburg. Duke Augustus of Wolfenbüttel and other Guelph princes afterwards acceded to this little League; but they agreed not to join the Swedes, except in extreme necessity.

This necessity arose when the Imperial generals Piccolomini and Hatzfeld threatened to attack the Swedes in Thuringia. The Emperor had now deprived Gallas of the chief command, and given it to his brother the Archduke Leopold William, who, as Piccolomini was always at his side, proved more fortunate than most

ecclesiastical generals. Leopold, who was bishop of Passau and Strasburg, archbishop of Olmütz, and claimant of the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, though not exempt from that love of strong drink which was the failing of the age, had at least the appearance and reputation of sanctity. So remarkable was his asceticism and chastity that he denied himself the smell of flowers, and could scarce endure the presence even of his sisters; hence his father attributed a peculiar efficacy to his prayers, and gave him the name of the "Angel." It was by command of Leopold that Piccolomini and Hatzfeld, uniting their scattered divisions, had gradually driven Baner into Thuringia. Baner approached Piccolomini near Saalfeld; but his position was too strong to be attacked, and the hostile armies went into winter-quarters without anything important having been done.

In mid-winter Baner persuaded Guébriant to assist him in a bold attempt to carry off the Emperor from Ratisbon. Baner, having been joined at Neustadt on the Orla by 6000 of the Weimarian army, and a few hundred French cavalry (December 26th), after a masterly march through the Upper Palatinate which completely deceived the Imperialists, appeared unexpectedly before Ratisbon, January 17th 1641, in which city a Diet was holding to debate the conditions of a general peace. Ferdinand III. displayed great presence of mind on the occasion; he adopted excellent measures of defence, and, to show his contempt of the enemy, went out hunting with his usual state: a piece of bravado, however, which he had nearly cause to rue; for some of the Swedes, who had passed the river, seized a great part of his splendid equipage, and it was with some difficulty that he himself escaped. Ratisbon was saved by a sudden thaw, which prevented Baner crossing the Danube with the bulk of his army, and compelled him to a precipitate retreat; in which, as the roads were bad and the pursuit hot, the Swedes suffered much. Baner, however, succeeded in reaching Halberstadt, where he shortly after died (May 10th 1641). It was said that he and two or three more of the Protestant generals had been poisoned by a French monk; but his death seems to have been hastened by one of those terrible carouses then in fashion, held at Hildesheim in the preceding October. Of three other partakers in those orgies, Christian of Hesse and Otho of Schaumburg died in the following November, Duke George of Lüneburg in April. Baner, whose health was already declining, was so prostrated by the debauch that he was half dead when he appeared before Ratisbon.

The Elector George William of Brandenburg, the brother-in-law of Gustavus Adolphus, who had made so contemptible a figure

in the Thirty Years' War, also expired in December 1640. He was succeeded by one of the most distinguished princes that Germany possessed during the seventeenth century—Frederick William, the "Great Elector." Circumstances, however, at first allowed him no opportunity to display his talents, and in July 1641 he concluded an advantageous truce with the Swedes, which may be regarded as the first step towards the elevation of Brandenburg. After the death of Baner, the Swedes found in Torstenson a commander equal in military talent to Gustavus Adolphus. Generals Pful, Wittenberg, and Charles Gustavus Wrangel, who immediately succeeded Baner, achieved nothing of importance during the campaign of 1641; except defeating the Imperialists at Wolfenbüttel, June 19th; a victory, however, which led to no result, and they subsequently found it necessary to retreat into Westphalia. The Swedish army, or rather the Germans of whom it was chiefly composed, were in a state of destitution and mutiny, and were often compelled to sell their arms and horses in order to obtain food. When Torstenson with some Swedish reinforcements came to take the command of them in the middle of November he found them at Winsen on the Aller.

The prospect before him was not encouraging. Pful and Wrangel had for different causes taken offence, and absented themselves from the army; Wittenberg had broken his leg; the Guelph Dukes had abandoned the Swedish alliance; Melander, the general of Amelia Elizabeth, had thrown off the mask, and changing his name to Holzapfel became a Catholic and Imperialist; Guébriant was gone with the Weimarian troops to the Rhine. Torstenson himself was so ill that when he broke up from his quarters in 1642 it was necessary for him to be carried in a litter. Yet his enterprises astonished all Europe. After defeating the Imperialists under the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg at Schweidnitz, taking that town and several other places (May 1642), Torstenson continued his march through Moravia, captured Olmütz, and despatched marauding expeditions to within a few leagues of Vienna. These wonderfully rapid conquests, however, he was compelled to abandon and retire into Silesia. Here he spent three or four weeks in besieging Brieg, till the advance of Leopold William and Piccolomini again obliged him to retreat, July 21st; when he occupied a fortified camp at Guben, near the confluence of the Neisse and Oder. Being reinforced by 4000 Swedes towards the end of August, he was enabled to resume the offensive, and compelled the Imperialists to raise the siege of Glogau; but, as they cautiously avoided a battle, Torstenson marched into Saxony, and towards

the end of October laid siege to Leipsic. Leopold and Piccolomini hastened to its relief, and on November 2nd was fought what has been called the Second Battle of Leipsic; in which the Archduke was completely defeated, with the loss of all his guns and baggage. Leopold and Piccolomini, who with difficulty saved themselves, fled to Prague, whither they succeeded in rallying a considerable portion of their troops: but, being disgusted soon after by the appointment of Gallas as generalissimo, they resigned their command, and Piccolomini entered the service of Spain. Torstenson after his victory again attacked Leipsic, which he took, December 6th, and levied a heavy contribution on the inhabitants. Then, after a fruitless attempt on Freiberg, he again marched into Silesia and Moravia, with the view of supporting his army. Guébriant had been almost equally successful on the Lower Rhine. After signally defeating the Imperial general Lamboy at Kempen, January 17th 1642, he had succeeded in occupying nearly the whole Electorate of Cologne and the Duchy of Juliers.

Meanwhile in France the policy of Richelieu was hampered and embarrassed by his domestic enemies, and the plots of Gaston d'Orleans, the Count of Soissons, and Cinq-Mars, the youthful favourite of Louis XIII., a son of Marshal D'Effiat. Early in 1642, Louis XIII. and the Cardinal proceeded to the south of France to encourage the army by their presence. In April, the French under Meilleraie took Collivoure and Elne, and blockaded Perpignan; while, in Catalonia, La Motte Houdancourt not only succeeded in defending that province, but even entered Aragon, captured Tamarit and Monçon, and threw forward his van to the gates of Saragossa. But Cinq-Mars, who followed Louis like his shadow, and exercised over him an almost unbounded influence, proposed to the King the murder of Richelieu; nor does Louis appear to have been wholly averse to the enterprise, which seems to have failed only through the irresolution of the contriver. Cinq-Mars was at the same time holding secret communications with the Spanish Court, and concluded an agreement that Gaston, on his retiring to Sedan, should be assisted by Spain with men and money. Cinq-Mars was at the same time endeavouring to effect a peace with Spain; for there were at that time in France two parties, the *Cardinalists* and the *Royalists*, of whom the former were for war and the latter for peace.

Towards the end of April, Louis XIII., accompanied by Cinq-Mars, had proceeded from Narbonne to the French camp before Perpignan; Richelieu, then too ill for the journey, had remained behind; and subsequently, being doubtful of the King's disposition

towards him, had gone to Arles. But reverses in the north, and especially the disastrous defeat of Marshal de Guiche at Honne-court by Don Francisco de Mello, May 26th, brought Louis to his senses, who now addressed to his indispensable minister a letter assuring him of his unalterable affection and esteem. By Chavigni, the messenger who brought it, Richelieu sent to Louis a copy of the treaty which Cinq-Mars had negotiated with the Court of Spain, and which had been forwarded to the Cardinal by some, unknown hand. Cinq-Mars was immediately arrested, and the King hastened to the Cardinal, then at Tarascon, to assure him of his future fidelity. Both were now confirmed invalids. Richelieu was so ill that he could not rise from his bed to receive the King, and it was necessary to place another couch for Louis near the Cardinal's, in order that they might converse together. The King then set off for Paris, leaving the Cardinal with unlimited powers. The Duke of Orleans, as well as the Duke of Bouillon, the commander of the French army in Italy, who were both concerned in Cinq-Mars' plot, were arrested. Gaston, alarmed by threats of death or banishment, basely betrayed his companions, turned informer for the crown, and furnished the necessary evidence against Cinq-Mars, Bouillon, and their accomplice De Thou, a son of the celebrated historian. Louis XIII. degraded himself almost as much as his brother Gaston. Cinq-Mars having asserted that he had undertaken nothing against the Cardinal without the approbation of the King, Louis addressed a letter to the Chancellor, who presided over the commission appointed to try the prisoners, in which he defended himself like an arraigned criminal; admitting that the proposal to murder the Cardinal had been made to him, but asserting that he had rejected it with horror. Cinq-Mars and De Thou were condemned, and executed at Lyon, September 12th. Bouillon escaped by surrendering his town of Sedan.¹⁶

Richelieu, surrounded by his guards, returned by slow journeys to Paris, travelling sometimes by land, sometimes by water. His progress almost resembled a triumph. He was carried in a splendid litter, so broad and lofty that it could not enter the gates of the towns through which he passed, into which he was admitted through breaches made in the walls. He arrived at the Palais Cardinal at Paris, October 17th, but almost immediately retired to his favourite seat at Ruel.

The great Cardinal-Duke now beheld his policy crowned on all sides with success. Not only had he triumphed over his domestic

¹⁶ Respecting this conspiracy, see the *Mémoires* of Montrésor, the *Relation faite par M. de Fontenilles*, and the *Procès*, in the *Archives Curieuses*, t. v. p. 283 sqq. (2^de sér.).

enemies, but the French arms also were everywhere victorious. Francisco de Mello had derived but little advantage from his success at Honnecourt. In Spain, although Philip IV., bursting the torpid fetters in which Olivarez had enchained him, appeared at the head of his army at Saragossa, yet the fall of Perpignan was effected by a victory over the Spanish fleet, and, after suffering the extremities of famine, it surrendered, September 9th 1642. A little after, (October 7th), La Motte defeated the Spanish army under Leganez, which was menacing Lerida; an exploit which procured for him the Duchy of Cardona and the government of Catalonia, resigned by De Brézé. In Italy affairs were equally prosperous. After the death of Duke Victor Amadeus I. in 1637, a stormy minority had ensued in Piedmont. Louis XIII. compelled his sister Christina, the Duchess-dowager of Savoy, to renew the alliance with France; but the regency was contested by her brothers-in-law, Cardinal Maurice of Savoy and Thomas Prince of Carignano, grandfather of the celebrated Prince Eugene. Spain declared for Maurice and Thomas, who seized several places in Piedmont. But the Cardinal of Savoy was defeated at Ivrea by the French under the Count d'Harcourt, April 14th 1641, who also obliged Prince Thomas to raise the siege of Chiavasso. At length in 1642 the two Piedmontese princes recognised Christina as Regent and guardian of her son, and renouncing the Spanish alliance, entered into that of France; when Prince Thomas, being declared general of the French army in Italy, drove the Spaniards from all the places which they held in Piedmont and the Montferrat. But in the midst of these successes the life of Richelieu was drawing to a close. On the 2nd of December he had his last interview with Louis XIII. at the Palais Cardinal, and on the 4th he expired, at the age of fifty-seven.

In spite of his brilliant qualities and the benefits which his policy had conferred upon France, Richelieu died without being lamented by the French people. His maxims were too severe for them; he possessed not that *bonhomie* which had procured for Henry IV. so universal a popularity; nor could his vast schemes of policy be comprehended and appreciated except by a few among the higher and more educated class of Frenchmen. A large proportion even of that class have detested him as the founder of monarchical despotism; nor can it be denied that it was chiefly he who built up the absolute power of the French crown. On the other hand, the experience of repeated revolutions has shown that a strong government, to use a mild term, and what has been called the centralisation of power, seem to be necessary in France; and

in this respect Richelieu must be allowed to have thoroughly understood the genius and the wants of the French nation. The France of that period, however, perceived not this necessity, and the death of the great statesman was celebrated with bonfires in various parts of the kingdom.¹⁷

Richelieu had in the spring dictated his will to a notary at Narbonne. He left the Palais Cardinal to the King, and directed that a million and a half of livres, which he kept in reserve for unforeseen exigencies of state, should also be handed over to Louis. His extensive library he bequeathed to the public. Almost with his last breath he had recommended Mazarine to Louis as his successor, who almost immediately after Richelieu's death was summoned to the Council. The other ministers named by Richelieu were also retained; for the recommendations of such a statesman were not to be neglected.

Louis XIII. did not long survive his great minister. After a protracted decline he expired May 14th 1643 at the age of forty-one. In temper cold and melancholy, though not deficient in courage, he possessed neither eminent virtues nor extraordinary vices; and perhaps the greatest praise that can be accorded to him is, that he was aware of his own mediocrity and was content to resign himself to the direction of a man of genius. By his will he appointed his consort, Anne of Austria, Regent of France during the minority of their son Louis XIV., then only in his fifth year; but, by way of check upon her, he named his brother Gaston Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; and, to control both, he instituted a Council in which everything was to be carried by a majority of votes. It was composed of the Prince of Condé, Cardinal Mazarine, the Chancellor Boutillier the *surintendant* of finance, and his son Chavigni. But Anne by bribing the Dukes of Orleans and Condé obtained the supreme direction of affairs, and granted to the Parliament of Paris, assisted by the Peers, the high privilege of abrogating the late King's will, and abolishing the compulsory Council.

Anne of Austria, now in her forty-second year, inspired universal sympathy by her good looks, her agreeable manners, and her past misfortunes. She was not averse to gallantry, but of the serious, romantic, and Spanish sort; nor, from their letters now published, can it be doubted that she had a passion for Mazarine.¹⁸ That

¹⁷ Griffet, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* t. iii. p. 579. Richelieu thus described to Vieuville his method of acting:—"Je n'ose rien entreprendre sans y avoir bien pensé: mais quand une fois j'ai pris ma résolu-

tion, je vais à mon but, je renverse tout, je fauche tout, et ensuite je couvre tout de ma soutane rouge."—*Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin à la Reine*, en 1651 et 1652, published by the

Cardinal, who, however, had never received priest's orders, was of much the same age as herself, and in person eminently prepossessing. He is supposed to have been the son either of a bankrupt tradesman or artisan of Palermo who settled at Rome, where Mazarine became the *cameriere*, or valet-de-chambre, of the Constable Colonna. His introduction to Richelieu, the origin of his fortune, has been already described; and he who could win and retain the esteem of so acute and severe a judge of mankind must have possessed no ordinary qualities. To the surprise of all and disappointment of many, Anne chose Mazarine for her minister; who had to experience, like Richelieu before him, many intrigues against his power and his life.

The news of Richelieu's death reanimated the enemies of France. Philip IV. of Spain, instigated by the Emperor, by his own consort Elizabeth, and by his nurse, had, as we have already hinted, begun to throw off his voluptuous indolence, and to take a more active part in the military and civil affairs of his kingdom. In January 1643 he dismissed his minister Olivarez, whom his adversaries reproached with detaining the King from the camp and the council-board, and whose policy had of late been everywhere unfortunate. Never, perhaps, has the art of the courtier been exercised with a more brazen felicity than in the method in which Olivarez had announced to Philip IV. the revolution in Portugal. Entering the King's apartment with a smiling countenance, "Sire, he exclaimed, I congratulate your Majesty on the acquisitions you have just made?" "What acquisitions?" inquired Philip. "The Duke of Braganza," replied the minister, "has taken it into his head to be proclaimed King, and your Majesty can therefore confiscate his immense domains." Instead of a confiscation to be acquired, he was announcing the permanent loss of a kingdom.

A congress had now been appointed to assemble in Westphalia to arrange a general peace; Philip and Ferdinand III. resolved to strain every nerve before its opening, and the House of Austria vigorously resumed the offensive on all the theatres of war. On the side of the Netherlands, Don Francisco de Mello, at the head of a fine army, after threatening Arras, suddenly directed his march towards Champagne, and on the 12th of May 1643 Rocroi was invested by his van. Here the Duke d'Enghien, afterwards the renowned Condé, but then a young general in his twenty-third

Soc. de l'Hist. de France. Mazarine tells the Queen, "qu'il se meurt pour elle, qu'il voudroit pouvoir lui envoyer son cœur," &c. Some persons have even thought

that they were secretly married. See the *Préface* of M. Ravenel, p. x. Mazarine is said to have resembled Buckingham.

year, achieved his first victory. In spite of the efforts to detain him of the veteran Marshal De l'Hospital, who had been associated with him as a guide and tutor, D'Enghien flew from the banks of the Somme, defeated the Spaniards, and sent 260 standards to Notre Dame as tokens of his prowess. He next laid siege to Thionville, the strongest place on the Moselle after Metz, and the key of Luxemburg. Thionville surrendered August 10th, and remained ever after in the possession of France. Then, after taking the little town Sierk, D'Enghien marched into Alsace in order to support Guébriant, who had been compelled to recross the Rhine.

Spain, proportioning her efforts to her apparent grandeur, rather than to her real strength, whilst thus exhausting herself in the struggle to maintain Belgium, was so weak at home, that, in order to attempt the reduction of Catalonia, she was compelled to expose unguarded to the ravages of the Portuguese the frontiers of Galicia and Estremadura. Philip IV., at the head of 12,000 men with Piccolomini, whom the Emperor had sent to direct his movements, was marching in person towards the Lower Ebro. This activity was necessitated by the threats of the Aragonese, to throw themselves, like the Catalans, into the arms of France, unless they were speedily succoured: for La Mothe Houdancourt, after blockading the Spaniards in Tortona, Tarragona, and Rosas, the only places which they still retained in Catalonia, was making great progress in Aragon. But Philip's army recaptured Monçon, and compelled the French to retire into Catalonia (November 1643). At sea the French retained their superiority; and on the whole, chequered with some reverses, the Spanish campaign went this year in favour of the French.

The German campaign of 1643 presents little worth detailing. In the south, Guébriant was driven back into Alsace; but having been reinforced with some of D'Enghien's troops in October, he re-entered Snabia and laid siege to Rothweil, which surrendered November 19th. Guébriant expired a few days after entering the town of a wound received during the siege. The confusion which ensued in his army upon his death enabled the Imperialists under the Duke of Lorraine, John von Werth, and other generals, to recover the place, and to dissipate the Franco-Weimarian army.

In the north, Torstenson had been able to do little more than maintain his former conquests. But a new enemy had now entered the field. Christian IV. of Denmark had reconciled himself with the Emperor, and was intent on playing the part of mediator in the negotiations that were to ensue for a general peace. Such

a policy was viewed with jealousy and suspicion by Sweden; Oxenstiern sought a pretext for declaring war against Denmark; and, towards the close of 1643, Torstenson received secret instructions to invade the Danish territories. But the relations between these two countries will require a few words of explanation.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish States had recognised his daughter, Christina, then six years of age, as "Queen Elect," and an aristocratic oligarchical government had been established, from which the Queen-Dowager, as well as the late King's brother-in-law, the Count Palatine, John Casimir of Kleeburg, was entirely excluded. The Grand Council of the nation consisted of five Colleges, or ministerial departments, viz.: the Aulic Court, the Council of War, the Admiralty, the Chancery, and the Treasury; comprising altogether twenty-five persons: and the heads of these Colleges, who were the *Drost*, or Lord High Constable, the Marshal, the Admiral, the Chancellor, and the Treasurer, formed the executive government. As the Chancellor Oxenstiern had procured the appointment of two of his relatives to the offices of Constable and Treasurer, he was enabled to conduct the government with almost absolute power. He controlled completely the education of the young Queen, and, though he procured for her the best instruction in art, science, and literature, the course pursued was calculated to extinguish all feminine qualities.

The Queen-Dowager was not unnaturally hurt at seeing herself excluded from all power and influence, and by the scanty allowance made to her by the government, while the members of it were themselves in the enjoyment of enormous salaries and lucrative appointments. Urged by these feelings, she was weak enough to open communications with Christian of Denmark, holding out to him as a bait the hand of Christina for his eldest son; and Christian, though he perceived what a foolish and ruinous course she was entering on, did not hesitate to encourage her by his protection. In 1640 a Danish man-of-war was sent to Nyköping to bring her away; and she escaped into Denmark, accompanied only by one lady and a Dane sent for the purpose. After some stay in Denmark, Maria Eleanor proceeded into Brandenburg, and did not return to Sweden till 1648.

This occurrence produced a coldness between Sweden and Denmark, which, as we have said, was further increased by Christian's subservient policy to the Emperor. An angry correspondence ensued between the two governments; nothing was wanting but a pretext to declare war; and this was afforded by a quarrel respecting the Sound dues. Sweden, by her treaties with

Denmark, was exempt from this tax, and she made use of the privilege to cover with her flag the goods of foreign merchants. The Danes retaliated by seizing three Swedish vessels, and Torstenson received in consequence the order already mentioned to enter Denmark. He conducted the invasion in a manner remarkable both for boldness of design and finish of execution. His intention was kept entirely secret; war was not declared by the Swedish government till January 16th 1644; and meanwhile, Torstenson's operations were calculated to avert all suspicion of his real design. He caused reports of his movements to be circulated which alarmed Bavaria; he threw bridges over the Elbe at points where he had no idea of crossing; and it was not till he reached Havelberg, December 6th, that he declared to his officers his intention of taking up his winter-quarters in Holstein and Jutland.

The peculiar constitution of Denmark rendered that kingdom an easy prey to so enterprising an enemy. The King being tied down by rigorous capitulations, all the real power in the state lay with an oligarchy of the nobles, who held the crown lands on condition of paying a fifth to the King, and maintaining the fortresses in an efficient state of repair with the remainder; but this duty had been shamefully neglected. The Council, composed of seven members chosen by the nobles, would neither grant the King any extraordinary supply in this emergency, nor even suffer his German mercenaries to remain in the country. It is not surprising, therefore, that Torstenson, who entered Holstein January 16th, found it an easy task to overrun the greater part of the kingdom; Krempen and Glückstadt, in Holstein, alone defended themselves; the whole of the Danish peninsula was speedily overrun; but Torstenson's attempts to pass over to the islands were unsuccessful. At the same time Gustavus Horn and Lars Kagg entered the Danish province of Schonen in Sweden, took Helsingborg (February 17th), and then Landskrona; but Malmö, which was defended by Christian in person, resisted all their efforts.

Early in 1644 the Emperor directed Gallas to follow Torstenson into Denmark; a step, which, after the annihilation of Guébriant's army, might be ventured on with the more confidence. But Gallas, at best no very brilliant commander, seemed to have lost with advancing years what little military talent he had formerly possessed, and to have fallen deeper into his errors of over much caution and dilatoriness. He did not leave his quarters till May, and then marched with such deliberation that it was July before he reached Holstein; where, after taking Kiel, he resorted to his old method

of a fortified camp. Torstenson, though seriously unwell, assembled his army at Rendsborg in the first week of August, newly equipped at the expense of the Danes. Sickness had not deprived him of his adventurous daring. Leaving a small force in Schleswic and Jutland, he offered the Imperialists battle; and, as Gallas did not think fit to leave his camp, passed it contemptuously with his whole army, without the loss of a single baggage-waggon, and reached Ratzeburg in safety. Gallas was now compelled to retreat on Bernburg and Magdeburg, during which operation he lost a great part of his army, and on the 23rd of November his cavalry was annihilated. He is said to have brought back only 2000 men into Bohemia.

At sea, meanwhile, the Swedish admiral, Klas Flemming, had appeared in June with a fleet of forty sail; the old King, Christian IV., went out to give him battle; an action ensued, in which Christian displayed conspicuous valour, and the victory remained undecided. The Swedish admiral being killed a little after, Charles Gustavus Wrangel, the celebrated general, was appointed to succeed him, and was victorious at sea, as he had formerly been on land, defeating the Danish fleet between the islands of Fehmern and Laaland; but the summer of 1644 was unpropitious for naval operations, and little of importance was done.

Early in 1645 Torstenson again penetrated into Bohemia, and in March, at Jankowitz, in the neighbourhood of Tabor, achieved over the Imperialists one of the most signal victories of the Thirty Years' War. Of the three Imperial generals, John von Werth alone escaped; Götz was slain, Hatzfeld taken prisoner; 7000 of their men fell in the action, and 70 colours became the trophies of the victors. In the north, General Königsmark drove Prince Frederick, son of the Danish king, out of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, which had been relinquished to him by the Emperor Ferdinand II. in 1635; but the Swedes could not maintain themselves in Jutland, Schleswic, and Holstein, though at sea they captured the island of Bornholm. The Dutch and French had now begun to interfere in the quarrel in the interest of their commerce with regard to the Sound dues; they had pressed their mediation on the belligerents, and a congress had been opened at Brömsebro, while hostilities continued. Christina now reigned in Sweden, having assumed the reins of government on her eighteenth birthday, December 8th 1644. The memory of her great father procured for her extraordinary respect and influence, and she fortunately reposed her confidence in Salvius, the advocate of peace. Oxenstiern and the council were

opposed to any accommodation ; but after six months of negociation she made the Chancellor lower his terms, and on the 14th of August 1645 the peace of Brömsebro was concluded. The terms were still hard for Denmark. Swedish vessels were exempted from all tolls in the Sound and Belts ; Denmark ceded Jämtland, Hejeadalen, Gothland ; and Oesel, for ever, Halland for thirty years, the same thing under a different name ; Christian's son Frederick renounced Bremen and Verden.

The further operations of Torstenson against the Emperor, after his victory at Jankowitz, were remotely supported by the Turks. The declining power of that people, whose history we have brought down to the accession of Amurath IV. in 1623 ¹⁹, now caused them to play only a subordinate part in the affairs of Europe, and for a long period there has been no occasion to advert to their proceedings ; though, had they possessed their former might, the Thirty Years' War would hardly have been neglected as an opportunity of extending their dominions at the expense of the Empire. Yet they still commanded the means of annoyance, as they continued to occupy Buda and a considerable portion of Hungary on the left bank of the Danube.

The insubordination of the Janissaries had continued after the accession of Amurath, but at length, by their own moderation and submission, they restored peace to the distracted empire. Its affairs had altered so much for the better, that Sir Thomas Roe, in a letter to Sir Isaac Wake, April 6th 1628, observes : " My last judgment is that this empire may stand but never rise again." ²⁰ In 1632 the Janissaries attempted another abortive revolt, and after this period Amurath IV. displayed a cruelty and blood-thirstiness which had not before been observed in his character. From that year to 1637, he is said to have put to death 25,000 men, and a considerable number of them with his own hand. ²¹

The attention of Sultan Amurath was diverted from the affairs of Europe by his wars with Persia and the Druses. In 1638 he captured Bagdad, which had been fifteen years in the hands of the Persians ; when he caused several thousand prisoners to be executed before him as he sat upon his throne. In June 1639 he entered Constantinople in triumph. But his constitution was already broken through fatigue, excitement, and debauchery ; and being seized with a violent fever, the consequence of a carouse, he expired February 9th 1640 at the age of thirty.

Amurath was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim, whom, in the

¹⁹ See above, p. 505.

²⁰ *Négociations*, §c. p. 809.

²¹ *Relatione di Constantin*, ap. Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, B. iv. S. 25.

delirium of his mortal fever, he had ordered to be put to death. Ibrahim, now in his twenty-fifth year, was already completely unnerved by the dissolute pleasures of the harem, in which he had been kept secluded; he would willingly have declined the diadem; and he could not be persuaded that his brother was dead, till, swooning with the fear of being strangled, he was dragged into the chamber where lay the corpse of Amurath. The change of rule, however, was tranquilly effected; and with the hope of enjoying better times under the new sultan, even the Janissaries and Spahis were tranquil. Ibrahim, though not altogether destitute of talent and mother-wit, soon betrayed a total want of princely dignity, and passed his days in the inmost recesses of the harem, with his women, jugglers, and musicians.

At the commencement of the new reign peace was renewed with the Christian powers, many of which, as England, France, Venice, and Holland, now maintained resident ambassadors at the Porte. The only relations which seemed to threaten hostility were those with the Emperor of Germany; but in March 1642 the peace between the two powers was renewed at Szön. The only open war waged during the reign of Ibrahim was that with Venice. In spite of many disputes between the Venetians and the Porte the peace between these powers had remained unbroken since 1573; but the bombardment of Valona by the Venetians in 1638, when in pursuit of some pirates who had taken refuge there, was an affront which the Porte found it difficult to digest, although Venice had expiated her offence by the payment of 250,000 sequins. In 1644 immense preparations were observed in all the Turkish arsenals, and it was readily conjectured that the object of them was Candia, the only important possession that remained to Venice. The Turkish fleet, with a large army on board, the whole under the command of Jusuf, a Dalmatian renegade, left Constantinople in April 1645. A landing was effected and the town of Canea taken, but the war dragged on several years, and it was not till 1648 that the Turks laid siege to Candia, the capital of the island. The ill success of this war, and especially the Turkish losses in Dalmatia, where the Venetians captured the almost impregnable fortress of Clissa, gave rise to serious discontent at Constantinople; most of the great officers of state, as well as the leaders of the Janissaries, rose against Ibrahim; the Mufti pronounced his deposition; and his son Mahomet IV., a child only seven years old, was saluted sultan in his place (August 1648). The unfortunate Ibrahim was soon afterwards strangled in the prison to which he had been committed.

Although during the period we have been surveying no open breach occurred between the Empire and the Porte, yet the Turkish pashas who ruled in Hungary supported Ragotski, Voyvode of Transylvania, in an attempt upon Ferdinand's dominions which had been stimulated by the policy of Mazarine. On the pretext that the Emperor had violated his promises to the Hungarian Protestants, Ragotski incited a revolt in that kingdom, and the Austrians had great difficulty in maintaining themselves in Presburg and some of the Hungarian counties. Torstenson, after his victory at Jankowitz, united himself with Ragotski (1645), threw a bridge over the Danube, and attempted to seize the Emperor at Vienna; but the wild and undisciplined troops of his ally proved rather a hindrance than a help, and Ragotski himself concluded a separate peace with the Emperor. Torstenson, who was so ill that he could travel only in a litter, was soon after forced to raise the siege of Brunn. Being now determined to retire, he intrusted the maintenance of his conquests in Bohemia and Silesia to General Königsmark, but subsequently devolved the chief command on Charles Gustavus Wrangel. His last feat, before his retirement, was the capture of Leitmeritz. In the boldness and decision of his military genius Torstenson more resembled his great master, Gustavus Adolphus, than did any other of that sovereign's generals. He was accompanied in his last campaign by Charles Gustavus, son of the Count-Palatine of Kleeburg, who was subsequently to mount the throne of Sweden, and who in the school of Torstenson became a distinguished commander.

Negotiations for a general peace had been already opened. Ever since France had taken up arms, Pope Urban VIII. had not ceased to press that power to abandon the Protestant alliance and reconcile herself with the House of Austria. In 1636 Urban had so far succeeded as to induce some of the Catholic powers to treat at Cologne, whither he despatched Cardinal Ginetti as legate and mediator; but, though the Emperor and the King of Spain sent representatives to Cologne, France declined to do so, regarding the assembly only as intended to separate her from her Protestant allies, Sweden and Holland, who could not be expected to treat under the mediation of the Pope. The Count d'Avaux and John Adler Salvius, the ministers of France and Sweden, renewed at Hamburg, March 15th 1638, for three years, the alliance between those countries, with the express provision that neither should enter into a separate peace²²; and, as at the commencement of 1641 the

²² Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 161.

prospect of a general peace was as distant as ever, the alliance was again extended, not for any definite term, but till such a peace should be effected.²³ Meanwhile the Emperor had conceived the impracticable design of treating with the States of the Empire alone, without the participation of foreign powers; and it was with this view that he had summoned a Diet at Ratisbon in 1640; where, as already related, he had been so nearly captured by Baner. At length, in December 1641, preliminaries were arranged at Hamburg between Conrad von Lützen, the Imperial ambassador, and D'Avaux and Salvius on the part of France and Sweden. It was agreed that the towns of Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia, which were to be declared neutral, should become the seats of two congresses composed of the representatives of the powers directly or remotely interested in the war, that is, of most of the states of Europe. The reasons for choosing two towns were, because one would not have sufficed to accommodate the crowd of ministers who were expected to attend; and because it was desirable to avoid any collision between the Papal nuncio and the Protestant plenipotentiaries, as well as any disputes concerning precedence between France and Sweden. Hence, as a general rule, the representatives of the Catholic powers were to assemble at Münster, and those of the Protestant powers at Osnabrück, but the Dutch plenipotentiaries were to treat at Münster with the Spanish, without any mediator; and as the affairs of the Empire were to come before both assemblies the Emperor was to be represented both at Osnabrück and Münster. The two congresses were, however, to be considered as one; and the towns mentioned were selected because they lay near each other and had every facility of communication.

The conferences were to have been opened in March 1642; but more than a year was lost in squabbling about forms and points of etiquette. At last, in July 1643, the Imperial plenipotentiaries opened the congresses, and the ministers of the other powers began to arrive; but it was not till October that the Spaniards appeared; the Venetian envoy came in November, and the French plenipotentiaries did not arrive till April 1644. The Papal nuncio, Fabio Chigi, bishop of Nardo, afterwards Pope Alexander VII., and the Venetian senator Contarini, who subsequently became Doge of Venice, took up their residence at Münster, as mediators between the Catholic powers; while the King of Denmark, as mediator between the Emperor and Sweden, had despatched to Osnabrück

²³ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 207.

as his ministers Lipsius and Langermann. It was this attempt at mediation on the part of Denmark which produced the war already related between that country and Sweden; and the functions designed for Christian IV. were ultimately transferred to Contarini.

Never before had such an assembly of the members of the European commonwealth met together. Not only were the greater states represented, but ministers from the Electors, spiritual and temporal princes, and great cities of Germany, whom the Emperor with much reluctance at length consented to admit, as well as from such powers as the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Mantua, the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, nay, even from Catalonia, newly revolted from Spain, also appeared at the congress. The quiet little town of Münster, a century before the scene of the strangest suppression of all social distinctions, was now astonished and enlivened with court ceremonies, splendid banquets, and the equipages of prelates, princes, and ambassadors; while the Papal nuncio might behold, suspended from the tower of St. Lambert's church, the bones of that fanatical heretic who for a brief period had enjoyed a more absolute sway over his followers than had ever fallen to the lot of the haughtiest pontiff. One nation alone accustomed to play a great part in the affairs of Europe was conspicuous by its absence.²⁴ England was unrepresented in these important transactions. The civil troubles of that country had effaced her for a time as a member of the great European system; but it was perhaps fortunate for her liberties that the nations of the continent were then engrossed by the vast struggle of the Thirty Years' War. While the hostile parties in England were during some years so equally balanced, the aid of a foreign power might probably have turned the scale in favour of Charles and despotism.

Considering the extent, the variety, the complication, and the importance of the interests at stake, it was not to be expected that the negotiations for a peace should be brought to any very speedy termination; but a still more efficient and dangerous cause of delay was the insincerity of some of the chief powers, who had engaged in them rather by way of homage to public opinion than from any wish for their success. The generals and ministers of these states loved the war for its own sake, as it gave them em-

²⁴ The only Christian powers, besides England, not directly interested in the negotiations, were Denmark, Poland, Russia, the Pope, and the Republic of Venice. The King of Denmark, however, had a resident at the Congress to watch over the interests of his son, as Archbishop of

Bremen, and his own if necessary; the Pope and Venice were represented in their quality of mediators; and thus England, Poland, and Russia were the only countries that had no ambassadors at Münster or Osnabrück. Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. i. p. 133 sq.

ployment and made them of importance. France and Sweden were intent on seizing as large a share as possible of the spoils of the Empire; while the Emperor himself felt a repugnance to negotiations which he saw could be completed only by vast sacrifices on his part. Since the fatal mistakes committed by Ferdinand II. in engaging in the Italian war, and dismissing his army under Wallenstein, almost every year had been marked by signal defeats and losses. France had made herself mistress of Alsace and the Forest towns, as well as of several places in Luxemburg and in the electorates of Trèves and Cologne; the Swedes occupied Pomerania, and had garrisons in Saxony, Westphalia, Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia; and the Emperor might sometimes see with his own eyes, from the ramparts of his capital, the ravages of the enemy and the burning of his villages. A portion of his own subjects was in arms against him, another large part of the Empire, comprising the electorates of Brandenburg and Saxony, and the dominions of the Dukes of Lüneburg, had declared its neutrality; and Ferdinand III. was thus reduced to recruit his armies from his hereditary dominions, and those parts of Germany which remained faithful to him, now almost exhausted by the efforts and sufferings of so long a war. Yet he was still disposed to protract the struggle, and risk the fortune of events rather than immediately consent to inevitable sacrifices, and such were the instructions he gave to the Count of Nassau and M. Wolmar, his plenipotentiaries at Münster. Spain also, mindful of her former grandeur and prosperity rather than of her present fortunes, could not persuade herself to make concessions to an enemy whom she both feared and despised. France, from the hopes of gain, adopted the same procrastinating policy. No sooner did the French ministers arrive at Münster, than they began to raise questions respecting their right of precedence over the Spanish ambassadors, more for the sake of protracting the negotiations than with any other view²⁵; whilst the Germans, without any such motive, but merely from a puerile love of titles and distinctions, followed their example. The title of "Excellence," a common one in Italy, borne by the Venetian minister, excited the jealousy of the Electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, who insisted that their representatives were entitled to the same distinction; and when the Emperor conceded that title to such of them as were "persons

²⁵ The French did not begin to think of treating seriously till the middle of 1645. Garden, t. i. p. 142. The French and Swedes handed in some propositions

in June, but the answer of the Imperial ministers was delayed some months, so that the negotiations did not properly commence till early in 1646.

of rank" (*Standespersonen*), new disputes arose as to who were to be included in that category! While the conferences at Münster were thus embarrassed by the French, those at Osnabrück were suspended altogether by the war between Sweden and Denmark, which rendered the latter kingdom a belligerent instead of a mediating power; and, as the French would not take a step without the Swedes, the negotiations were for a time arrested. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the proceedings of the congress were prolonged several years, and made dependent on the events of the war, to which we must now return.²⁶

Whilst Torstensson was pursuing his successes in Germany, as already related, the campaigns of 1644 and 1645 had also been favourable to France. In Flanders, the French under the nominal command of the Duke of Orleans, but in reality under that of Meilleraie, Gassion, and Rantzau, captured Gravelines after a brave resistance, July 28th 1644, while about the same time the Prince of Orange had taken the Sas of Ghent. D'Enghien and Turenne, having marched to the Rhine, attacked the Imperial general Merci at Freiburg in the Breisgau; and, though they were repulsed, Merci found himself compelled to retire into Würtemberg. It is on this occasion that D'Enghien is said to have thrown his cane into the enemy's lines, a story of somewhat doubtful authenticity. Turenne and D'Enghien now descended the right bank of the Rhine towards Baden, and captured Philippsburg, September 9th 1644, where they found a hundred guns. D'Enghien established himself in this fortress, while Turenne crossing the Rhine took Worms, Oppenheim, and Mentz, without firing a shot. Bingen, Baccharach, Landau, and Kreutznach were also occupied by the French, who thus commanded the course of the Rhine from Basle to Coblenz. When D'Enghien entered Mentz, and, to the Latin harangue of the chapter and municipality, replied with facility in the same language, he astonished the Germans almost as much as by his victories.

The French campaign in Germany in 1645 was also brilliant, but chequered. D'Enghien, quitting the valley of the Rhine, entered that of the Danube, and laid siege to Nördlingen; Merci flew to its rescue, but was defeated on the heights near the town,

²⁶ For the negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück see Bougeant, *Hist. des Guerres et des Négociations qui précédèrent le Traité de Westphalie*, and *Hist. du Traité de Westphalie*. Bougeant's works are founded on the correspondence and documents which remained in the hands of the French

plenipotentiary D'Avaux. An account of the negotiations was also written by Adam Adami, the representative, at the congress, of the Abbots and Princes of the Empire (*Relatio Historica de Pacificatione Osnabrugo-Monasteriensi*, ed. Meiern, Lips. 1737).

August 3rd, chiefly by means of the German cavalry. Merci was killed in this battle, while John von Werth, abandoning his artillery, retired upon Donauwerth. Nördlingen and Dinkelsbühl now fell into the hands of the French, who were, however, soon obliged to retire on the Neckar. D'Enghien was compelled by illness to return into France, but Turenne recrossed the Rhine in November, captured Trèves after a short siege, and re-established the Elector in his capital, who, at the instance of the French and Swedes, had been released from his captivity in order to take part in the congress. The French arms had also, on the whole, been successful in Flanders. Mardyck, the fort of Linck, Bourbourg, St. Venant, Bethune, Lillers, were captured; and, after forming a junction with the Prince of Orange, other places were taken: but, before the end of the year, Cassel and Mardyck were recaptured by the Spaniards.

In Spain itself the French had hardly been so successful. In 1644 they were driven out of Aragon, and Philip IV. then undertook, in person, the siege of Lerida, which covers the western frontier of Catalonia, and defeated, with great loss, La Motte Houdancourt, who endeavoured to defend it, May 15th. Lerida having capitulated, July 31st, the Spaniards next took Balaguer, and threatened Barcelona; but at this juncture Philip was recalled to Spain by the dangerous illness of his queen, who expired October 6th, and by the progress of the Portuguese in Galicia and Estremadura. In consequence of his ill success La Motte Houdancourt was recalled to France and put upon his trial, and the Count d'Harcourt was appointed his successor as Viceroy of Catalonia. In May 1645 Du Plessis Praslin took the important maritime town of Rosas; and Harcourt, crossing the Segre, defeated the Spaniards under Cantelmo at Llorens, June 23rd. That commander was also subsequently driven from Balaguer, which capitulated, October 20th.

Meanwhile, in Italy matters had not gone so favourably for France. Pope Urban VIII., who died in July 1644, was succeeded by Innocent X. (Cardinal Pamphilio), who showed himself decidedly hostile to French interests; and he pointed against Mazarine a bull depriving all cardinals who absented themselves from Rome, without the permission of the Holy Father, of the right to assist at the conclave. To alarm the Pontiff, Mazarine, with the assistance of Duke Thomas of Savoy and the Genoese, embarked a French army at Genoa (May 1646), and laid siege to Orbitello, a Spanish possession on the coast of Tuscany; where, however, Duke Thomas was defeated, and compelled to retreat with the loss of all his guns

and baggage, by a Spanish army, which had marched from Naples through the Roman States. This disgrace was retrieved by another expedition, which sailed from Toulon under La Meilleraie, and succeeded in taking Piombino and Porto Longone (October 1646). The French, by thus establishing themselves on the coast of Italy, compelled the Pope to a more humble deportment; but the success was purchased by neglecting Catalonia; and in November, Leganez, whom Philip IV. had restored to favour, compelled the French to raise the siege of Lerida.

The campaign in Flanders in 1646 had been successful. D'Eng-hien took Courtrai, and made himself master of the greater part of the course of Lys. Great things were anticipated when a junction should have been formed between the French and Dutch armies; but these hopes were frustrated by the insanity of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, with which malady he had been some time threatened. Antwerp was saved by this circumstance, but Mardyck was retaken August 25th, and in October Dunkirk yielded to the arms of D'Enghien, assisted by some French vessels and the Dutch fleet under Tromp.

The success of Turenne this year in Germany was no less striking, and was one of the causes which immediately led to the peace of Westphalia. Descending the Rhine, which he crossed at Wesel, and marching round through Westphalia and Hesse, he formed a junction with Wrangel and the Swedes between Wetzlar and Giessen on the Lahn (August 10th); when the united force penetrated by rapid marches to Augsburg, and pushed its van up to the very gates of Munich. The old Elector, Maximilian, was weary of the war, and had already in the preceding year sent his confessor to Paris, to negotiate a separate treaty, which, though entirely conformable to the interests of France, had gone off from the suspicions entertained of Maximilian's sincerity. The latter now sued for peace, and in March 1647 a treaty was signed at Ulm, by which Maximilian, and his brother the Elector of Cologne, engaged to remain neutral so long as the war should last. The Elector of Mentz and the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt were soon after compelled to follow this example. These important results, by which the Emperor remained completely isolated, had been obtained solely by superiority in manœuvring, and without fighting a single battle.

The Emperor was now reduced to a condition which appeared to render it necessary for him to capitulate; yet he contrived to hold out another year or two. The first result of the congress at Münster was a treaty between Spain and the United Provinces of

the Netherlands, which was quite unexpected, as the Dutch, by their treaty with France, had bound themselves not to enter into a separate peace. But the situation of Spain rendered it absolutely necessary for her to bring to a close her efforts in the Netherlands. The serious nature of the Catalan revolt has been already seen, while the independence of Portugal seemed to be established beyond all hope of recovering that kingdom, except by the most gigantic preparations. An abortive conspiracy of the Archbishop of Braga had only resulted in establishing King John more firmly on the Portuguese throne. John had won the hearts of his subjects by his generous and patriotic conduct, in devoting the revenues of his private domains to the public service, and by leaving it to the States to impose the necessary taxes in their own way; in return for which, they raised for him a supply of double the amount that had been demanded. In 1643 the Spaniards had been defeated in Estremadura with great loss, by the Portuguese under Don Matthias Albuquerque; and the demands made on the Spanish resources by the war in the Netherlands and in Catalonia obliged Philip IV. for the present to neglect Portugal. His affairs in Italy were in no better condition, where a revolt had broken out in both the Sicilies. His necessities had led him to exhaust those provinces both of men and money; the people groaned under the weight of enormous taxes, rendered all the more galling and hateful through the ecclesiastics, nobles, and high officers of state being exempt from them; and, the misery having been increased by a year of famine, the popular discontent exploded. An insurrection at Palermo, led by a manufacturer named Alessio, who was slain in a riot, was put down without much difficulty; but a more terrible one had broken out at Naples, where the sufferings had been greater than in Sicily, and where the harshest oppression had been aggravated by the most brutal and insolent tyranny. The last viceroy, indeed, Alphodso Henriquez, Admiral of Castile, had resigned his dignity rather than be the instrument of the extortions of the Spanish government; but a man of different stamp was appointed his successor, the Duke de los Arcos, who bade those who could not raise money to pay the taxes by disposing of their furniture, to sell their wives and daughters. The lower classes had nothing left for their subsistence but fruit and vegetables, and, to meet the expense of the French war against the Pope, Arcos put a tax upon fruit.

Two abortive attempts at insurrection had already been made, when Masaniello, a half-naked fisherman, put himself at the head of the Neapolitan populace, and became for a moment the master

of Naples. The soldiers were routed, the bureaux of finance destroyed, the houses of obnoxious financiers and unpopular grandees were stormed and plundered, the Viceroy was seized in his palace, and compelled to abolish the more oppressive taxes in order to save his life. He was then shut up in the castle of St. Elmo, and forced to re-establish by a formal treaty the immunities enjoyed during the reign of Charles V. But the success of Masaniello seems to have turned his head. He accepted an invitation from the authorities to a grand banquet of reconciliation; the people disgusted by his extravagances abandoned him, and he was murdered by the satellites of Arcos (July 16th 1647). The anarchy, however, was not at an end. The populace buried Masaniello with great pomp, and on the 21st of August a fresh explosion burst out, the people massacred all the Spaniards they could seize, blockaded the Viceroy in Castel Nuovo, and in place of a poor fisherman, chose for their leader the Prince of Massa; who seems to have accepted the office by an understanding with the government, and in the hope of effecting an accommodation.

The insurrection now began to assume the form of revolution. One party desired a republic, another was for the Pope, a third wished to exchange the rule of Spain for that of France, and with this view made advances to the French Court.

After the open declaration of war against Spain in 1635, the French ministry had been bent on wresting Milan and Naples from the Spanish crown through the aid of Italian princes; and a plan was formed to make the Duke of Savoy King of Naples, while his own dominions were to be divided between the cardinal, his brother, and France; the latter taking Savoy, Nice, and Villafranca. Pope Urban VIII. was to aid the undertaking, and an independent state was to be erected in the Neapolitan territory for Antonio Barbarino. But this scheme was never carried out, and was put aside by the death of Urban and accession of Innocent X., an opponent of French interests. The Neapolitan revolt of 1647 induced France to attempt something for herself. The desire for a republic had prevailed among the Neapolitans, who had despatched a deputation to Rome to solicit the aid of France through the French ambassador in that city. The envoys accidentally made the acquaintance of Henry II., Duke of Guise, then residing at Rome with the view of procuring a divorce; and they offered Guise the same post in their new republic as the Prince of Orange held in Holland. The French agents in Italy appear to have approved this arrangement, though it was never sanctioned by Mazarine; who suspected that Guise's aims were directed to pro-

cure the crown of Naples for himself, while the cardinal-minister wished to place it on the brow of Louis XIV. Mazarine's chief view, however, was at all events to wrest Naples from Spain; and he did not, therefore, oppose Guise, though he lent the ambitious duke no warm support. Descended on the female side from the House of Anjou, the ancient sovereigns of Naples, there can be no doubt that Guise was meditating the seizure of what he considered his hereditary rights, though it is pretended in his memoirs that he was labouring only for France. It appears, indeed, from Mazarine's letters, that Guise was striving to render the French hateful and ridiculous at Naples; he asserted that he himself was no Frenchman, but a native of Lorraine, and now an Italian by adoption; and he left off writing anything but Italian even to his friends in France.

A piece of cowardly treachery on the part of the Spanish government promised to improve Guise's chances. A Spanish fleet commanded by Don John of Austria, an illegitimate son of Philip IV., appeared off Naples, October 4th, and the Viceroy, after communicating with Don John, proclaimed that the Catholic King had ratified the ancient franchises of Naples and granted a general amnesty. This announcement was received with shouts of joy. Next day, however, both the castles and fleet opened fire on the unsuspecting city, and Don John landed several thousand soldiers; but the populace, armed with tiles and stones and such like weapons, compelled them to retreat. Cries now arose on all sides of "Long live the Republic!" The portrait of Philip IV. was dragged through the streets with every mark of contumely and insult; Massa was executed as a partisan of Spain, and an armourer named Gennaro Annese was chosen leader in his place. Passing through the Spanish fleet in a swift-sailing felucca, Guise landed at Naples amid the acclamations of the people; November 15th 1647.

But the opportunity of wresting Naples from the Spanish crown was lost through the supineness and ill policy of the French Court. The French fleet did not appear off Naples till December 18th; and when it arrived the Duke of Richelieu, its commander, a great-nephew of the Cardinal's, would not recognise Guise, although the people had elected him Duke of Naples; and the French fleet, after an affair of small importance with that of Spain, returned to Porto Longone January 1648. Guise nevertheless, who displayed considerable military talent at this conjuncture, continued to maintain himself at Naples; the Spanish government, despairing of retaining that kingdom, recalled their fleet; till the remissness of France

inspired them with fresh hopes, and determined them to resort to intrigue and stratagem. The Duke of Arcos was recalled and replaced by the Count d'Oñate, at that time Spanish ambassador at Rome, a man of supple insinuating manners; Annese and other popular leaders were secretly gained; during the temporary absence of Guise from Naples, who had lost his popularity, a report was spread that he was treating with the Spaniards; Annese and his confederates opened the gates to Don John and Oñate, who entered with cries of "Peace! Peace! no more taxes!" and the people being thus thrown into confusion, and knowing not what to believe, the Spanish restoration was accomplished almost without a blow, April 1st 1648. Guise, being afterwards captured at Capua, was kept four years a prisoner in Spain.²⁷

The breaking out of this rebellion, as well as the other embarrassments of Spain to which we have before adverted, naturally induced the Spanish Court to press on to a definite conclusion the treaty with the United Provinces, the preliminary conventions of which had been signed at Münster in January 1647. The success of Spain in detaching the Dutch from their allies has been attributed, and no doubt with a great deal of justice, to her able diplomacy, conducted chiefly by Antoine Brun, a native of Dôle in Franche Comté; but it must also, perhaps, be partly ascribed to a false step on the part of Mazarine, as well as to the very advantageous conditions offered by Spain. The Dutch had been alienated from the French alliance by a proposition made to the Spanish Court by Cardinal Mazarine in the course of the negotiations in 1646, to exchange Catalonia and Rousillon for the Catholic Netherlands and Franche Comté.²⁸ They were naturally alarmed at the prospect of having a powerful nation like France for their immediate neighbours, between whom and themselves Belgium, in the possession of a remote and exhausted country like Spain, formed a very desirable barrier; and, though the project appears to have been withdrawn, Antoine Brun very skilfully kept alive the jealousy of the Dutch. On the 30th January 1648 they signed, at Münster a definitive treaty with Spain, which conceded all that they desired. The United Provinces were recognised as free and sovereign states, to which Philip IV. renounced all pretensions for himself and for his successors. The conquests made by each party were to be retained; an arrangement

²⁷ An account of this attempt of Guise's will be found in his own *Mémoires*, and in those of Montglat and Mad. de Motteville. Mazarine's views and the policy of France are fully described in the fifth vo-

lume of Ranke's *Französ. Gesch.* S. 172 ff.

²⁸ *Mémoire of Mazarine in the Négociations secrètes touchant la paix de Münster et Osnabrug* (by John Le Clerc), ap. Garden, vol. i. p. 165, note.

which made over to the Dutch; Bois-le-Duc, Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Maestricht, with their dependencies, the county of Vroonhoof, Grave, and the district of Kuyk, in Brabant, Hulst, Axel, and their dependencies, and the forts held by the States in the Pays de Waes, in Flanders; together with a great part of Limburg. In like manner, Spain ceded to the Dutch all the conquests they had made in Asia, Africa, and America; no great sacrifice however, on her part, as these conquests had been achieved at the expense of the revolted Portuguese, and Spain's chance of recovering them was very slight indeed. The basest feature of this peace was the abandonment by Spain of the commercial interests of the Belgians who had so loyally stood by her, by sanctioning in favour of the Dutch the closing of the Scheldt, as well as of the Sas of Ghent, the Swyn, and other channels of communication with the river, thereby ruining the trade of Brabant and Flanders.²⁹

Thus after a terrible and bloody struggle of 80 years' duration, in which we know not whether most to admire the obstinate perseverance of Spain in the midst of all her disasters and defeats, or the fortitude, valour, and good fortune of the Dutch, who made the war itself a source of strength and profit, and contended with their enemies with the very resources which they ravished from them, the establishment and recognition of the United Provinces were at last effected under more favourable conditions than the most sanguine of their leaders might have anticipated. The records of history might be searched in vain to find a similar struggle between powers to all appearance so unequally matched, or in which such wonders have been achieved by the indomitable spirit of liberty.

After this peace the Spaniards and Dutch took no further part in the congress, and the war between France and Spain of course continued. During the year 1647 it had not gone very favourably for France. Mazarine, in order to find employment for D'Enghien, whose demands had become troublesome, had made him viceroy of Catalonia. By the death of his father in December 1646 he was now become Prince of Condé, by which title we shall hereafter mention him. His operations in Catalonia were not calculated to add to his reputation. He renewed the siege of Lerida, and, with an unbecoming fanfaronnade, opened the trenches to the music of violins. But Lerida seemed destined to be fatal to French generals. It was gallantly defended by the commandant, Don Gregorio Britto, who, after every assault or skirmish, sent ices

²⁹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 560.

and lemonade for the refreshment of Condé. The French army suffered from desertion as well as by the sallies of the garrison, and, on the approach of the Spaniards, Condé found himself compelled to raise the siege. He afterwards achieved some trifling successes, but, on the whole, the campaign was a failure. In 1648, Condé was sent into Flanders, and was followed in the government of Catalonia by Mazarine's brother, Cardinal Michael Mazarine, bishop of Aix, a bizarre personage, without any capacity, who in a few months grew weary of the employment, and was succeeded by Marshal Schomberg. Neglecting Tarragona and Lerida, Schomberg carried Tortosa by assault, July 12th. The bishop at the head of his clergy was killed in the breach.

During this period the French were not more successful in the Netherlands. After the treaty with Bavaria, Turenne was marching into Luxemburg, when nearly all the cavalry of the Weimarian army refused to follow him across the Rhine, unless their pay, then several months in arrear, was forthcoming. Turenne followed the mutinous troops into the valley of the Tauber, and killed several hundreds; of the remainder, some surrendered, but the greater part took service under General Königsmark in Westphalia. This affair prevented Turenne from entering Luxemburg till September; and as Marshals Gassion and Rantzau, who commanded the French forces in Flanders, could not agree, the advantage in this campaign lay with the Spaniards.

After the dispersion of the Weimarian army, and the withdrawal of Turenne beyond the Rhine, Maximilian, the now aged Elector of Bavaria, and his brother the Elector of Cologne, again took up arms in order to support the Emperor against the Swedes in Bohemia (October 1647); though he endeavoured to conciliate this step with the treaty of Ulm, and declared that he had no wish to break with France, but only with Sweden and Hesse. The French, however, would not recognise this distinction, and Turenne was directed to support Marshal Wrangel. This commander, who had taken Egra in Bohemia, finding himself no match for the united Imperial and Bavarian forces, made a masterly retreat into Westphalia. In April 1648 he was joined by Turenne in Franconia, when the allied army advanced towards the Danube, the Imperialists retreating before them. These were overtaken and defeated at Zusmarshausen near Augsburg, where Melander, or Holtzapfel, the former general of Amelia Elizabeth of Hesse, was killed; the Bavarian army retreated beyond the Inn, leaving garrisons in Munich and one or two other places; the Elector took refuge at Salzburg; and, in spite of the efforts of the Imperialists to succour

it, Bavaria lay at the mercy of the Franco-Swedish army. A war of desolation followed, marked by murder, burning, and devastation, but without any signal victories.

While these things were going on in Bavaria, the fortune of war was equally adverse to the Imperialists in Flanders and Bohemia. In the former country, after some nearly balanced successes, Condé gained one of his most splendid victories over the Archduke Leopold near Lens, August 20th 1648, and completely dispersed his army. The plan of the German campaign this year had been a double attack on Austria, through Bavaria and Bohemia. This latter part of it was conducted by General Königsmark, who penetrated to Prague, and took that part of the city called the *Kleinseite* (Little Town) lying on the left bank of the Moldau, where an enormous booty was captured (July 31st). Charles Gustavus, now appointed generalissimo, arrived soon after with reinforcements from Sweden; but the remaining portions of Prague resisted all the efforts of the Swedes to master them. These disasters, however, had determined the Emperor to conclude peace; and thus, singularly enough, the Thirty Years' War was finished at the same place where it had broken out. The labours of the men of the sword were now superseded by those of the diplomatists; the Wrangels, the Turennes, and the Königsmarks, gave place to the Oxenstierns, the D'Avaux, and the Trautmansdorfs; and the fruits of many a bloody campaign were disposed of with a little ink and a few strokes of the pen.

Towards the end of September the conferences at Osnabrück were transferred to Münster, where, after negotiations which had lasted between four and five years, were signed the two TREATIES OF WESTPHALIA (October 24th 1648). Of these treaties we can only give the principal conditions. The objects of the peace may be divided into two heads; the settlement of the affairs of the Empire, and the satisfaction of the two crowns of France and Sweden. With regard to Germany, a general amnesty was granted; and all princes and persons were, with some exceptions as to the immediate subjects of the House of Austria, restored to their rights, possessions, and dignities. The question of the Palatinate, one of the chief objects of the war, was settled by a compromise. The Duke of Bavaria was allowed to retain the Upper Palatinate, with the electoral dignity and rights; while the Lower Palatinate, or that of the Rhine, was restored to the eldest son of the unfortunate Frederick V., and an eighth Electorate erected in his favour. On the extinction either of the Bavarian or the Palatine line, however, both Electorates were again to be merged into one. With regard to the

political constitution of the Empire, it was determined that laws could be made and interpreted only in general Diets of all the States; which were also to have the power of declaring war, levying taxes, raising troops, making treaties, &c. The French and Swedes did not succeed in their attempt to procure the abolition of the custom of choosing a King of the Romans during the lifetime of the Emperor, which might have endangered the hereditary succession of the House of Austria. The demand of the German States that no prince should be put under the Imperial ban without the approbation of a Diet was referred to a future assembly, and was finally established by the capitulation of the Emperor Charles VI. Several reforms were made in the constitution of the Imperial chamber and other tribunals, tending to give the Protestants a larger share of power. The authority of the Aulic Council was recognised by this treaty, but nothing was determined respecting its constitution, and it was not till 1654 that the Emperor, of his own authority, fixed the number of the Aulic Councillors at eighteen, one third of whom were to be Protestants. But the most important article of this part of the treaty was that by which the various Princes and States of Germany were permitted to contract defensive alliances among themselves, or with foreigners, provided they were not against the Emperor, or the public peace of the Empire,—conditions easily evaded. By this article, the federative system was consolidated.

Respecting the affairs of religion in the Empire, as the Catholics sometimes pretended that the religious peace of 1555 had been only temporary, and ceased to have the force of law after the dissolution of the Council of Trent, it was now formally renewed, subject to certain interpretations; and it was agreed that the members of the Reformed Church, or Calvinists, were comprehended under it, as well as those belonging to the Confession of Augsburg, or Lutherans. This concession was opposed by the latter sect, but readily agreed to by the Emperor. And in general everything concerning religion was referred to the footing on which it stood in the year 1624, hence called the decretory, or normal, year.

With regard to the satisfaction of France, the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, of which, indeed, she had long been in possession, were ceded to her, as well as Pinerolo in Piedmont, a fief of the Empire. The Emperor and the House of Austria also ceded to France all their rights to Breisach, Upper and Lower Alsace, the Sundgau, and the prefecture of the ten Imperial cities of Haguenau, Colmar, Schelestadt, Weissenburg, Landau, Obereinheim, Rosheim, Münster im Gregorienthal, Kaiserberg, and Furenheim, on condition

that the Catholic religion should be upheld in these provinces and towns. France was empowered to maintain a garrison in Philippsburg. The Breisgau and the Forest towns of the Rhine were to be restored to the House of Austria. It had been debated whether France should hold Alsace as a fief of the Empire, with a seat in the German Diet, or in full sovereignty. D'Avaux had inclined to the former plan, which was also supported by the Elector of Bavaria, and several of the Catholic states of Germany; while, on the other hand, it was opposed by the Protestant states assembled at Osnabrück, and by the Emperor, who was unwilling to see his most dangerous enemy admitted, as it were, into his very household. Servien too, the colleague of D'Avaux, disapproved of a plan that would lower the dignity of France, by rendering its king a vassal of the Emperor; and this view of the matter prevailed at the French Court.

For the satisfaction of Sweden were ceded to her, as perpetual and hereditary fiefs, Western Pomerania, together with Stettin and the towns of Gartz, Damm, and Gollnau at the mouth of the Oder, the islands of Wollin and Rügen, the city and port of Wismar in Mecklenburg, and the secularised sees of Bremen and Verden, the former as a duchy, the latter as a principality; with a seat and triple vote in the Diets of the Empire. Sweden was allowed to erect a university, which was afterwards established at Greifswald.

Other articles regulated the compensation to be made to German princes; by which the Houses that chiefly profited were those of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, and Hesse. Brandenburg, which was soon to assume a foremost rank among the German states, for the part of Pomerania which she abandoned to Sweden, received the bishopric of Halberstadt with the signories of Lora and Klettenberg, the bishoprics of Minden and Camin secularised as principalities, and, after the death of Prince Augustus of Saxony, the reversion of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg secularised as a duchy.

By the Peace of Westphalia the independence of the Swiss cantons was recognised, and the Empire tacitly abandoned the Netherlands, nor made any provision for the free navigation of the Rhine. The question respecting the succession to the inheritance of Juliers was referred to future adjustment. There were many other articles respecting the surety and guarantee of the peace, its execution, the pay of the soldiery, evacuation of fortresses, &c., which it is not necessary here to detail.³⁰

³⁰ The chief work on the Peace of Westphalia is that of Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae* published, Hanover, 1734, 6 vols.

fol. The treaties are in Bougeant, liv. x. t. vi., and Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 450 sqq. Woltmann's *Gesch. des Westphäli-*

As the Pope seemed to be included in the peace as an ally of the Emperor, under the expression "the princes and republics of Italy," the nuncio Chigi, immediately after the completion of the treaty, entered a protest against it (October 26th 1648); though not so much against the peace itself, as against the articles which it contained detrimental to the Church of Rome; and Pope Innocent X. soon after published a bull (November 26th) declaring the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück null and void. Such weapons, however, were now mere *bruta fulmina*. Even the Roman Catholic princes, who were glad to see the war terminated, gave little heed to the Pope's proceedings; and Ferdinand III. himself, notwithstanding his devotion to the Holy See, did not hesitate to forbid the circulation of the bull.³¹

Thus the policy of France and Sweden was entirely successful. These countries, besides raising up a counterpoise to the power of the Emperor in Germany itself, had succeeded in aggrandising themselves at the expense of the Empire. Sweden, indeed, in the course of a few years was to lose her acquisitions; but France had at last permanently seated herself on the Rhine; the House of Austria lost the preponderance it had enjoyed since the time of Charles V., which was now to be transferred to her rival, and, during the ensuing period, we shall have to contemplate France as the leading European power; a post which she mainly owed to the genius and policy of Cardinal Richelieu. With the peace of Westphalia begins a new era in the policy and public law of Europe; but the consideration of this subject we postpone to the following Book.

schles-Friedens may also be consulted. The general reader will find all that he can require in the summary of the Count de

Garden, *Hist. des Traités de Paix*, t. i. § 4.

³¹ The protest and bull are in Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 462.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



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